

THE DAILY LIFE OF A RURAL COLOMBIAN TEACHER

Life history of the boyacense rural educator 1948-1974¹

Diana Elvira Soto Arango²

Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia- Colombia
Research Group HISULA
dianaelvirasoto@gmail.com

Reception: 21/02/2012
Evaluation: 12/03/2012
Acceptation: 29/05/2012
Reflectie Article
doi:10,9757

ABSTRACT

This research analyzes the period of political violence in mid-20th century Colombia through the life history and everyday professional experience of a rural schoolteacher who, being of liberal political affiliation, found herself displaced and persecuted.

The method focuses on social history from a socio-political perspective and understanding, which includes everyday life and the collective imagination. The life-history itself provided the ordering, classification and organization of information. The biography of the teacher and the history of her family allowed an analysis of change in family structure and of the role of this change among displaced persons, along with the impact on them exercised by political violence and socio-educational developments.

The strategies used focused on primary sources. It can be concluded that the teacher developed a specific socio-cultural form of adaptation. The sense of history achieved in the research invites a re-thinking of procedures and policies for displaced people in the ongoing violence in Colombia, where education has the last word in changing mental structures towards a knowledge society.

Key words: *Historical Review of Latinamerican Education, violence, rural, urban, teacher, displaced.*

¹ This work reports of the project framed under "The rural teacher in Colombia and Guatemala. XXth century and XXIst Century. Life History and educational intervention of the University ", under the direction of Dra. Diana Soto Arango, Nice Dr. Justo Cuño Bonito, Dr. Oscar Hugo Lopez. Supported by Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia with the Code SGI: 980 for the Direction of Researches of this Institution. This is developed with the University Pablo de Olavide from Spain and University of San Carlos – Guatemala with the Code SGI: 1034.

² Titular teacher of the University Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, high category. Posdoctorate developed in the Top Council of Scientific Researches of Spain from July 12th, 1993 to December, 1995. She confers a doctor's degree in Sciences of the Education in the UNED of Spain, 1987. It was organized in 1996 and she was the first Director of the Doctorate in Sciences of RUDECOLOMBIA's Education. She organized in 1992 the Society of History of the Latin-American Education and she is the Director of the Research Groups: History and Futurology of the Universidad Latinoamericana-HISULA and the Illustration in Colonial America-ILAC recognized in COLCIENCIAS, Category A1.

INTRODUCTION

The research focuses on an analysis of the life-history of a teacher within the rural and urban contexts of the cundi-boyacense region of Colombia during a historic period of violence following 1948, and especially during the transitional period of the Frente Nacional or National Front (1958-1974). From this perspective, the study is located in a Liberal family that was displaced from the town of Yacopi. It highlights the life history of a woman who grew up within established social parameters and functions that relegated her to the home, to be a "good housewife", cloaked by the name of "domestic professional". Her family was typical of the patriarchal tradition, where obedience was important. Nevertheless, the political fact of the "bogotonazo" of 1948, with its consequent displacements, led her, the woman of the study, to take on the role of a rural teacher in vulnerable contexts in Boyacá, and thus to suffer social and academic exclusion and political persecution. The impact of her educational performance in rural environments is outlined. We acknowledge that important research on rural³ schools in Latin America⁴ and on women in Colombia⁵ has already been done. With regard to these women, however, studies are mostly oriented towards "the role that they play at home, in society, work, culture and politics⁶" but they rarely deal with the rural teacher in this country⁷..

The theme of this study is grounded in the difference between the urban and the rural as spaces that determine cultural, political, religious, and economic behaviours as they are found in the everyday economy. The story of life⁸ and family is captured, described and

³See studies on the rurality and the rural school in: Ortega de Alarcón, "*La Educación Rural y la Educación Fundamental en Colombia. Centro Regional de Educación Fundamental para la América Latina*". (Http 1955: // www.crefal.edu.mx/biblioteca_digital/coleccion_crefal/tesis/alarcon_ortega. de. March 16, 2012; Ligia Angulo H, David Morera H, and Nancy Torres V, "Modelo y práctica pedagógica en la escuela rural unidocente y multigrado centroamericana: condiciones, limitaciones y potencialidades", in Central American Magazine of Education. Http: // www.ceducar.info/OJS. On (March 16, 2012); Maria Ramirez G and Juana Téllez C, "*La educación primaria y secundaria en Colombia en el siglo XX*". Http: // www.banrep.gov.co/docum/ftp/borra379.pdf; Josué Ramon Suárez, "*Historia y sentido de la escuela rural. De la escuela unitaria a la educación media. 1960-2005*" (Doctoral Thesis in Doctorate in Sciences of the Education, Pedagogic and Technological University of Colombia-RUDECOLOMBIA, 2006). Alba Nidia Triana, "*Historia de la educación rural en Colombia. 1946-1994*" (Doctoral Thesis. Conferred a doctor's degree on Sciences of the Education, Universidad Pedagógica Y Tecnológica de Colombia-RUDECOLOMBIA, 2010).

⁴ And others , M. TEUBAL, "Globalización y nueva Ruralidad en América Latina", in *Una Nueva Ruralidad en América Latina* (Bogotá: Uniandes, 2005); Christopher Wulf, "*¿Cómo adquiere sentido la Escuela? Encuentros Pedagógicos Transculturales*" (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, Faculty of Education, 2001).

⁵ See a wide bibliography outlined in Ana Hamon's thesis, *Ingreso de la mujer docente a la UPTC 1961-1980* (Doctoral Thesis in Doctorate in Sciences of the Education, Pedagogic and Technological University of Colombia-RUDECOLOMBIA, 2010); Mabel Bellucci, *MUJERES en la educación: género y docencia en Argentina: 1870-1930*. (Buenos Aires, 1997); Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Goodson Ivor, *Historias de vida del Profesorado* (Barcelona: Octaedro editorial, 2004) 0; [Goodson Ivor, *Histories of life of the Professorship* (Barcelona: publishing Octahedron, 2004)]; Elizabeth King, "Educating girls and women: investment in development" (*Washington: World Bank, 1990*); Gabriela Mistral, "white Clouds (poetry(poems)) and the prayer(sentence) of teacher" (*Barcelona: Publishing house(Editorial) B. Bauza, 1941*); P Woods, "Life Histories and Teacher knowledges, in educating teachers; changing the nature of pedagogical knowledges" (*London, Philadelphia and New York, FALMER, 1987*).

⁶ Hamon, "*Ingreso de la mujer*", 15.

⁷ Excepting these two books from de Myriam Stella Ferro, "*Mi vida. Historia de la vida de una maestra rural colombiana*" (Bogotá: Editorial Guadalupe, 1978); Liria Pérez Peláez, "*La educadora de primaria: auto percepción de sus roles como maestra y mujer*" (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia-Facultad de Educación, 1990), 98.

⁸The history of life, the personal experience of an informant is focused, she has the character of an oral history with biographical approach. V. Córdova, "*Historias de Vida. Una metodología alternativa para Ciencias Sociales*" "*Historia de vida.*" (Buenos Aires, *Centro Editor de América Latina*, 1979); Domingo Bolívar y *Rev. hist.edu.latinoam - Vol. 14 No. 18, enero – junio 2012 - ISSN (versión online) 2256 – 5248 - pp. 211 – 242*

interpreted in a socio-political context, which emphasizes the change of customs and mental structures in adaptation to new local and political scenarios, this being one of the most important objectives of this study.

Given the above, the question that guides our discussion of the life-history of the teacher focuses on: What were the family factors and changes in urban and rural environments that influenced the capacity for adaptation and leadership of this teacher in the rural area of Boyacá, as it was shaped by the impact of political violence from 1948 to 1974?

The theoretical framework of the research draws on the methodology of social history research from a socio-political perspective and mindset. This includes the collective imagination⁹ and the public history of everyday life. Also, the study of the daily life of the teacher, along with analysis of the physical spaces of rural and urban households, show us cultural and social attitudes that are related to the authority.

We should note that the methodology of life-history provided us with our procedures, forms of classification and organization of the information. The construction of the biography was established from her personal life. Likewise, we might add that social imagination turned into a category of essential analysis. Even more, the insider-knowledge of the recovery of rural and urban culture, in which the teacher played a part, was an element that allowed her to know the factors that helped and complicated the way she adapted and lead as educator. We can consider this study to lie within the historiographic trend of re-interpreting the role of women, and in this case, of a teacher in a rural context, in the period of study in Colombia.

The variables of the study focused on the comparative analysis of the first stage, of urban experience, up to 23 years of age in Cundinamarca, with the second stage, of rural experience working as a teacher in the rural area of Boyacá, until the age of 54, when the teacher finishes her work in this department. We should note that the rural and urban in the life-history of the teacher belongs to the variables of analysis, where the physical places of

Fernández, “*La Investigación Biográfica Narrativa en Educación. Enfoque y Metodología*” (Madrid: Editorial La Muralla, S.A, 2001).

⁹The *social imaginary* is a concept created by the Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis, used in social sciences to designate the social representations personified in his institutions. Daniel Cabrera, indicates that "the imaginary one is constituted in a category of interpretation for the beliefs and collective images. There turns into the space of " construction of collective identities like turn, *social imaginary and to be thought like the social imaginary, communication and collective identity*. University of Navarre. Consulted in Wikipedia, on October 20th, 2010. Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities" (London: Verso, 1983);); Cornelius Castoriadis, " The imaginary institution of the Company(Society) ", in *The Fragmented world*, (Barcelona, Buenos Aires: Tusquets Editores, 1990), Gilbert Durand, " *Lo imaginario* " (Barcelona: Ediciones de Bronze, 1994); Paul du Gay, “*Cuestiones de identidad cultural*” (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1996).

¹⁰ Mentioned for “Las memorias y testimonios ofrecidos no significan rehacer cada evento tal cual ocurrió, sino que son producto de los relatos y recuerdos que se han de comunicar de manera oral y/o presentando evidencia no de los hechos como tal, sino de situaciones que nos aproximarán al mismo”. Jose Viloria Asención, “La educación y la escuela en Venezuela” en *Una Historia de Vida*, eds. Gilberto Picón Medina (Caracas: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Pedagógica Experimental Libertador, 1997), 25.

buildings, food, clothing, myths, legends, family structure, secondary and primary schools, travels, businesses, church, parties and celebrations are studied. The strategies used focused on the primary sources of information, through oral history interviews¹⁰ with the teacher, daughter, grandchildren, nephews, relatives, friends and graduates. Family files of personal documents, along with images centred on photos, brochures, diplomas and legal papers, were also used. The historical sense that was achieved in the research invites us to re-think the adjustment processes and social, economic and cultural transformations that concerned a group of families displaced by the violence.

We conclude, first, that in the period of study, rural ways of everyday custom, food and construction methods changed under the influence of the urban. In the same way, changes of dress became apparent, along with an opening with regard to the social function of women. Second, the forced displacements brought changes in socio-economic relations in both rural and urban contexts, where education was the main element of socio-economic improvement in the case of the family studied. Third, the scars of violence were present in the teacher, who showed a great capacity for adaptation as she developed educational activities in her rural schools. Fourth, the policies of the state in this period did not help transform the unitary school in the rural sector.

1. The urban and the rural, in contrast to the life history of the teacher.

The first analysis focuses on inquire with a sort of comparison, in the time, the rural¹¹ and the urban, since the regard of the political violence of the fifties, in Colombia, through life stories woven together in the family history in the middle of realities and imaginaries¹², which transformed mental structures, social, cultural and educational and they are reflected in the comparison in the teaching performance of the rural teacher of our study. This study focuses on the period from 1948 to 1974¹³.

We started the period of the study with the event called "bogotazo", caused by the assassination of the liberal political leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, on April 9th of 1948,

¹¹ We assume the rural thing with the concept of the First Seminar of Seminario de Escuelas Normales Rurales Normal Rural Schools for Center America and Panama in Tegucigalpa in September, 1957 " The ruralidad is a complex fact determined by factors of nature geographically, economically, socially and culturally that, as natural environment, define the forms of life of groups of population of low density. It is characterized by the direct contact of the man by the nature, in the utilization of its resources, of preference in the agricultural occupations; the dispersion of the population or his(her,your) concentration in small groups, the limited application of scientific technologies in the work, the frequent insufficiency of public services, the predominance of personal contacts in the human relations; the relative isolation of the groups and the predominant force of the traditions and peculiar forms of the culture ", See in: Alba Nidia Triana. "*La educación rural en Colombia: de la contrarreforma conservadora al Frente Nacional*" (Tunja: Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia-RUDECOLOMBIA, 2008), 22-23.

¹²We assume in this study the social imaginary one as the category of analysis recognized as a group, in its political ideology, in a certain place and the individual imaginary like the teacher perceives in this local context of the politician collective imaginary.

¹³ The period of the study was framed under politics facts.

during the Government of Mariano Ospina Pérez¹⁴, this incident changes the lives of the Colombian citizens and particularly for some persons, for instance, people from Yacopí, Cundinamarca. In December 6 of 1952 this region was burned and bombed for the third time in its history. We finished the period of the study in 1974 when the Covenant of the National Front finishes. However, it is necessary to know some elements until 1980 when the teacher concluded its 27 years of life in Boyacá, and of these, 25 in the rural Magisterium.

It is necessary to emphasize that in the period from 1950 to 1970 the rural population comes down from 59% to 42% related to the phenomenon of the forced displacement, it means, inhabitants from the country to the villages and towns to the cities. It was a question, according to the interviewees, for saving lives and managing in order to obtain worthy life¹⁵ conditions. There is still another consideration; it is that the population in Colombia doubled during those twenty years. It was going from a total population of 12,568,000 in 1950, to a population of 22,560,539 in 1970¹⁶. But we emphasized in the fact that in 1950, taking the 59% of the population in the rural sector, there was still only 30% of rural schools, with the 7.5 % of roll¹⁷, and 66% of teachers without diploma¹⁸. What is relevant, is that there were significant changes between rural and urban, especially in the period of study, especially, the transformation in the property, joining to an educational system that is moving towards new ways of industrial production. But, especially the influence of the mass media and the tendency towards the society of the consumption¹⁹.

The previous description of population and the enrolment in rural schools, represents the historical setting of the displaced educator performance. However, it is important to say, the imaginary that handle the interviewees about rural and urban aspects. In this sense, we must indicate that the term used by the interviewed is "country", hamlet, village, town and city. In the first concept, the country means for them to live outside the 'town' (urban) and its inhabitants have different living conditions to the town. In the teacher's words: 'backwardness, without education, and too many needs'²⁰. She said this nowadays, time after she has lived the experience of rural teacher, but that idea is different from the idea in the past when the area was the place of the 'walk' and get in touch with nature, in the region of Yacopí. But, we know well, that the fundamental characteristic of the field is given by the land tenure that is going to determine social relations and authority. So, the socio-economic relationships in a sidewalk with livestock latifundium were very different from another smallholding with small-scale production of "bread of the journey"²¹. In Yacopí, where this teacher was from, the forms of land tenure were

¹⁴ The government of Mariano Ospina Pérez from 1946 to 1950.

¹⁵ In 1951 the non literate people statistics was of 37,7%. In 1978 crossed to the 16.8%, in 2000 to 8,1%. Source: 50 years of Educational Statistics, DANE. *Cálculos de la Misión Social* (Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 1981); Proyección 2003; Cálculos GRECO; Banco de la República.

¹⁶ It contrasts with the population in 2010 that was corresponding to 49.665,343 with 22 % of rural population. [Http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/4/7394/LCG2140_Tabgenerales.pdf](http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/4/7394/LCG2140_Tabgenerales.pdf) (March 24, 2011).

¹⁷ In 1976 it increases 17 %. The inscription in the rural schools.

¹⁸ María Teresa Ramirez G and Juana Téllez C, " The primary and secondary education in Colombia in the 20th century " (Colombia: 2006), 32..

¹⁹ Pilar Gonzalbo, "*Vida cotidiana*" (México: Colegio de México, 2006), 80.

²⁰ Interview to teacher Arango, Amparo, Fusagasugá, May 20th of 2012.

²¹ Idiom used to mention the basic growing up of sustainability of a family. Sometimes, with a small excedent to sell it.

interspersed. This is a region in the middle of the mountains, with a perfect high in order to cultivate coffee, it was plenty of water and pasture for livestock. Amparo's father's farm was used to livestock and stood on the vereda of Alto Seco, seven hours on horseback from Yacopí. Interviewees commented that the butler send them Yucca, bananas and fruits but neither Amparo, nor her sisters travelled to this place.

Until this moment the period of the 50s in Colombia had a rural production for the market. The largest percentage of the population lived in conditions of socio-educational exclusion and with the "Bogotazo" gave an emigration by different sectors of the country. This emigrant population was found with a few different life conditions in the city. In the case teacher's family, who emigrated to Bogotá, we believe, that they achieved the adaptation because family relations grew up and joined under the slogan of "to go out forward".

2. From the house made of bahareque with a roof of palmicha to the house of adobe and brick with zink ceiling

In general, one agrees, that the country represents exclusion and marginality, showed in: lack of sewer, aqueduct, sanitary services, electricity, telephone, health services, impassable ways. It is necessary to add the precariousness of their houses, garment and access to education. Nevertheless, there is the difference between a rural house of a peasant of the smallholding and one of the boss, when this she inhabits with her family in the country. As it is indicated by the historian Pilar Gonzalbo, "the house is the area of the intimacy; juridically it is the personal address; politically it is an enclosure with rights and obligations and privileges"²². Without doubt the rural house like the urban one, reveals a social stratum, a culture and ways of family behavior related to their customs " different practices of conviviality and sociableness "²³.

A rural house in the rural area of Yacopí, described by Víctor Manuel Murcia Camargo²⁴, who was builder in that moment, he showed us that the houses in the country were constructed in bahareque²⁵. There is no base in the foundations of the house. Only the one that carries out the columns and, other the shelves. In the moment of the rafter it would determine if the ceiling could be of one water or two waters. Most of the houses were done in two waters, it means, two water falls in the cover. That is to say, the roof is divided by

²² Gonzalbo, "*Vida cotidiana*", 186

²³ Gonzalbo, "*Vida cotidiana*", 188

²⁴ Víctor was from La Palma, he was born in 1923. He married Rosa Helena Triana de Bustos, She was from Yacopí, she was classmate of the college of Santa Teresa de La Protección (1926-) the teacher of our study. She interviews Víctor Murcia, in Fusagasugá, on August 26, 2012.

²⁵ The bahareque, constructive system with cane or small mat of guadua that was interlacing and one was giving consistency and reinforcement with a mixing of land and of horse's dung that was like the mortar of cement and current sand. She interviews Víctor Murcia, April 9, 2011 and August 12 and 26, 2012, He was 83 years and he was in full mental smartnes.

²⁶ The palmicha or palm Iraca is a palm. The leaves of great diameter were left to dry and these were placed on studdings of wood or bahareque, these were organized in order to cover or ceiling the houses.

²⁷ The Excrement of horse was the one that was serving. It was putting to dry. It was placing in a hollow. it was trodden up to flour turning it. Then there was re-becoming of yellow, clayey land, which was that of the anthills and of there a special mixture was going out for covering. She interviews Víctor Murcia. Fusagasugá, on August 26, 2012.

the half and beam by wood then to place the tile of zinc or the palmicha²⁶. The floor was made of land trodden, only the houses of the richest might take wood in the floor. Finally, we went to the coat work of fine plaster in the walls and ceilings in homes of the 'richests'. It was cement with a mixture of earth and horse's excrement²⁷. For sleeping, the beds were built on the ground floor nailing four wooden stakes and then with planks. Above these planks there is a mat called junco²⁸. This rush was for the mattress.

Furthermore, In order to sleep the rooms were built in the kitchen, which could be closed "for avoiding the animals". The fire place was high and it was built with mud. Three stones were placed to cook with wood. Above the fireplace was located a rope for smoking the meat. The wealthier homes had a room to store the implements and the dry corn. In addition, the stove was made of iron and had oven to roast the arepas.

The houses were built near a reservoir or water. Or it was an activity in order to look for the potable water to the source called "ojo de agua". The laundry was done on a rock in the creek. We shouldn't forget that, in general, there was no bathroom or toilet. Victor tells us that 'to the body under the coffee. So the chicken and eggs were peasant food.' They would go out to do their 'physiological needs' or these were made in the "vacenilla,"²⁹ which was used at night and then through in the morning. It must be said, that this object was a sanitary element with a bowl and a pitcher to bathe the face and hands in the morning. Those elements were used by the head of the house, it means the father.

There was a courtyard with the "botalón" to tie the beasts and cattle³⁰, always there was a solar, which gave him back to the house, for home garden. The houses were separated by considerable distances depending on the size of the farms. In general, all the houses had its orchard of "bread take" with the bushes of plantain, yucca, corn, some hens for eggs and the dog that warms for the arrival of a visitor. The water was bringing from the closer river or source. The rich people had a pool of cement. The body shower was done in the well or the stream with "totumadas" with coups.

On the other hand, people's house had sociability spaces. There was a place for enjoying visits and other for the dining room different from the kitchen where the employees were eating. Perhaps Dr. Arango's house shows a more detailed way the sociability of this family of Yacopí.

At that time, the main houses were located in the central square where the church was. Yacopí comprised approximately 16 blocks and a few houses around the driveway and out of town³¹. The houses had platforms in cement and eaves into the street. In the annex map, done by the architect Euclides Arango we can locate teacher's maternal grandparents' house next to the Municipal House. Then Dr. Arango's with a pharmacy and a grocery store³².

²⁸Junco is a palm which dry leaves are gathered and are organized in braids to train a compact mesh that would be a small mat.

²⁹ Interview to Murcia, Víctor, Fusagasugá, August 26 of 2012.

³⁰ Post of wood to tie the cattle and the horses.

³¹ They calculate the interviewed ones that would not happen from 500 inhabitants.

³² Store where there were elements of construction and miscellany.

The people did not have basic of water, electricity and other services; they had built rain waters services though. The streets were on the ground but the platforms in cement.

However, it should be mentioned that the village had a large central square³³ with two of three trees and one of pomarroso pacifiers. The church square with a large atrium above the plaza level, with handrails on concrete balusters that filled one side with the rectory, built of brick and cement, the leading families' houses, in terms of the respondents were of 'jai'.

The market was carried out in the main square and in the plazuela: on Sundays the main one and on secondary Thursday, the first. The trade was in the center of the city, in the main square. Two drugstores were: Dr. Arango's³⁴ and Téllez'; The Chica's store, the store of the only conservative Chacón of the village. The store of fabrics contiguous to the house of the Chacón. Most of the time behind a big house in a corner was meeting on the plazuela. There was located the telegraph that was working with "big batteries".

In general, the people of the town of Yacopí had to bring the water from the "royal well"³⁵ "The yards of the houses had orange trees, bananas and coffee trees. Those from "jai" from the village, they all had estate in the field³⁶ with cattle, cultures of banana and coffee. These families were counting minimum with three employees of domestic service. Services for the kitchen, the bathroom and the children's "grandma"³⁷. In Yacopí only there were two radios: Don Pacho Rueda's one who turned it on every night in his store and the people went for hearing the news. Other one, Daniel Infante's, it was of his private use.

The first car should have come in 1947. Mr. Tontini, an Italian brought it, who was receiving five cents from every person who wanted to be mounted and to give the return to the square. In the same year the buses from Rionegro came and a little bit later the Fleet La Palma did the Yacopí's distance, La Palma, Pacho, Zipaquirá and Bogotá. Same, they did presence in the village the combined cars that were calling them compounds. It means, the half for passengers and the part of behind for the load. The newspaper was coming to the village every day. This business was, in the beginning, under the administration of two Amparo's brothers. First, the correspondent was Luis and later he continues with this sale Manuel Antonio. On weekdays it was selling 30 copies and every Sunday could come near to 50. Among the mass media the telegraph was the most common. In that place Emira worked, Amapro's sister, in 1948 with a salary of 50 Pesos per month.

Perhaps the most notable difference between rural social stratum, at home of 'a daily worker', it does not have a well, pond, cistern, kitchen with stove top iron, neither wood floor or ceiling, and of course no room for animals. In the field, the best dishes was material

³³ See the map attached of the city, did by the architect Euclid Arango in 2011 for this book. It is a recollection of the village of 1948.

³⁴ Enrique Arango Botero (1888-1946). For the Dr. Enrique Arango his pride was the being paisa as Euclid Jaramillo Arango indicates it soy eminentemente antioqueño. Como si una gata, como reza en el cuento inglés, pare en un horno lo que pare son gatos y no panes. Paisas los padres, paisas los hijos". Jaramillo Arango, Euclides. (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1980) 10.

³⁵ It corresponds to a great municipal tank located to the suburbs of the village.

³⁶ Dr. Arango's farm was "Alto seco" and it was seven hours of way.

³⁷ The "grandma" corresponds to the babysitting for Amparo it was a pleasure.

'pewter' and wooden spoons, clay pots for water and cooking the juice and aluminum. The visit was received in a hall of the house, under the houses' eaves, and they sit in chairs called "butacas".

3. From the people to the bridle path and rural footpath

It might say that the type of construction that we have described, with the respective customs of the farm, in this region of Cundinamarca was similar to the one that found Amparo on having assumed the teaching in the veredas of warm weather as it was in the region of Miraflores related to the veredas of Guamal and Suna Abajo. In the cold weathers such as Siachoque, Togui, Arcabuco Rondón, Tunjita it was changing the construction and the garment of the peasant. We must indicate that in the first two schools there were a building with only one classroom and a small room for the teacher. It was found with a construction of a lounge, and a room for the teacher.³⁸ In the third school, there was not a built place for the teaching functions. For this reason, She developed the classes in the house "Las Delicias" of the family Suarez Diaz who gave her an area to develop the teaching work. Anyway it should be borne in mind that in this house of Don Emeterio and Doña Carmen, she received accommodation. Here the teacher, lived with four children in the family two women and two men. It was used at that time, to have a lady who helped the house jobs, and family who 'never missed'. The house had three rooms in a row. Precisely, Amparo shared a room with women. Additionally, there was room for teaching, which had wooden floor. And, a room for the barn and the 'tools' and the kitchen floor. Whole house built in adobe and tapia tread, with clay tile roof and eaves. River "pomeca" passed a hundred metres and people took a bath and washing clothes on a stone. La "loza"³⁹ or dishes were placed in a "bowl" of wood and washed in the kitchen. There was no pool. The water for cooking was loaded in "pots". There was a toilet in this house, this was a big difference, as we have indicated, a house of owners with high economic⁴⁰ means diferente from the common people houses. These facts we have described happened around 1955, in the school 'Alcaparroca', in the village of Peñas Blancas, Arcabuco Township. Precisely in that year received a salary of 130 pesos, she received in bottles of liquor in tight. We can't forget that Colombia is a country where education is financed 'through' taxes of the lottery, the beer and national liquors⁴¹.

But perhaps it is in the sidewalk of Guamal, where we can establish the experiences of the life history of teacher Amparo, in order to differentiate the concepts from urban to rural adaptation through it. The teacher will be re-start every year in the month of January. In

³⁸She starts the educational performance as rural teacher on March 10, 1953, in the candidate's category, with 85 weight, in the school of "Tocavita in Siachoque, conservative village. On the following year on January 21 she begins educational activity in the School of "Gachanzuca" in Togui, conservative town, with a salary of 100 pesos.

³⁹He was named to the china that almost always was of a material named pewter.

⁴⁰Interviews to Pacheco, William, Tunja, on August 24, 2012. Godson of Doña Carmen, who lived in this house.

⁴¹The Decree 2838 of September 25, 1938 established 2 % of the tax to the lotteries to finance the education. In the same sense it the Law ratifies it 1 of 1961. But during the government of the General Rojas Pinilla in the year 1955 he sent the Legislative Decree 2956, where in the article 8 established 1 weight of tax to every bottle of liquor revealed in Colombia. This regulation continued legislating in 1963 with the Decree - law 3288; 1966 Statutory order 1595; in 1968 with the Law 33.

this month they showed them to the teachers, in the Department Education of Boyacá, where it would be her next place of work. This time in her document will indicate a transfer and should take ownership in the town of Miraflores. It must be said that last year she had worked at the Rural School Jenetano Rodríguez, an hour away from the town, and as stated by this move was due to 'pure passion' as a supervisor not for 'giving favors'⁴². The point is that she is heading to the town of Miraflores. According to liberal, and that was at seven or eight hours away from the city of Tunja, capital of the Department of Boyacá.

The trip was made by bus from Tunja to Miraflores, by a bad road, one-way, which presented mostly in landslides and winter seasons became impassable because buses could not cross the streams. Travel times could range from 7 to 12. There, in the town of Miraflores, took possession of the office before the Mayor on January 21, 1959. The salary for that year would be of 200 pesos per month. The teacher, as was the custom also was presented to the parish priest that she directed in the obligation to attend the celebrations of the religious festivals.

For her, it was good news to arrive to a liberal town, but she has never imagined that her 'rural school of Guamal' was three days' journey walking from the town. However, with a positive thought states that the distance was 'a good thing because any supervisor would control her life.' Then as a new foreigner in the town comes to a home, where she lived with the girls of the family, they gave her "posada" and food. They also showed her the store and the Market where as a customer could become a pre-eminence and could "have credit". In general in Miraflores, in stores and warehouses of the town. It might then be obvious this situation because these employees have a fixed salary, sometimes late but it always came.

Since we have indicated, the school was three days away. One way was named by them as "horse-shoe" it was with trails that with the rains were almost impossible to cross. Amparo initiated her trip with the basic elements that she could take loaded in a "bag" of fabric. She gave to her daughter a small "talego" with a few candies and of lollypops for the way. It demonstrates, that she did not give her daughter more, because for her "it was enough with that, she was defending itself of not remaining buried in the clay-pit". The basic elements that she was taking were: "a shed of clothes, a sheet, a notebook, pencil, bread of wheat to give and the "comiso"⁴³ for the trip".

The teacher remembers this first day as something traumatic. She tells us that a gentleman who passed in a horse gave her 5 pesos when he saw the conditions when she was crossing that road with her daughter. Nevertheless, the way made it pleasant for her daughter teaching her to catch the "caña brava", one was chewing and going out which stem a sweet and sour liquid that was consumed instead of water. In addition, "there were abundant the guavas and a few flowers that also were calming the thirst". To the dusk they arrived to the Rodríguez'

⁴² One hands with the Resolution 002 of January 19, 1959 with a salary over 200 pesos. Labor with girls. School restaurant. Boarding school for children of distant view. Luis Alberto In this year he was A President Alberto Lleras Camargo; Governor of Boyacá, Luis M. Gonzalez; Secretary of Education Maria Martínez Guanín. In this path it she is from January 21, 1959 to December 25, 1960; on January 21, 1960 she hands for the second year in the School Guamal with a salary over 300 pesos;

⁴³ The comiso is a bag, probably guarding the proportions it would be the current haversacks.

house. She was recommended by Miraflores' family and they gave to them the night's sleep and aguepanela with arepa for the dinner. It is clear; the teacher took of gift bread of wheat that was very well received. At night, they spent it on the mat and in a bed, as it has been described, of four stakes fixed in the floor.

With the rooster's singing at four o'clock in the morning they started the journey in order to avoid the sun crossing the mountain. As they said, it had to travel to the edge of a small way, beside it there were dangerous cliffs and also robbery to the travelers. Furthermore, it was said that there there were a few caves where the godos were hidden to kill the liberal ones. For this reason it was lucky to find other travelers and to make a caravan. They worked out very early with a burning "candle"⁴⁴ and with a box of matches. But they were aware that that candle was not used because the wind turned it off. So, without light, as a means to brighten up the road they caught the abundants glow-worms of the area. In fact, with these small animals, perhaps they imagined it would be enough to see the road which was also accompanied by glow-flies⁴⁵ trying to count before the fleeting light disappeared.

The teacher failed to verify that the comments about the difficulty of this road were totally real. But she forgot that the Caravan can do when takes small children because they can not keep adults steps. Among small bet that was with her daughter, for arriving to a tree and then resting she advanced in this way on the road and in the evening came to the hamlet of Paez.

On arriving at this small village, without meetings, she went to the church's house, where the priest recommended them a home for the night. Next day, after a swim in the pool and the breakfast, the teacher went to the church's house to receive guidelines for mandatory dates, when she should come with children to the village, to celebrate religious and national holidays.

On the other hand, one cannot forget the mechanism that was used to take the basic elements to the school. In the village there were the "carriers" who was paid and carried on donkeys the fret. The teacher Amparo had hired the muleteer in Miraflores. This man lead their objects later than in a month, when to achieve other customers for market or tools to Paez. In Páez she left recruited another muleteer, who made the trip to the vereda de Guamal. Her luggage was fiddling 'clothing, a blanket, aluminum pots and silverware, pewter ware and academic books⁴⁶.' Therefore, until you reach all your personal belongings should get to borrow.

The most dangerous thing is focused in the step of the Upia river which was performed in basket, because there was not a bridge, but the essential thing was to bring a stick to support in step a foot of the ravines and to defend themselves from the poisonus snakes.

⁴⁴ In Colombia it is called the esperma to the candles. These are made of pork and the fil was made of cotton. Other candles more expensive were made of parafina. Interviews to Murcia, Víctor and Arango, Amparo, Fusagasugá, August 26 of 2012.

⁴⁵ The difference between cocotu and glow-flies is that the cocuyo is bigger than fireflies, like a beetle and it is light on permanent. The firefly is an insect who has intermitent back light.

⁴⁶ Interview to Arango, Amparo, Fusagasugá, January 6 of 2009.

This trip was under the appearing to people as the new teacher of Guamal. Before arriving at the school upon arrival to a neighboring house where asked to borrow the treadmill, a pot, a olla, cutlery and a machete. But the most important new, on this tour, is the first impression that she took of the parents. This is a memory of a great affection and gratitude toward the family of the neighbors of her school. It shows that, this family was always with her on the school and already it was well cleaned because the “voices in the field are more rapid than the hare”⁴⁷. The teacher had come and they were saying that it was a God blessing who had ordered her to free them. It is necessary to note down that the footpath of Guamal remembered the teacher to her native region. A warm weather in grassland, sowings of yucca, banana, corn and cane in some farms. Its inhabitants, all colonists 'machete' had felled forests built their houses and small gardens of 'everyday food' and some had achieved more hectares destined for cattle grazing. She says, that a good number of peasants were still documents land ownership. The next day, the reception was 'so high.' She says that 'from early came especially mothers, all with baskets containing dough, yucca, plantain, corn cobs, corn, yams, meat, potatoes, sugarcane, milk bottle and up to two hens'⁴⁸. 'Food never missed but the basic to live as a “high” child did not exist.

As noted, had taken possession of the office on January 21 of that year 1959, and there he was at school at the end of the month, set to begin operations in early February. We believe that perhaps she helped the suit, this rural, the fact come from a liberal town and that this work was the only economic solution to their displacement and from this perspective was the means of survival for herself and her young daughter. We think however, that its ability to adapt herself sums up 'on a brave face.'

Moreover, the school was homeless and therefore not currently have 'to beg the inn.' The school was built in adobe with zinc shingles. A room with windows, which was devoted to the classroom. There was located the teacher's room with double four stakes. The entire ground floor. Moreover, the school was homeless and therefore not currently have 'to beg the inn.' The school was built in adobe with zinc shingles. A big room with windows, which was devoted to the classroom. Here was located the teacher's room with double four stakes. The whole ground floor.

The last stage of Páez to the sidewalk of Guamal was another day on the way. The sidewalk of Guamal, began turning the Upia river and came to the mountain peak. The school was perhaps half-way between these two boundaries. It can be said that in order to get to school, on this sidewalk in Guamal similar buildings were located in Adobe with roofs palmicha and/or zinc and the ground floor. The beds were on the floor, similar to those described in the field of Yacopí... That is, with stakes on the floor of earth and covered with boards on which stood the rush mat. This was the bed of the teacher Amparo in this footpath. The same system in the village of Miraflores where, then she rent a room, in Miss Rosita's house, when she was coming to this town every six months to receive her salary. Undoubtedly it was surprising the beds of her house in Yacopí, where according to her and his brothers, the best carpenter of the region existed and they remember Mr. Márquez who made all the furniture of the house.

⁴⁷ It means that she was very well received.

⁴⁸ Interview to Arango, Amparo, Bogotá, January 6 of 2009.

4. No hungry, but lack of money to buy groceries.

The food determines the social strata in the countryside and in the city. We could say that there are a few basic foods but milk and meat sets the difference. In the village of Yacopí, as on the sidewalks where Amparo worked in Boyacá, hunger was not present. Perhaps in the families of the workers there was not a good nutrition. Mortality due to malnutrition either. However, the ordinary arising were endemic diseases, viruses, and parasites attacking especially to children and of course there were children deaths. As one might expect, there were no days of vaccination for children in the fields, while to towns it arrived sometimes, the vaccine for smallpox, and measles. In fact, an activity of the teacher was to ensure the vaccination of their children, bringing them to the people to the health post. However, moving a few children, due to the distances. Of course, she does not remember that she had been in these two years any day of vaccination, to their village of Guamal.

Amparo's diet in Yacopi was: potato broth with meat or egg; a bowl of milk with "bread of two"⁴⁹ and roasted. We discussed in the interviews that their brothers, gave them chocolate or coffee⁵⁰ with milk. They had average meals that consisted of panela water with milk, bread and a fruit. Lunch, almost always stew with meat, rice and banana and panela water with milk. The brunch, repeated from the average meal. Dinner was repeated about lunch and to bedtime is taking a cup of chocolate with bread. Her said that the most important food was the chocolate and it helped the intelligence.

In the rural area of Guamal, families of lower income of employees, used the products of the land for the daily sustenance. On the contrary, hens and eggs should be stored for sale or to establish trade with the market of the village shop. In general, the diet was simple and repetitive. The feeding in the field started with breakfast, to the children always with water with panela or with milk, a coffee with the roasted corn or arepa. Also, it was stated the difference: the broth of pope. She added meat or egg when it was. Lunch, a sancocho. This is a kind of soup that comes in a large pot with water, the following items: yucca, arracacha, yam, banana green, pope and cob. They added meat or egg with its shell. Only on special moments they added chicken to the sancocho. We must say that the maize in Boyaca is a food prepared in different ways. When this soft is used the cob and roast in the sancocho. When it is dry it is "toast," grind it and pulled out a flour that is used in soups of salt and sweet. The pope is more used in the area near the capital, the city of Tunja. Men, on the day of daily work, wore the scum in a container of 'El Totumo'⁵¹. Lunch was kept⁵² in the cold meats and at night they returned to the dinner that ranged from sancocho, with agua de panela with bananas.

We could say that the 'little egg' what their children ate roasted banana and brown sugar water with milk in rural areas. In the garden of 'catch pan' was always something to 'take the

⁴⁹ Its name was because it costs two cents.

⁵⁰ The coffee was a mixture of panela and water and coffee, it was cooked. Then it was clear up and then it was served.

⁵¹ Drinking prepared with sugar cane juice. It was fermented in mud pots.

⁵² It was with platano's leaves passing by the fire and then the food, with rice, arroz, plátano, yuca, potatoes and meat.

pot.' However, the teacher says, that several of their villages, where she worked, the eggs were collected to get them out on Sunday to the 'marketplace' or sold in the shops of the town, where they made the trade for the 'market Shop'. And often, the exchange took place in the same village.

Precisely because of this situation the teacher felt that there were 'well-nourished children' and to the distance of the school house, located from three hours away, it started in 1959 the school restaurant in the village of Guamal. They organized a big pot where everything that children brought were included. Carrying meat, given its piece, but it says that the "substance was in the stew and served him all the children". Likewise, began the school orchard with the planting of cassava and corn in the lot that had the school. The school restaurant is supplied from this orchard. Also, chickens and eggs were for their consumption and children bringing even a "small egg". She says that at the entrance to the kitchen had a basket and this was the "basket of his dad," because it was always filled with clutter. It is important that the banana was a staple food. The green banana cut in slices and it was allowed to dry out in the sun. It was milled and with this flour was preparing the soup of salt or sweet. To this one was added milk. The poorest families in the field, did not have money to buy basic foodstuffs in the village store such as: rice, salt, sugar, brown sugar, sperm and the matches⁵³. I should say that, this time the pork lard was used for meals, for preparing a kind of lighting with a wick that we have already described above. It is remembered that in the Lord's house had a moral petroleum lamp and a battery-operated radio. On the other hand, the articles, as the fabrics for the clothing⁵⁴, shoes, the shoes for the children were bought when it was achieved, the savings of the eggs and the milk being sold.

We need to know that in 1950, the wages of a laborer, helper in construction earned 4 pesos per week in Yacopi and La Palma and it was included the food. It means, 16 pesos per month. Víctor mentions to us that he was doing the market for his dad's farm. It was loading a mule with two bundles and everything was costing him 5 pesos⁵⁵. The difference of salary was high in relation the one that was received in the capital of the country in Bogota. In Víctor's case, he was displaced in 1953 to Bogota, he worked at the only thing he could do: construction. There, in the capital he received a salary of 20 pesos per week. It means, 80 pesos per week, almost the same to what teacher Amparo earned in her first year of work in 1953⁵⁶. We might add that the builder Victor Murcia, paid a room of 30 pesos per month and the rest for food and the expenses of her family. At that time Mr Murcia held his wife with two children. He was one of many unadapted residents in the capital and soon he had the opportunity to return to the village, he did it, however, then he went again to another town in 1960⁵⁷.

⁵³ When it was finished the stockage of the mill.

⁵⁴ Clothing always was hand made.

⁵⁵ Nine years later in the way of Miraflores to Guamal a mangave them five pesos. The salary of Amparo in that year was 200 pesos.

⁵⁶ Teacher Amparo, in that first year of work, she was a rural teacher in Boyacá, in the category of candidate she earned 85 pesos in 1953. Archivo DSA, Fondo Maestras.

⁵⁷ In 1960, she moved to Fusagasugá, first she rent a house then she bought a lot then she sold it and then bought again, she started a successful business, that is what she does nowadays during her old age.

5. The transition of the " clean foot ", to the trades, the croydon shoe and the rubber boot

The farmer clothing in the sidewalk of Guamal consisted in a denim trousers and a shirt of "warm weather," but it was with the ruana for the evening, or for the trip to the mountain. Also, it was imperative the felt hat for the sun. But in the cold weather schools, such as Tunjita or Rondon, among others, where they used a wool ruana and a hat. The walking was common in 'clean feet'. At that time, people were used to wear espadrilles and straw hat, called 'jipa', the cheapest in Boyacá was 'pastuso'⁵⁸. Perhaps, hats and shoes were given the distinction of urban and rural citizens. The lord of the town with shoes and hat item named cloth and felt more 'fine' was the 'Borsalino'. Amparo, lived the clothing and footwear evolution. She says 'the farmer walked on clean feet however when they reached the village they wore the cotizas'⁵⁹ both men and women, but the latter they changed to sandals.

But, perhaps in this department, the clothing in the rural area had different characteristics. The woman was using skirt and smock and the girls a garment. For horseback riding, they used the zamarros and below a trousers". But what if it evolved was the skirt. These years women had to cover the leg to the ankle up to coming to the knee. The blouses were full of colors but the most elegant: the white. The teacher used clothing scooped, skirts and blouses of colors. But, in 1970s already used by the trousers as daily clothing.

Guamal and Tunjita school children, came "clean walk". She is washing the feet in the stream and put their cotizas (boys and girls) or espadrilles (girls). At that moment did not exist uniform. Children of short or long pants, his poncho and hat. Girls dress that reach mid-calf, knee down, a poncho and hat that covered the long hair that is combed in two braids. However, during holidays students should wear a uniform. Attending children could get the uniform and they were lucky that they had inherited from older brothers. Children, used black trousers and white shirt, shoes or cotizas'⁶⁰. Girls wore uniform, black and white blouse. With black shoes and white socks. The shoes were the same for boys and girls. There were long skirts. Perhaps, more evolved was the footwear in the 70s, when the island began in this region to the use of rubber boots or "swamp". It should also be emphasized the fact that the young people who went to the army, to the return that were no longer belonged to that site. Therefore, a good number were in the city, to find other job opportunities.

6. The patriarchal family, the godfathers, and the illegitimate children in the country and in the town.

The family structure was shaped under the rigid parental authority and strong religious cohesion. From this perspective, the couple was socially organized it was 'united in holy Catholic marriage indissoluble until death', having civil effects. Divorce in Colombia

⁵⁸ Names and classification for the hats given with the interviews of Ayala Poveda, Hernando, August 24 of 2012. Their parents had a business of hats and they sell them in Boyacá.

⁵⁹ The cotiza had rubber and a strong fabric on.

⁶⁰ The alpargata, was made of fique and it has rubber and cotton..

comes only from the constitution of 1991. This catholic wedding was indissoluble, it had already been questioned and was established by the Act of June 20, 1853, in Article 30, that 'marriage could be dissolved either by natural death of one of the couple or by divorce'. However, the possibility of divorce would only last three years, because it was repealed by Act of April 8, 1856 and its ban was reiterated by the Law of 15 April 1887.

We must remember that Catholic marriage was monogamous. In practice it was applied this monogamy to women but not to men. The man had his wife and official house of his family. This fact did not prevent having children to other women in the region. Henry Arango's family, Amparo's father had six children in his first marriage: four men and two women. And a girl who was "picked up" and who joined the family. Do not forget that these families had several employees who lived in the house: Placer and Concha were nannies; Eusebia in the kitchen; Also one for the toilet; one for the washing and ironing of clothes and a boy for commands. They all lived on the first floor of the house and ate in the dining room of the kitchen. From the second marriage arrived six children, but at the same time elders were becoming independent and daughter Olivia who is married when she was so young. The teacher of our study was four months after the death of his mother and between the nanny Placer and grandma Popa she goes ahead. She shared the house next to the father, with her grandmother however she has never stopped eating at her father's home. He repeated 'The family that eats and prays together stays together.' This was applied to the hours of breakfast, lunch and dinner where it was mandatory to be on the big table in the dining room, presided by his father Dr. Arango. Moreover, 'the doors closed and the interruption was not allowed by foreigners at mealtime'⁶¹.

As we noted before, Amparo's family turned around the father figure with a strong patriarchal authority⁶², who was respected, obeyed and worshiped. For all his children, he was a person who physically was characterized as 'tall with blue eyes like the sky.' Arango's sisters called him 'El Chamizo'. For him, women should only receive necessary education to be a good wife. The education provided in the village was enough. Then, they should learn how to sewing and cooking as a way to organize their new home. But in the case of Amparo who was a protected daughter because she was an orphan at such early age, he allowed her to attend small surgeries carried out at the office of his home of Yacopi⁶³, .

The matter is that, from this patriarchal perspective did not admit that his daughters came to Bogota or Pereira to study. Emira⁶⁴ says, that they were allowed to go only to walk, but never to study, because according to his father there "women just learned to use makeup". Therefore, this family of Yacopi, the father rejected the opportunity to continue her studies at La Palma or in Bogotá, as did her friends the Sanchez and the Alvarez. 'The College "Los Angeles" where they moved to where the girls went to study in Bogota , there was na internship and trade.' By contrast, the village of Ibama moved to the College of María Auxiliadora, of Soacha, where the teacher Andrea Linares studied. We show that after the death of Dr. Arango, daughter Mariela, was the first who went to Bogotá to

⁶¹ Interview to Arango, Mariela, december 17 of 2009.

⁶² Susy Bermúdez, "*Hijas, esposas y amantes*" (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 1994), 23. The terminology used patriarchal "has been used in diverse ways in the written related to the subordination of the women"

⁶³ Interview to Arango, Amparo, Bogotá , 6 January of 2009.

⁶⁴ Emira, Amparo's sister Amparo now she is 84 years with a smart mind.

perform trade studies. Comment the brothers of constitutional protection that this idea of the study was her mother, Elvira Linares.

The patriarchal mentality was the common denominator in the village and on the sidewalks where Amparo practiced her teaching in rural schools. So, that dialogue, related to girls' needs, studying she provided her with the "head of the family," perhaps Recalling that who took the decisions was the man as his father had done and then her husband. From this perspective, it is important to point out the work under development with the more affluent parents on the sidewalk of Guamal.

However, we could add that social relations to strengthen the friendship between families in the countryside as well as in the city, is constituted through the cronyism. When a new child was born the parents who thought it would be his godfather. The person selected for this role should be to whom had affection and respect. Without doubt it was a honor that made him the person chosen. He committed himself to one of his sons. The teacher Amparo, in the course of teaching performance was godmother to countless children. Who have had to give the dress for the christening. Then be aware of them.

The fact is known, that for this time, in a sidewalk the majority of the inhabitants retained some kind of relation in cronyism. But it must be said that this relationship was not enough strong to maintain the ties of friendship when she reached the period of political violence. There, the priority was the liberal party or the conservative according to the case. Do not forget that those who did not belong to the same party immediately became the enemy of the family.

We must indicate a fact in which the urban and the rural come together equally: The illegitimate children. The priest was in charge when he included this category in the baptism. The legitimate person had all the civil rights that his father could give him and especially the fundamental right to be recognized as son and to be a heir of his material goods. On the contrary, the illegitimate son was a shame for a family of "well," as it was the case we have studied of teacher Andrea⁶⁵. Now, we are going to limit this study to the Arango's one from Yacopí. It is necessary to say, as we mentioned before that r. Arango has had big family with his two marriages. The first one died when she was 30 years, she had seven children but one died at an early age. With the second one, the family was of eight children but two of them died when they were born. Hereby, the legitimate children in total were 12. The interviewed people comment that this doctor Arango, "as he was handsome has too many illegitimate children". Certainly his legitimate family, like that family recognized by the society because the married couple had the wedding for the rite of Catholic Church, was not recognizing "the bastard children". Nevertheless, in this family relationship was established by the children of the lady Useche, who had a bakery at the entry of the village. Doctor Arango had three children with her: Marco, the one who managed to be an inspector of hygiene; Tulia and Blanca. Tulia married in Bogota and had a daughter who was called

⁶⁵ Diana Soto Arango, "Historias de vida de dos maestras de escuela de mediados del siglo XX en Colombia. Amparo y Andrea. Liberal y conservadora en contextos de la ruralidad educativa cundi-boyacense", in *"Educadores latinoamericanos y del Caribe de la colonia al siglo XIX"*, Volume III, eds, Diana Soto et al., (Tunja, impresión Búhos Editores, 2011), 335-368.

Dila, she was close with her aunts Arango in Bogota. Dila was the owner of a factory and years later she gave work to a Emira's daughter.

This situation, of the illegitimate children, comment the interviewed ones that " the wives had to cope with ". The father was the one who was giving the orders. From this perspective, it was not strange for the teacher the fact of the illegitimate children. Furthermore, she received from two years a child, son of the domestic employee of an attorney in Miraflores and it produced until the child completes the quarter of primary education. The same, for the schools where Amparo worked, several children passed, in category of boarders, because they were living very far from the school or because their stepfathers did not want to have them at home.

It is important to emphasize that until 1982, with the Law 29, when the equality of heritage rights is established for illegitimate, extramarital and adopted children. But as it is seen this exclusion only is avoided until 1994 with the Judgment C 105 of the Constitutional Court that declares inexecutable the expression "illegitimately". Hereby, these secret children obtain all the rights and obligations in the Civil Colombian Code, article 250.

7. From the college to the rural school and the training courses

The teacher Amparo had as educational experience only what a "high position" girl could receive in Yacopí. When she was eight she went to the private college of Ms. Teresa where she did four regulation courses of the Primary School. The method was the memory and the education was centered in: maths, religion, social sciences, reading, writing and spelling. Precisely, she learned the rules of spelling that still now at her 85 years repeats with great smartness. In the first year they had a blackboard and the guiz. From the second year already they had notebooks that they made in the house with the paper that her father brought from Bogota. To learn the cursive graphie was very important. This writing was practised by metallic and stained feather. The corporal punishment was including the rod, it was a rule of wood or a dry branch of rose with thorns, in which it she was striking its palm of the hand of the student, Who deserved to be disciplined. Teacher placed student stand and back to his classmates. They studied the whole day from eight o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon. During the free time students went away to take the snaks, also at lunch time. The school was mixed in the first degree. All they gone away of primary, in order to continue the studies in Bogota, they were entering to the first baccalaureate. In general they think that the education was very good.

We might say that the School Santa Teresa was for high middle students of the village of Yacopí. They did not wear uniform however three Arango sisters wore always the same model: Amparo, Emira and Mariela. They wore shoes. Other children went to the Public School. The school was located in a great house close to the central park. There two rooms had been conditioned with desks and all by a board to the front. We have indicated that the physical spaces, the ways of education and commonness in the schools where Amparo studied were totally different from those where she worked in rural áreas in Boyacá.

Hereby the Amparo's educational experience was limited itself for the private school of Ms. Teresa. It is evident that of her studies continuation were given when she linked it to the teaching in Boyacá. Exactly, when she, in 1960, starts her training process. We locate it,

in this year, receiving 40 hours of Spanish language course and methodology, and arithmetic and methodology with 40 hours. This year she received it in Bogota, during vacations of December⁶⁶. She continued with the vacation courses until she held the rural teacher degree. The teacher Amparo, Just until 1965, was registered in 3 ° category, inside the Escalafón of elementary⁶⁷.education. It is a paradoxe that the one who communicates her the mentioned inscription was the union of Boyacá's teachers.

We must indicate that the historical environment of the school, as public institution, is one of the ways of the presence of the State in the rural zone. It is through this institution that the cultural values passed generation by generation. Most of, in our epoch of study the school's function was taking root in giving the basic knowledge of the reading, writing and mathematics. And, fundamentally, the education of the catholic religion through the very well known catechism of Padre Astete and the Sacred History.

The conciensiouness of patriotic spirit was established through the celebration of the "hoistings flags". Probably, the most relevant thing is the daily rites, the prayer before class and singing the national anthem. Hereby the religious thing was included with the daily life.

We emphasize the rural school as na institution, because it was the unique mechanism of presence of the State in the regions where Amparo workedt, specially in the veredas of Guamal and Tunjita. Thus, we might affirm that it was almost only cultural transformation way, that came from the urban to the rural, bearing in mind that for this moment and for these veredas the radio was a luxury object.

The schools were built like houses that we have detailed in bareque. Some in adobe and the ceiling in tiles of zinc. The floors in land. The school was composed by a big lounge where there were two wood windows, for every side. Inside the great lounge, the bankings were located in front of the table with the stool of the teacher. In the wall there was a great board where the teacher wrote the tasks and explained. The chalk and the draft of the board could not be absent in the teacher's baggage, together with her didactic material, it was: Colorful seeds and the basic books: The catechism of the father Atete, and Baldor's arithmetic; Carreño's urbanity, the Sacred History, a book of Native History, the Pombo's⁶⁸ book stories.

All that was kept in a cartoon Box. The great lounge of classes had space for approximately sixty boys and girls. The students were located in a mixed gender way. The difference was established by the level of the course. Teacher Amparo always attended to three courses. In exceptional cases she received students of fourth degree. In three courses alone she was teaching to an average of sixty⁶⁹pupils. She applied the Lancasterian method,

⁶⁶ File DSA- Fondo Maestras. Legajo Certificados de estudios. Teacher Amparo Arango.

⁶⁷ Resolution N° 80 del 7 de mayo de 1965. File DSA- Fondo Maestras. Legajo Certificados de estudios. Teacher Amparo Arango.

⁶⁸ We have to outline that when teacher moved in 1980 to Fusagasugá she carried out her different books and notebooks.

⁶⁹ Teacher tells that students were off the institution when they were sick and when they had to help his/her father in the daily home activities.

selecting the smartest pupils to cooperate in the education of the smallest children. We repeat that the children were learning to write on blackboards with a clark called guiz.

We might add that, next to the lounge of class, there was located the teacher's bedroom. Equally in trodden earth, with a bed organized with four woods buried in the floor, and in a corner a trunk where she kept her clothes, her daughter's and her "nephew's" Who was with her during four years until He finished fourth grade of primary.

The fact is that teachers always carried out a book with the inscriptions of her students. It was organized once a month in a meeting with the parents. In that meeting students presented poetry, drama, they solve maths problems. Every week, in this school, they did the hoisting flag, where the most well behaved and hardworker boy and girl was rewarded. The prize was of a small flag that was placed by a pin to the left side of the shirt. Having finished the year the passbook of qualifications was delivered to students, where the notes were located, in numbers from 1 to 5.

In the end, she crossed a line of observations where it was indicated: repeat or approved. Students who approved the first grade, were able to read and write and were able to add up and remain. The second grade approved: in mathematics if they could multiply and divide. In addition, the basic knowledge was detailed in social, Spanish grammar with rules of spelling and was advancing in natural sciences. The third grade was approved, if in mathematics they knew rule of three, fractionaries according to Baldor, to take an accounting, to write letters with perfect spelling, social and sciences according to a guide that the mayor of Miraflores had given to her. In short it is possible to say, that her pupils, who continued to study in Miraflores' schools, as teacher says " They approved very well , one example was her daughter who has approed third grade passed to fourth grade in Miraflores",⁷⁰.

The main difference with the urban school was that in the village there was Miss teacher for girls and a Mister teacher for boys. Certainly, in the urban school the floor was with wood and teacher asked parents for the " shool supplies ". In the rural school, since always, a teacher was for all the courses. Probably, it is there where only there is fulfilled this characteristic of the unitary school, provided that six remaining characteristics were staying only in a paper⁷¹.

The method used by teacher Amparo was the memory one. This one was what she had learned and the only system that she believed works, with the help of the ruler or branch carried out by parents the Day of the inscription. Now, in the distance she thinks that the most difficult thing was to make "be quiet those chinos ". When they were very anxious she took them out for the physical education class.

⁷⁰ Interview to Arango, Amparo and her daughter, Bogotá, January 7 of 2009.

⁷¹ The Unitary School started in 1961 when the UNESCO sponsored the International conference of Ministers in Ginebra, Switzerland.

8. The trade, the church, the holidays. Meeting points of the country and the city

The meetings in the country were when there were a funeral, a grinding or a wedding. In the funerals, food was served during nine days, the people who was coming to the "prayer" of the ninth. In the grindings canes, it was left one day to fulfil the taffy and the alfondoque. The meetings that the teacher organized were the bazaars of the school, in order to gather sources for the school. In these bazaars every family brought for saling. One was singing and playing dance music. Also she called monthly for a meeting, with hoisting flag, where she presented the academic and behavior report of each student.

On the other hand, we must say, that the point of meeting between the rural population and the village was establishing to slant several spaces. First, the commercial one. On Sunday market and of every Thursday, they developed in the central square of the village of Yacopí and in the stores of clothes and of provisions⁷². Precisely the market is considered to be one of the places for social exchanges among urban and rural aspects. There all the social groups⁷³ were mixed or together. In the same situation lived the market of the villages where Amparo worked in Boyacá. There the barter and the sale was mixed according to the product and the circumstances of the moment.

Second, religiously, typically for the social meeting in Cundinamarca and Boyacá. The towns of this region presented similar religious practices and with a great respect for the priest. The church was not only for the mass. It was the place where, without saying names, the priest was ventilating the problems of the moment and often they took political positions for supporting the political party. Third, is that of the religious, native and civil festivities or commonly holidays called. Certainly, the holidays that Amparo remembers in her childhood were the December ones, such as the "parties of the village". This party was special. It started with the bands of music that they played from six o'clock in the morning. There were had bullfights, cavalcades and horses races. It was the occasion to sell and buy the cattle and the horses.

The central square was full with kiosks for selling beer and "trinkets". The ninth one of bonus was carrying out by the person who took advantage of. Amparo was dressed like the holy virgin and her sisters, Emira and Mariela, of angels. San Jose for several years was Useche. The small child Dios went away at random for each Arango: Euclides and Enrique. But without doubt the central character of the holiday, was the Spanish father Gerardo Bilbao, He was the person who has baptized and married this generation, who was born in Yacopí and who lived the epoch of the violence in the mid-20th century, But the fact is that for the conservatives he was "curita cachiporro or curita chusmero".

Certainly, in the festivities of the Holy Week were not less important. Precisely, holy Friday in Easter, the peasants of Yacopí brought trees, which were introducing in the church. At three o'clock in the afternoon, there were heard matracazos that were looking

⁷² During the interview to Arango, Emira, Bogotá, August 20 of 2012, she described us the fabrics' stores: from Tulio Cárdenas, Marcelino Pineda, Daniel Infante, Pedro Vanegas and Mr. Sánchez.

⁷³ Gonzalbo, "*Vida cotidiana*", 188.

like shots and some parishioners were moving strongly the trees, to represent the story of the gospels, where one affirms that in the moment that Jesus Christ expired the land trembled, there was an eclipse of the Sun and a tear was the veil of the temple.

Since we have indicated in other studies, Amparo remembers her work as teacher in the Holy Week, the priest when he mentioned the sermon was asking the attenders " Who has killed Jesus Christ? And he forced them to repeat: the liberal ones "⁷⁴.It is not a question here of a study of the holidays, it is what the teacher lived in her educational performance. Only we emphasize that her presence was mandatory in the religious holidays. In vereda Guamal she had to organize a party and crossed until Páez vereda. It was celebrated on July 20, it was of a concentration of the students of the main square and from the church they were speaking to the authorities of the municipality and then dances, singings realized couplets on the part of the children and girls. Every school should present an activity. In the first communions the whole activity was done in the church. The white candle was very important and the girls were dressing of white and the children their dark uniform. In the Easter Friday procession was done and then the sermon was listened inside the church.

CONCLUSION

Taking again our initial question of this study, we can conclude that from the epoch of the beginning of the study, there is a displacement of a social group of rural region and small villages which emigrated to capital cities and other regions of the country. Among this group we outlined the women displaced because of the violence, and this led them to look for work in the magisterium in order to survive. This one is the case of the young woman Amparo, liberal for familiar tradition and coming from a village with the 99 % of liberal population. It is necessary to say, that she goes out of her region because she was forced to abandon her territory, this situation happened to thousands of compatriots, it generated changes in the socio-economic relations where the education was the main element in this personal overcoming. On the other hand, the sequels of the violence were present in the teacher where with a capacity of adaptability helped her to develop educational activities, in the rural schools where she performed as educator, as she tells us, with vocation and love her community.

But if it was necessary to underline the most significant thing, of the experience of life of Amparo, between her first 23 years of urban life resisted with the 27 of rural life in Boyacá, we must recount ourselves, in the first authority, to this historical period where the customs of the daily thing change drastically. In the food, they put new food of the city coming from the countryside without changing the fundamental diet; the forms of construction change the bareque to the adobe and later on to the brick. The roofs evolved from palmiche to roof of zinc. The garment of the woman transforms and in the new generations she passes from the long skirt to the miniskirt and the trousers. The boys leave the ruana and the hat that changes for the cap. From the " clean foot ", in the country, to the boot of rubber. In the 70s the teenagers women emigrate from villages to the capital as

⁷⁴ It mentions the village of Siachoque in Boyacá. Interview to Arango, Amparo, Fusagasugá, November 15 of 2004. In a birthday party, video.

domestic employees or to study, giving an opening minded regard to the social function of the woman, when this one links itself to the cycle of the education.

In strict sense the changes in the rural way accompanied of the political changes, of possession of the land, close to the impact of new urban customs, which affected the social relations and the customs, it was difficult to support the rigid structure of paternal authority, in the rural families. The schools became modern thanks for the cooperation of the community and not for the policy of the State, it does not manage to transform in this period the unitary school, in learning methods.

But without doubts, we emphasize in this study a woman, liberal, separated and head of the family, who performed as a rural teacher, showing her capacity of insertion in the new social-political –cultural contexts where she spread the human values of solidarity and tolerance with an educational labor that crossed the relations of teaching - learning, for a social and local impact, with her example of life. The change of mind, with regard to the education of the woman, generated a few results for the dominant patriarchal ideologies of the epoch. Nevertheless, the educational changes of the woman arose for the mass media and contribute to transform the socio-cultural idiologies. Finally, we distinguish the nostalgia from all the interviewed persons in this research, they looked for linking the roots with the inhabitants of the village. That one which was burned and bombed and where the peace disappeared in December of 1952, but admitting that the education was the predominant factor of successfulness in the life changes.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Interviews to:

Arango Linares, Euclides, Fusagasugá, March 6 and November 15 of 2004. (Nowdays he is 71 years old). Hermano de amparo y ahijado de Andrea.

Arango Linares, Emira, Bogotá, 31 January, 18 february, 6 march of 2011, 29 July and 18 August of 2012. (Nowadays she is 83 years old. Amparo´s sister).

Arango Linares, Mariela, Bogotá, 31 January, 18 february, 6 march of 2011, 29 July and 18 august of 2012. (Amparo Arango´s sister. Nowadays she is 79 years old).

Arango Cifuentes, Ulises, Bogotá 29 december 2009, Bogotá, 31 december 2010 and by pone March 28of 2012. (Nowadays she is 71 years old . Amparo´s nephew).

Arango Cifuentes, Germán, Bogotá, 13 March of 2011. (Nowadays with 69 years. Amparo´s nephew and godson of Andrea).

Cifuentes, Yolanda, Bogotá, 19 december of 2009, 14 february of 2011. (She was born in 1927. Friend from Yacopí. Nowadays she is 79 years. A friend from Arcabuco.

Casas, Carmenza, Bogotá 17 and 22 of February of 2011. (Tulia´s daughter).

Eloísa Penélope Rubio. Andrea´s daughter. Interview in Bogotá January 6 , 12 february and 14 march of 2011.

Amparo´s daughter. Bogotá, March of 2009, march of 2011.

Arango Rincón, Amparo, recorded in Fusagasugá, 15 november of 2004. Transcriptions from november 15 2008, Bogotá, january 6 and 7 of 2009, Bogotá, january 2, Fusagasugá, february15 2011, may 10 2011; Fusagasugá, july and august of 2012.

Campos Arango, María Eugenia, Bogotá, february , march of 2011. (Amparo´s niece. She traveled to vereda Tunjita).

Ayala, Yaneth, Tunja, February 21, 18 de march of 2011. (grand-daughter).

Vargas Arango, Rosalía, Bogotá, 13 de febrero del 2011. (Amparo´s niece who has lived in Siachoque school with her aunt)

Rodríguez, Ana and Rodríguez, Elisa, Fusagasugá, february 22 of 2011. (graduates of the School Morro Arriba).

Hernández de Casallas, Leonor, Vicente y Hortensia Casallas, Fusagasugá, March 13 ofl 2011. (Friends).

Murcia, Víctor, Fusagasugá, november 15 of 2011 and 12, 19, 26 august of 2012. (Friend of Yacopí and La Palma. Nowadays he lived in Fusagasugá).

Personal file Diana Soto Arango. Fondo Maestras, Sección Arango, Amparo.

Familiar file from Eloísa Rubio.

File Juzgado Promiscuo de Rondón.

SchoolText of the epoch: Cartilla Charry; Urbanidad de Carreño, Catecismo Padre Astete; Diccionario ortográfico, Algebra de Baldor.

Legislation

Decreto 1340 del 30 de julio de 1941; Decreto 2294, 31 diciembre, Art. 17 y 18, salarios; Decretos 2838 de 1954; Ley 143 de 1938; Ley 1 de 1961; Decreto 2956 de 1955.

REFERENCES

Methodology

GONZALBO, Pilar. *Vida cotidiana*. México: Colegio de México, 2006.

Schools and rural areas information

Alarcón de Ortega. (1955): *La Educación Rural y la Educación Fundamental en Colombia*. Centro Regional de Educación Fundamental para la América Latina. http://www.crefal.edu.mx/biblioteca_digital/coleccion_crefal/tesis/alarcon_ortega. df. (16 marzo 2012).

Angulo h, Ligia, Morera H, David y Torres V, Nancy. “Modelo y práctica pedagógica en la escuela rural unidocente y multigrado centroamericana: condiciones, limitaciones y potencialidades”, en *PATRIA GRANDE Revista Centroamericana de Educación* (2009) <http://www.ceducar.info/OJS>. (16 de marzo de 2012).

CIDER-CENTRO INTERDISIPLINARIO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOBRE DESARROLLO. *La nueva ruralidad. Serie documentos conceptuales*. Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes, 2000.

Ramírez G, María y Téllez C, Juana. *La educación primaria y secundaria en Colombia en el siglo XX*. . Bogotá, 2006). <http://www.banrep.gov.co/docum/ftp/borra379.pdf>. (16 de marzo de 2012).

Ramón Suárez, Josué. *Historia y sentido de la escuela rural. De la escuela unitaria a la educación media. 1960-2005*. Tesis doctoral. Doctorado Ciencias de la Educación. Tunja, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia. RUDECOLOMBIA, 2006.

Sauras, J. Espejo, M. *Trabajar en la Escuela Rural*. Madrid: Federación de movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica MRP, 1998.

Soto Arango, Diana. "Historias de vida de dos maestras de escuela de mediados del siglo XX en Colombia. Amparo y Andrea. Liberal y conservadora en contextos de la ruralidad educativa cundí-boyacense", editado por: Diana Soto, Jesús Paniagua, José Rubens Lima Jardilino y María Cristina Vera de Flachs. Tunja: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2011, 365-368.

Teubal, M. "Globalización y nueva Ruralidad en América Latina", en *Una Nueva Ruralidad en América Latina*. (Bogotá: Editorial Uniandes, 2005).

Teubal, M. "Globalización y nueva Ruralidad en América Latina". (2005). [http://: www.clacso.org/consultado](http://www.clacso.org/) 28 abril del 2012

Triana, Alba Nidia. "Historia de la educación rural en Colombia. 1946-1994". Tesis Doctoral en, Doctorado en Ciencias de la Educación. Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia-RUDECOLOMBIA, 2010.

Wulf, Christoph. "¿Cómo adquiere sentido la Escuela? Encuentros Pedagógicos Transculturales". Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, Facultad de Educación, 2001.

Feminism Education, Teachers and rural schools

Bellucci, Mabel. "Mujeres en la educación: género y docencia en Argentina: 1870-1930". Buenos Aires.

Ferro, Myriam Stella. "Mi vida. Historia de la vida de una maestra rural colombiana". Bogotá: Editorial Guadalupe, 1978.

Hamon, Ana. "Ingreso de la mujer docente a la UPTC 1961-1980". Tesis Doctoral en Doctorado Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia- RUDECOLOMBIA, 2010.

Hernández de Alba, Guillermo. "Galería de ilustres educadoras colombianas [manuscrito]: en 1. Colegio de La Merced. Bogotá: Edit. Kelly, 1980

Sánchez de Serdio Aida, "Traducido" en IVOR F, Goodson, "Historias de vida del Profesorado. Trad. Sánchez de Serdio Aida, (Barcelona: Octaedro editorial, 2004)

King, Elizabeth. "Educating girls and women: investment in development". Washington: World Bank, 1990.

Mistral, Gabriela. "Nubes blancas (poesías) y la oración de la maestra". Barcelona: Editorial B. Bauza, 1941.

Vera de Flachs, María Cristina. "De comadronas a obstetras. La institucionalización del saber". Córdoba: Báez Ediciones, 2010.

Woods, P. "Life Histories and Teacher knowledges, en educating teachers; changing the nature of pedagogical knowledges". Londres, Filadelfia y New York: falmer, 1987.

Pérez Peláez, Liria. "La educadora de primaria: autopercepción de sus roles como maestra y mujer". Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia- Facultad de Educación, 1990.

Soto Arango, Diana “The daily life of a rural colombian teacher life history of the boyacense rural educator 1948-1974” *Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana* Vol. 14 No. 18, (2012): 211- 242.