THE ORIGINS OF MASS EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA *

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Abstract

Latin America is the most unequal region in the world. Williamson (2015) suggested that inequality in Latin America occurred between World War I and the 1970s (the so-called "Great Leveling"). As education is a crucial factor in reducing inequality, this paper provides a complete breakdown of educational coverage during the first half of the 20th century to identify long-term patterns in educational inequality. To address this, I construct and analyse annual series of gross enrolment rates for primary and secondary schooling disaggregated at the regional scale and consider different characteristics of it, such as public and private education, rural and urban education, and gender. The results show that the territories where industrialization began had higher coverage rates than the more indigenous peripheries of the country in both primary and secondary education. Regarding the analysis of gender, the results clearly show a gender bias in the coverage of primary education, while in secondary education there is a bias in quality.

Keywords: education, regional inequality, Latin America, Colombia

Resumen

América Latina es la región más desigual del mundo. Williamson (2015) sugiere que la desigualdad en América Latina ocurre entre la Primera Guerra Mundial y la década de 1970 (la llamada "Gran Nivelación"). Debido a que la educación es un factor crucial en la reducción de la desigualdad, esta investigación hace una desagregación completa de la cobertura educativa durante la primera mitad del siglo XX para identificar patrones de desigualdad educativa de largo plazo. Para abordar esto, construyo y analizo series anuales de tasas brutas de matrícula para educación primaria y secundaria desagregadas a escala regional, tomando en cuenta diferentes características tales como: educación pública y privada, educación rural y urbana, y género. Los resultados muestran que los territorios donde se inició la industrialización tuvieron mayores tasas de cobertura que la periferia indígena, tanto en educación primaria como secundaria. En cuanto al análisis de género, los resultados muestran claramente un sesgo de género en la cobertura de la educación primaria, mientras que en secundaria hay un sesgo en la calidad.

Palabras clave: educación, desigualdad regional, América Latina, Colombia.

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1. Introduction

Latin America (LatAm) has the most unequal income distribution in the world, and Colombia in particular is one of the most unequal countries within the region (World Bank, 2021). On the one hand, Williamson (2015) suggests that LatAm inequality is recent, since it was not very high after the conquest; that is, the high levels of inequality occurred between World War I and the 1970s (the so-called "Great Leveling"). According to the author, it began during the first period of globalization and increased at the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, historically, education has been the key element in reducing inequalities (Goldin 2001). Therefore, studying inequality in education in the long term will allow us to understand to a great extent how Colombia has reached the extreme situation of high levels of economic inequality.

According to data from the National Statistics Department (DANE in its Spanish acronym) in the Ministry of Education of Colombia, the national coverage rate of primary education was 91.11% for 2005 and 82.69% for 2017. Concerning secondary education, the coverage rate was 62.33% for 2005 and 71.66% for 2017. If, on the contrary, we look at educational coverage at the subnational level, many departments in the peripheral and rural areas of the country did not exceed 55% for primary and 25% for secondary education in 2019. Most of these inequalities in the provision of education have their deep origins in Colombia's history (Ramírez and Salazar 2007, Ramírez and Téllez 2007, Fuentes-Vásquez 2019, España-Eljaiek 2019), since the current educational system has its roots in the model defined during the first half of the 20th century (Ghotme 2013, Helg 2001). Hence, this article provides a complete breakdown of educational coverage during the first half of the 20th century to identify long-term patterns educational inequality, considering various aspects such as a) regional differences, b) public and private educational coverage, c) differences between rural and urban education, and d) gender gaps. In particular, this study starts in 1904, after the Thousand Days' War (*La Guerra de Los Mil Días*), when the legal basis of the current Colombian educational system was defined. It ends in 1958, after a great institutional and political change with the emergence of the National Front (*Frente Nacional*), consisting of a coalition between the Liberal and Conservative parties, which led to substantial changes being introduced in the education system.

Previous historical investigations on education in Colombia have mainly focused on national viewpoints, but only a few consider regional inequalities. Ramírez and Salazar (2007) made an outstanding effort to reconstruct, for the first time, long-term national series of schools and students enrolled in primary and secondary education, as well as some regional series, mainly for departments located in the centre of the country. Conversely, Fuentes-Vásquez (2019) analysed the gross enrollment rate (GER), those for both the country's central and peripheral regions. However, both Ramírez and Téllez (2007) and Fuentes-Vásquez (2019) only consider aggregate enrollment rates. For this reason, this article seeks to offer a new regional approach that includes not only long-term GER series for each region of the country, but also incorporates various elements of disaggregation, which until now has not been done.

First of all, the results of this study corroborate those reported by Ramírez and Salazar (2007) and Fuentes-Vásquez (2019), who indicate that educational inequality between the centre and the periphery is a long-term problem. Beyond this, disaggregating the data in such a detailed way has allowed, for the first time, the identification of specific patterns that explain these differences. Five regions have been identified that share similar patterns: coffee departments, central departments with relatively high GERs, central departments with low GERs, Caribbean departments and National Territories. Firstly, the coffee departments show the highest enrolment rates in the country in both primary and secondary education, explained by local governments' great efforts to expand rural and secondary education and by the almost non-existent gender gap in primary education. Secondly, central departments with relatively high GERs show average performances. These departments, unlike the coffee growers, present broader educational coverage in urban areas than in rural ones. Thirdly, there is a pattern of relatively low performance in another group of central territories. Finally, the National Territories show erratic trends, with high peaks and valleys in all aspects analysed. Likewise, common patterns within regions were identified. First, rural public education was dominant throughout the country. Second, gender gaps are much larger in secondary education, especially in academic education leading to tertiary education. Finally, secondary

education was almost non-existent in most of the National Territories during the first half of the 20th century.

Overall, this work contributes to Colombia's educational history by shedding light on three main aspects. First, the lag in educational coverage in certain areas of the country, such as the peripheral regions, corresponds to a long-term problem. Secondly, the low educational coverage in these regions is associated with less educational provision in both primary and secondary schooling, as well as a greater gender gap in enrollment. And finally, this work provides an unprecedented database of annual primary and secondary enrollment rates by region from 1905 to 1958, which serves as a starting point for future empirical research.

In the next section, I discuss the history of educational development in Colombia in its national and international contexts. Section 3 describes the methodology and sources used. Section 4 presents the constructed regional series, while Section 5 offers a conclusion.

2. Contextualizing the Colombian case

Colombia is a diverse country with a central mountainous system, interior and coastal plains, and inter-Andean valleys. Its population is ethnically and linguistically diverse, reflecting various influences from diverse origins: Amerindian civilisations, Spanish settlements, and a population from Africa. Most black and indigenous populations are located in the country's periphery.

In 1886, a new constitution established a decentralized model in which departmental status was assigned to the central zone, and the periphery was granted the status of National Territory. However, unlike the departments, the national territories lacked fiscal autonomy and depended entirely on the central government, including in the provision of education.

The government's main objective was to catechize black and indigenous people in the periphery, so they signed a Concordat and a Catholic Missions Agreement with the Catholic Church in 1887 and 1888, respectively. The mission agreement promoted the colonization and Christianization of the peripheral areas. Catholic missions had full autonomy over the design of educational programmes and the arrangement of resources, which focused on the population learning religion and the Spanish language (Helg 2001).

This mixture in Colombian society has generated a problem of racism in the long term, consequently, the areas where indigenous groups were mainly settled were excluded from social investment (España-Eljaiek 2019). As a result, these regional differences have become persistent in the longer term, especially between the departments located in the centre and periphery of the country (Galvis and Meisel Roca 2013, Meisel Roca 2011).

2.1.New century and new educational system

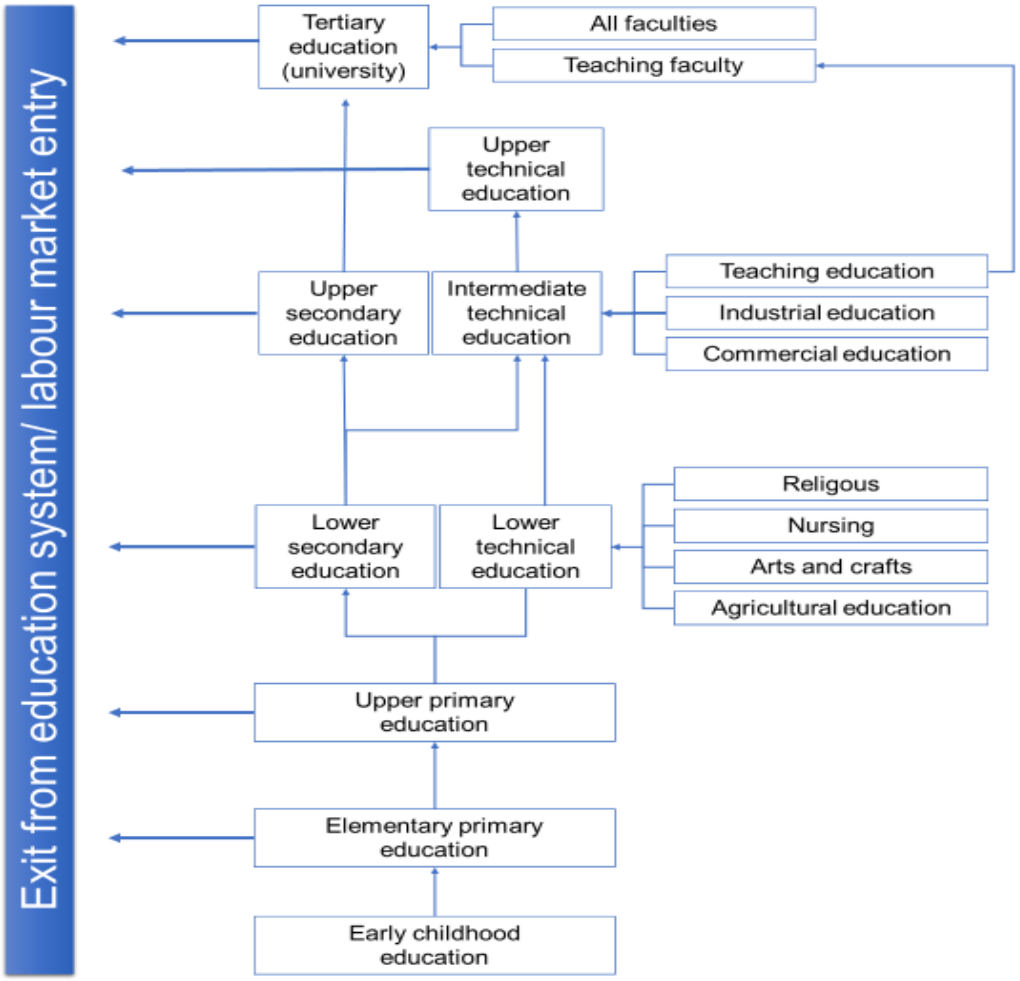
At the beginning of the 20th century, the Thousand Days' War broke out, destroying much of the country's infrastructure and creating economic problems for the state. Law 39 of 1903 and Decree 491 of 1904 redefined the educational system based on a decentralized model of financing education established in the Constitution of 1886. The new legislation only covered the characteristics and organization of public education, not private. Despite this, many private schools were not governed by regulations (Helg 2001). Figure 1 shows the possible educational trajectories that a student could pursue by entering the educational system at the most basic level and proceeding to tertiary education.

From primary education, the possibilities for further training diverged. One route allowed access to complementary, religious, nursing or arts and crafts training. The other route allowed the choice of a path to vocational education (commercial, industrial or teaching), giving way to more specialized training or direct access to the labour market. In the case of secondary school, this offered the possibility of working as an elementary schoolteacher. Finally, higher primary education gave access to academic secondary education, which allowed access to tertiary education (university).

Public primary education was divided into rural schools and urban schools. Rural schools had three-year programs. In addition, these programs formed the basis for the most crucial literacy campaign in the country because they focused on the peasant population, which constituted almost 70% of the country's total population. Conversely, urban primary schooling lasted six years. Any uniformity did not

characterize secondary education in its programmes or methods. Secondary schools might be private or public and were organized around three programs: academic, vocational and teaching education.[1] Once primary education was completed, the student had to opt for an educational program for secondary education, totally mutually exclusive.

Figure 1. Potential educational pathways



Source: own elaboration based on Law 39 of 1903 and Decree 491 of 1904.

Academic secondary education was required to enter tertiary education and was intended to provide the necessary preparation for the university. However, since private education was not regulated, in some cases, the education offered in private schools was not enough to qualify for university. Furthermore, due to the vulnerable situation of the students, in 1916, the Ministry of Education imposed a minimum number of weekly teaching hours and regulated the organization of schools to receive a licence to operate.[2] Due to the new regulation, many schools that did not meet the requirements had to close (Helg 2001).

Vocational secondary education was divided into three sections: Industrial, Commercial, and Arts and Crafts Schools.[3] Finally, teaching secondary education aimed to train teachers in the basic knowledge required to teach primary education. Therefore, teaching training was taken mainly in *Escuelas Normales*, which allowed qualified teachers to work as primary school teachers.

1 Teaching Schools (*Escuelas Normales*) had offered teacher training from 1821, when Francisco de Paula Santander, Colombia's second president, authorized their creation. This name is still used today to refer to this type of secondary education.

2 Decree 1601 of 1916, September 10, sets conditions for issuing Bachelor's diplomas. Official Gazette 15,909

3 Certificates of Commerce Studies only were issued by the National School of Commerce located in Bogotá.

2.2. Limitations of the educational system

This legislation was quite discriminatory towards women, denying them access to academic secondary school and tertiary education. In primary education, girls only learned the Spanish language, mathematics, history and geography at the most basic levels.

Moreover, the state went bankrupt due to the war, so a decentralized financing system was adopted. As a result, the central government only oversaw and provided educational texts and school supplies. Conversely, departments had to bear the costs of paying the teachers and the municipalities for the construction, conservation and provision of primary schools. Furthermore, the capital city of each department was to have a boys' and a girls' school financed centrally but supervised by departmental administrations, resulting in substantial inequalities in levels of schooling due to differences in departmental fiscal capacities.

In general, how education was defined legally tended to favour the education of the elite, especially concerning secondary education. The Ministry of Education was unable to provide an official system of secondary education, leading to 70% of students in secondary education being enrolled in private establishments. Helg (2001) and Urrutia (1976) suggested that this was due to the high cost of private education, which implied that only the children of the elite could attend school.

2.3. Main educational system reforms

The world crisis caused by the First World War had a major impact on Colombia, leading to an unfavourable trade balance and regional differences (Sepúlveda 2011). This event held back economic growth, slowed down the expansion of education and increased regional differences. Later, in the coming years, the education budget was increased due to compensation from the United States for the loss of Panama, access to financial markets and the growth of coffee exports. However, regional educational differences remained wide (Ramírez and Téllez 2007).

The Liberal Party became the party of central government in 1930, leading to changes in the direction of more popular education (Helg 2001). The main objectives of the Liberals were to end illiteracy in all territories and achieve real national integration. To this end, Decrees 1487 and 1972 were approved in 1932 and 1933, respectively, providing equal education between men and women. During López Pumarejo's government, social movements began to demand civil rights, including feminist movements. The first step towards this change was to allow women access to academic education, and the contents of both primary and secondary educational programmes had to be the same for boys and girls.

Also, the Pumarejo government implemented the Constitutional Reform of 1936, which provided for the secularization and democratization of education. This reform established the principle that public primary schools should be free and compulsory; and prohibited discrimination against students based on race, religion, social class, or illegitimacy of birth.[4]. In addition, the first official secondary schools were founded, and a system of public inspection was inaugurated to assess their quality. However, Helg (2001) finds that, despite the efforts made by the government to liberate and popularize secondary education, it continued to fall under elite control since most secondary schools were and are still private. In the 1930s, regional differences continued affecting the provision of education and its quality (Ramírez and Téllez 2007). To address this, in 1939 the National Government set up a Municipal Development Fund to promote mass education. This fund was to channel state resources to the less favoured regions, but the impact of this policy is not evident from the existing literature (Helg 2001, Ramírez and Téllez 2007).

Economic changes also led to an increase in coffee exports, international loans and investments in oil, mining and public services, and an incipient manufacturing sector (Ocampo 1999). This situation required increasing the workforce. This requirement was aligned with reformist ideas supported by feminist movements resulting in the abolition of the Marriage Bar. In other words, from that moment on, women would not require the permission of their husbands or fathers to sign employment contracts. Therefore, many industries opted to incorporate female labour because market wages for women were much lower than men's (Luna and Villarreal 1994).

In addition, to support embryonic development, the state opted for secondary technical education to exploit the potential of the country's productive capacity. That decision led to the creation of industrial,

4 See Law 36 of 1936.

agricultural, and arts and crafts schools. Vocational education focused on the popular classes taught in vocational schools, while the elites were trained in academic education, widening social differences even more (Helg 2001).

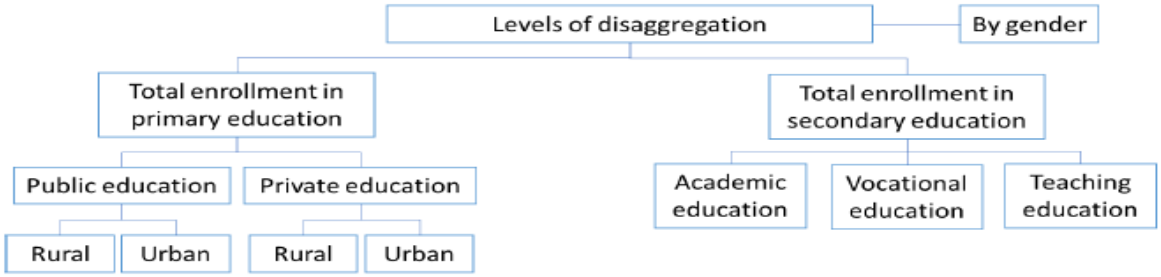
Conservative governments returned between 1946 and 1953, during which President Mariano Ospina Pérez began a period known as "The Conservative Reaction," in which the Liberals' educational ideology was abandoned and dismantled (Herrera 1993). As a result, the expansion of education in Colombia took off. In the 1950s, growth in enrollment rates was much higher than in the previous years. As Ramírez and Téllez (2007) show, this is especially noticeable in primary education. The improvement in enrollment rates corresponds to a series of structural changes that began in the second half of the 20th century. One of these changes was demographic, the period being one of high population growth, with rates close to 3%, as a consequence of a high fertility rate and a decrease in mortality. Likewise, enrollment rates were affected by the dynamics of urbanization, which reached its height in the 1950s. This process was a response to a high degree of rural-urban migration and an improvement in the conditions of urban centres. Finally, improvements in educational indicators corresponded to the greater fiscal capacities that were a consequence of economic growth (Ramírez and Téllez 2007).

3. Methodology and sources

To provide internationally comparable data, I have adapted data on the Colombian education system following Fuentes-Vásquez (2019). The construction of the series of students in primary and secondary education ran into various difficulties due to the dispersal of the data and the lack of consistency in statistics before 1932. Until then, there were no clear criteria for collecting data regarding the publication of statistics and their periodicity. For this reason, the data may come from either the Yearbooks of the Ministry of Education or Statistical Yearbooks. Also, information for some years was not published, and there were some years for which the statistics included data from previous years. Appendix 1 specifies the source used to collect the data on an annual basis.

Additionally, for reasons explained above, and due to specific events, such as the Thousand Days War and the Crisis of 1929, the collection of statistical data was prevented. Therefore, obtaining data for some years was impossible, especially for secondary education. Concerning primary school, data for the years 1900-1903, 1929 and 1938 are not included (Gómez Marín et al. 1982). Figure 2 shows the disaggregation levels constructed for the primary and secondary education series as far as the source allows. For more details on the sources used, see Appendix 1 and Tables A1.1 and A1.2.

Figure 2. Levels of disaggregation in primary and secondary education



Source: own elaboration.

To create the series of gross enrollment rates means more than collecting data on the required number of students enrolled as the school-age population. For this reason, in using the population data, I have assumed that the relevant school age ranges are 5 to 14 years old for primary schools and 15 to 19 for secondary schools, based on the population censuses of 1905, 1912, 1918, 1928, 1938, 1958 and 1964. Exponential growth curves have been estimated using different censuses to obtain annual data.[5]

5 The population data are only available for some years, and since the population experienced exponential growth, the school-age population for the intercensal years was estimated through a growth curve, as it is customary in these cases.

Due to the numerous changes in internal borders and the autonomy levels of each Colombian department, I use the territorial order that existed in 1928 because this was what prevailed throughout most of the period. Also, because the National Territories of Meta, Vichada, Putumayo, Caquetá, Vaupés and Amazonas changed their borders many times, it was impossible to treat them independently. Therefore, I have grouped them into a territory called the Amazon Region, resulting in nineteen observations. In any case, the estimates of the GERs for the National Territories should be read with extreme caution since the weakness of the local institutions might affect assessments of educational statistics. For example, during the first two decades of the 20th century, the indigenous population gathered in the Population Censuses was overestimated and classified as "non-citizens", distorting the statistics of the school-age population, which could have affected the real needs and the educational supply. For more details on grouping regions, see Tables A1.3, A1.4 and A1.5 in Appendix 1.

Finally, it was impossible to arrive at disaggregated school census figures for the rural versus urban populations. Therefore, for this type of analysis, I used the total population figure, applying the same methodology of exponential growth, with the censuses of 1928, 1938, 1958 and 1961 as the source.

The goal behind the construction of the series is to identify the main regional trends in the evolution of education in Colombia and advance some hypotheses about the slow progress of education. In this framework, the economic, geographical and institutional constraints are expected to determine education performance in each region. Likewise, the National Territories are expected to differ substantially from the departments due to their lack of fiscal autonomy and the control of Catholic missions over educational provision.

4. Educational series: analysing patterns

4.1. Primary education

Figure 3 shows the gross enrollment rates at the subnational levels of all territories. To facilitate this analysis, I have grouped the territories following three criteria: a) spatial location; b) common characteristics, that is, coffee production or the degree of autonomy, as is the case with the National Territories; and c) similar educational patterns.[6] In general, various patterns can be identified.

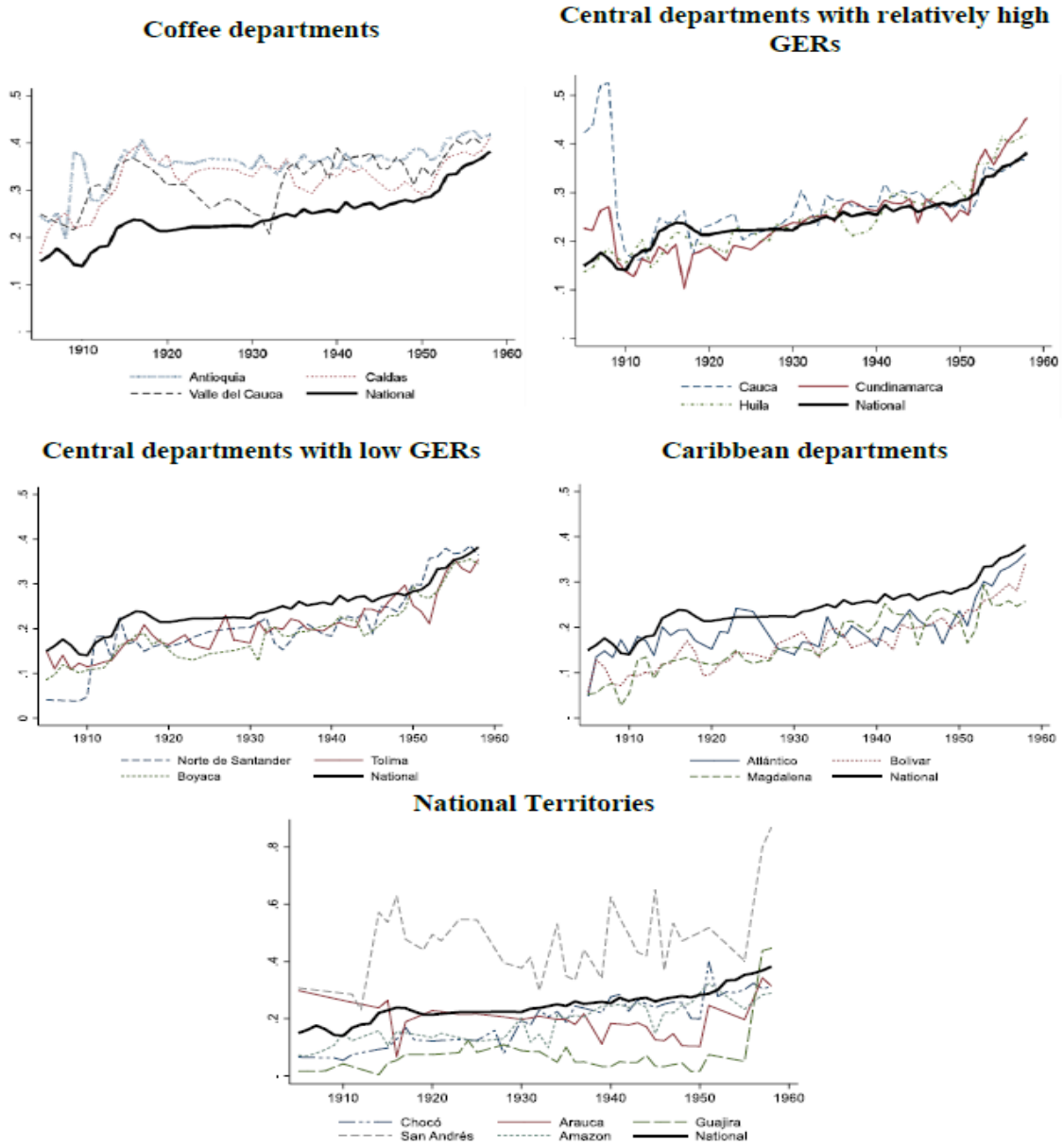
Overall, the series show slow growth from 1900 to 1958 and faster growth in most territories since then. Five patterns are clearly observed: first, high GERs in coffee-growing regions; second, average performance in a group of central territories that includes the capital of the country (Bogotá); third, a pattern of relatively low performance in another group of central territories; fourth, the Caribbean territories, shown as clearly below average; and finally, the National Territories, which show erratic trends, with high peaks and valleys, as seen in Arauca and Guajira in the late 1950s or Amazonas in the 1910s.

As mentioned earlier, National Territories did not have fiscal autonomy and therefore could not decide on investments in education, which was the preserve of the central government. From the above, some questions arise about the role that fiscal capacity and levels of autonomy played in educational performance, since the territories that lacked self-government had the worst GERs.

Although National Territories tend to exhibit similar behaviour, Chocó shows a particular pattern for two possible reasons. The first reason may be related to the fact that in 1947 the national government granted it status as a department. Therefore, from then on, it had the freedom to decide on investment in education. Figure 3 shows how its GER resembles those of other departments, being quite distinct from the national territories' GERs. A second reason may be related to the rise in platinum exports. During the first decades of the 20th century, Chocó began experiencing an economic boom with the arrival of foreign companies seeking gold and platinum. By the end of the 1910s, Chocó had become the world's leading producer of platinum, further benefiting from the international increase in demand following the new uses for platinum discovered in the Russian Revolution and the Second World War (González Escobar 2003). Caicedo (1997) points out that Chocó's 1927 budget was like Cauca's, despite having a third of the population.

6 For the complete series disaggregated by public and private education, see Appendix 2.

Figure 3. Primary education gross enrollment by depatments and National Territories, 1904-1958



Source: own elaboration. Note: the Y-axis shows the percentage of children from five to fourteen years old enrolled in primary education per hundred thousand children.

Like Chocó, San Andrés shows specific behaviour within the National Territories since its GER is one of the highest in the country, although with many fluctuations. This fact is explained because San Andrés is less populated and has the highest population density in the country.

On the contrary, the departments of Antioquia, Caldas and Valle del Cauca show the highest enrollment rates in the country. These departments have a long tradition of growing coffee. They were the first to experience industrialization, so there may be a direct connection with investment capacity, as Ramírez and Téllez (2007) suggested. Likewise, Antioquia promoted measures that gave it good educational outcomes, and later some of these policies were exported to other departments, again with successful results. One of these policies was the creation of teachers' associations to work on improvements to the needs of education.

Even though Valle del Cauca, Antioquia and Caldas had the highest GERs in primary education during the first half of the 20th century, surprisingly they showed stagnation and, in some cases, a decrease after the 1930s. So how can we explain why these departments that experienced an expansion of coffee and better long-term school performances showed a drop in enrollment rates in the short term?

A possible cause may be found in the characteristics of coffee production in Colombia. Coffee used to be produced in rural areas, in situations of extreme poverty, and it was labour-intensive, so crop-growing became a task very suitable for children. For this reason, in the coffee boom, cultivation was based on the intensive use of family labour, including child labour, which could discourage time being spent in education (Carrillo 2019, Fuentes-Vásquez and España-Ejaiek 2022).

Moreover, in other departments, such as Cundinamarca, Cauca, Huila, Norte de Santander, Nariño and Tolima, the primary enrollment rate grew slowly at the beginning of the century and then stagnated until 1950, when a rapid increase in GER began. This trajectory is mainly attributable to the shortage of teachers at the beginning of the century, which forced the closure of many schools and increased education costs, as indicated in the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1911.

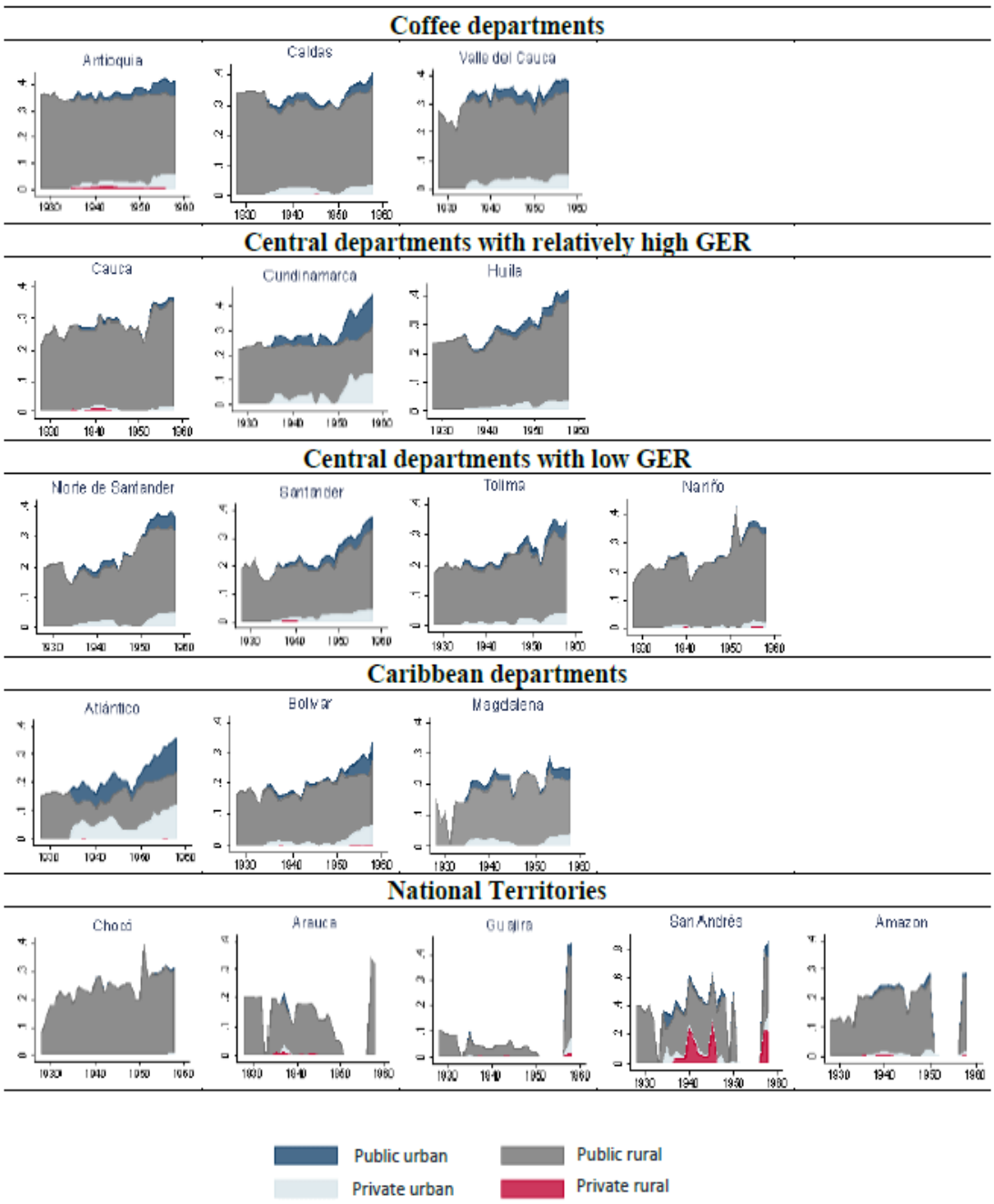
Moreover, the series also show that departments on the Caribbean coast had quite bad performances compared to the other departments. Despite this, Atlántico attained higher rates than the other departments on the Caribbean coast. Unlike the others, Atlántico is densely populated and was the only department to experience incipient industrialization based on the chemical, pharmaceutical, food, mechanical metal, beverage and paper industries, giving it a much higher budget to invest in education (Helg 2001).

Regarding the disaggregation of primary education, Figure 4 shows that the GER for primary education was disaggregated into public urban, public rural, private urban and private rural education by departments and National Territories. First of all, the series show that most students were enrolled in public schools except in Atlántico and San Andrés, where there was a high proportion of students in private education. In the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1911, we learn that, contrary to what happened in the other departments, the Atlántico departmental government decided to outsource a large proportion of its investment in education by subsidizing all the private boys' schools, since the public buildings were not fit for human habitation. As for San Andrés, the educational reports do not explain why there was so much private education. By contrast, Helg (2001) explains that the Island of San Andrés, located closest to the Nicaraguan coast, was populated by Black people who spoke a dialect derived from English, professed the Anglican religion and were the most literate in the country. According to the author, because the central government's objective was to convert the population to the Catholic religion, public school teachers were Catholic and spoke Spanish. Hence, some of the local community preferred to open their own private schools offering an Anglican education in English.

Second, it is observed that schooling was mainly rural and public in most of the territories. The only exception was San Andrés, which shows a high percentage of private rural education, possibly for the reasons mentioned above. Conversely, unlike rural education, urban education was scarce except in Atlántico, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca. These departments show a slightly higher proportion of urban education since the population was more concentrated in the municipal capitals. Also, contrary to what is seen in rural education, urban education was mainly divided into similar proportions in public and private education in the whole country.

Suppose we focus on the departments that had the highest GERs, such as Antioquia, Caldas and Valle del Cauca. In these cases, we see that, at least in Antioquia and Caldas, there was a great effort to expand rural education by local governments. According to the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1933, in Antioquia many primary schools were created in remote rural areas, reaching almost half the total number of primary schools. In Caldas, where a large part of the population is dedicated to coffee cultivation, one of the central educational policies adopted was the promotion of agricultural education in primary education from 1925 (Helg 2001). For this reason, there seems to be a clear relationship between the interest in expanding rural education, including promoting agricultural studies, and the success of achieving high enrollment rates.

Figure 4. Primary education gross enrollment rate disaggregated into public urban, public rural, private urban and private rural education by departments and National Territories, 1928-1958



Source: own elaboration. Note: the Y-axis shows the percentage of children from 5 to 14 years old enrolled in primary education per hundred thousand children.

Moreover, since the 1940s, there has been an increase in urban schools, both public and private, in the departments that began their journey to urbanization earlier, such as Antioquia, Atlántico, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca, while conversely, in the remaining territories, the appearance of urban education is observed only from the 1950s.

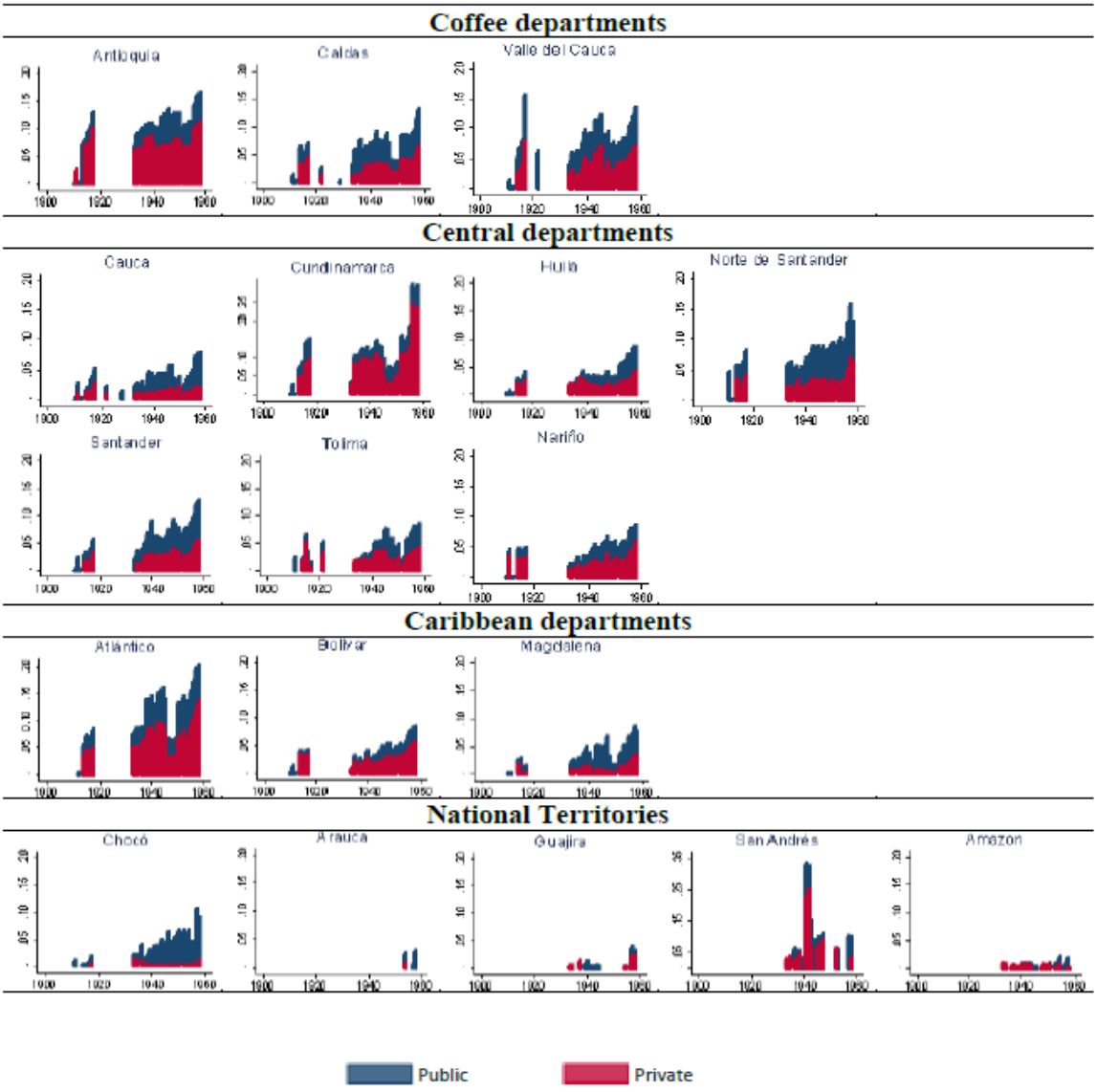
As well as analysing the series, it is essential to mention that the differences between rural and urban education went beyond provision. Urban education was of much better quality, had more resources, had better-trained teachers, and the programme was much broader. This fact is very striking since only 30% of the population lived in urban areas at the end of the 1930s. For example, between 1932 and 1936, only 37% of these departmental resources were directed to primary education, while the urban area received 63% (Helg 2001). Likewise, teacher training was much better in urban schools; in 1950, 82% of teachers

in rural official primary schools had no pedagogical training, while in urban schools, the figure was 51% (Ramírez and Téllez 2007). Wages were also very uneven (Helg 2001): while a teacher in urban areas earned $45 a month (USD 23), a teacher in rural areas earned $30 (USD 15) a month.

4.2. Secondary education

Figure 5 shows the departmental trends in secondary education disaggregated into public and private education. These statistics must be interpreted with caution since, during this period, it can be confusing to differentiate between private and public education. Helg (2001) explains that a large part of secondary school provision was in charge of private institutions that received a certain level of government subsidies, which implied that some institutions were classified as public without actually being public.

Figure 5. Secondary education gross enrollment rate disaggregated into public and private education by department, 1910-1958



Source: own elaboration. Note: the Y-axis shows the percentage of children aged from 14-19 years old enrolled in secondary education per hundred thousand young people.

Focusing on the series, the first thing to note is that the GERs in secondary education were very inferior to those for primary education. Besides, the series show more fluctuations from year to year. This can be explained by the constant appearance and disappearance of secondary schools, which was more common than in primary education (Helg 2001).

Additionally, unlike the patterns observed for primary education, in secondary education, the

enrollment leaders are the most industrialized departments: Antioquia, Atlántico, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca. Likewise, some of them also had important seaports during the first half of the 20th century, such as the Port of Buenaventura in Cali (Valle del Cauca) or Puerto Colombia in Barranquilla (Atlántico), making them mandatory and frequent sites of the passage of imports and exports. These ports brought tremendous commercial potential to the capitals, providing significant resources that allowed the accumulation of private capital and the subsequent development of industries (Gamarra 2007, Meisel Roca 1987). The emergence of new industries could be associated with a higher GER in secondary education since this required more qualified labour. For this reason, greater economic development could increase the demand for education and, consequently, stimulate the creation of the supply of private secondary schools.

In addition to the favourable economic conditions and the inability of the national government to found schools in all the departmental capitals, in 1905, the state decided to create so-called National Schools in Bogotá to allow students from all over the country to receive secondary education through a scholarship programme (Helg 2001). Later, this model of schooling was extended to other large cities such as Medellín. According to the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1925, the *Escuela Normal* of Medellín received the status of a National School, allowing it to receive all the financial advantages that this entailed, such as the school being entirely subsidized by the central government.

Beyond the observed outliers, three patterns can tentatively be distinguished. First, in a second level of good performance in the GER, we have the departments located in the centre of the country, such as Caldas, Norte de Santander and Santander, which, although they did not reach the same standards as the previous ones, show relatively high levels of enrolment in primary education compared to the average. However, despite being departments with sufficient financial resources large enough to have had higher enrolment rates in secondary education, we see that their performance was limited. Helg (2001) explains that many students from these departments decided to move to study in cities with better educational provision, such as Medellín or Bogotá, due to their proximity to them.

The second identifiable pattern is that of departments with a low level of coverage in secondary education. In this group are some departments from the centre of the country and the Caribbean coast, such as Bolivar, Boyacá, Cauca, Huila, Magdalena, Nariño, Tolima and finally, Chocó.[7] One possible explanation for their low GERs in secondary education may be the fact that the main economic activity in these territories was agriculture. For this reason, secondary school was unnecessary since primary training was already sufficient to exercise effectively in the field.

Another explanation could be the low budgetary capacity since, by that time, secondary education had to be provided by local governments. In Cauca, for example, the departmental government could not make the investment necessary to build secondary schools due to the existing demand, which is why the support of Catholic communities was required to found them, as revealed in the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1928. This also happened in Chocó, where keeping the secondary school open was possible thanks to the support of the Sisters of Charity, as revealed by the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1916.

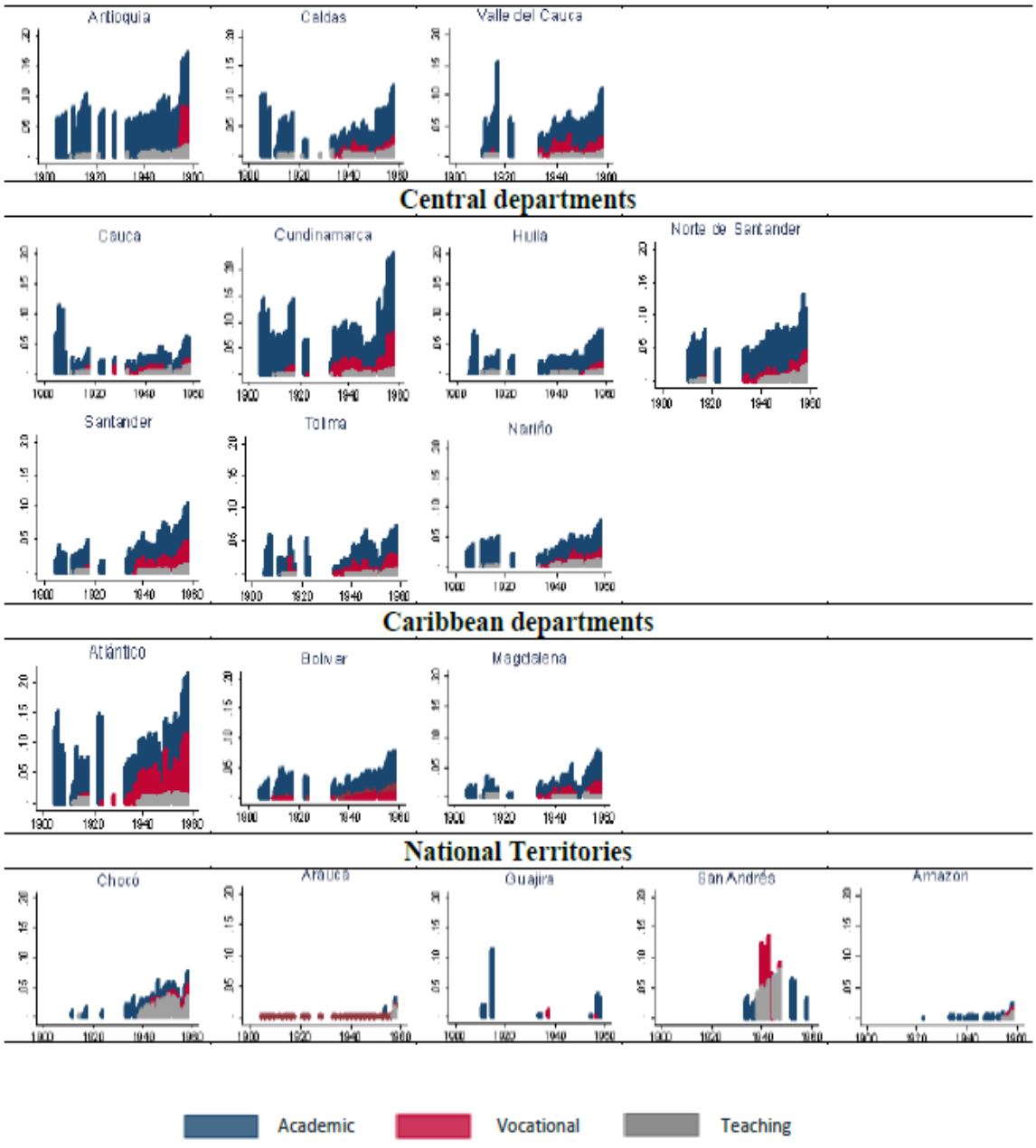
Finally, for the National Territories, no clear pattern can be observed in secondary education. As has been observed in the case of primary schooling, Chocó and San Andrés have different performances than the remaining National Territories, possibly related to the particular characteristics of these territories mentioned above. Although the Yearbooks of the Ministry of Education do not explain why secondary education came so late to the National Territories, originally this may have been considered unnecessary because these were very rural settings. Besides, in 1873, through Law 25, the central government assumed the expenses of up to three students to train in secondary education outside their territories. Subsequently, in 1879, this law was modified, the number of student subsidies being increased to six (Santos Delgado 2012). The central government's objective was to train young people to acquire sufficient training to be appointed teachers, as indicated in Law 35 of 1879. This educational policy could explain why secondary education only existed in most National Territories until the 1930s.

Figure 6 shows the gross enrollment rate for secondary education disaggregated into academic, vocational and teacher training. As observed in public and private education, there is no clear pattern observed in primary education, but there are some outliers. Overall, the figure shows that, before the

7 Although Chocó did not acquire departmental status until 1947, it performed in a very similar way.

1930s, academic training was the majority in practically the entire period and most territories except for San Andrés and Chocó, where the GER in teacher training was the highest since the 1930s. The fact that these two National Territories invested more in teacher training can help explain why they also had a much more favourable educational performance than the other National Territories and even better than many departments. In this context, the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1943 explains that Chocó made a considerable economic effort to expand its teaching staff. As a result, while the number of graduated schoolteachers per 100,000 inhabitants between 1938 and 1943 in Valle del Cauca was 17, 14 in Nariño and 13 in Cauca, in Chocó, it was 90, an extraordinary number considering its extreme poverty.[8]

Figure 6. Secondary education gross enrollment ratio disaggregated into academic, vocational and teaching education by departments and National Territories, 1910-1958



Source: own elaboration. Note: the Y-axis shows the percentage of children aged from 14-19 years old enrolled in secondary education per hundred thousand young people.

In the particular case of San Andrés, its remote location may explain the need to train its teachers

8 These data have been estimated using the population estimates published in the 1943 Statistical Yearbooks.

since transportation was minimal, so attracting teachers from other regions was not easy. Likewise, given the local population's interest in perpetuating an Anglican education in English, training their own teachers ensured that they received the training that met their needs.

In addition, the most industrialized departments (Antioquia, Atlántico, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca) mainly promoted academic and professional training above teaching training (Helg 2001). Although understandably educational policies should have been developed to promote a type of training that responds to the emergence of new industries and services, it is striking that not so much importance was given to teacher training.

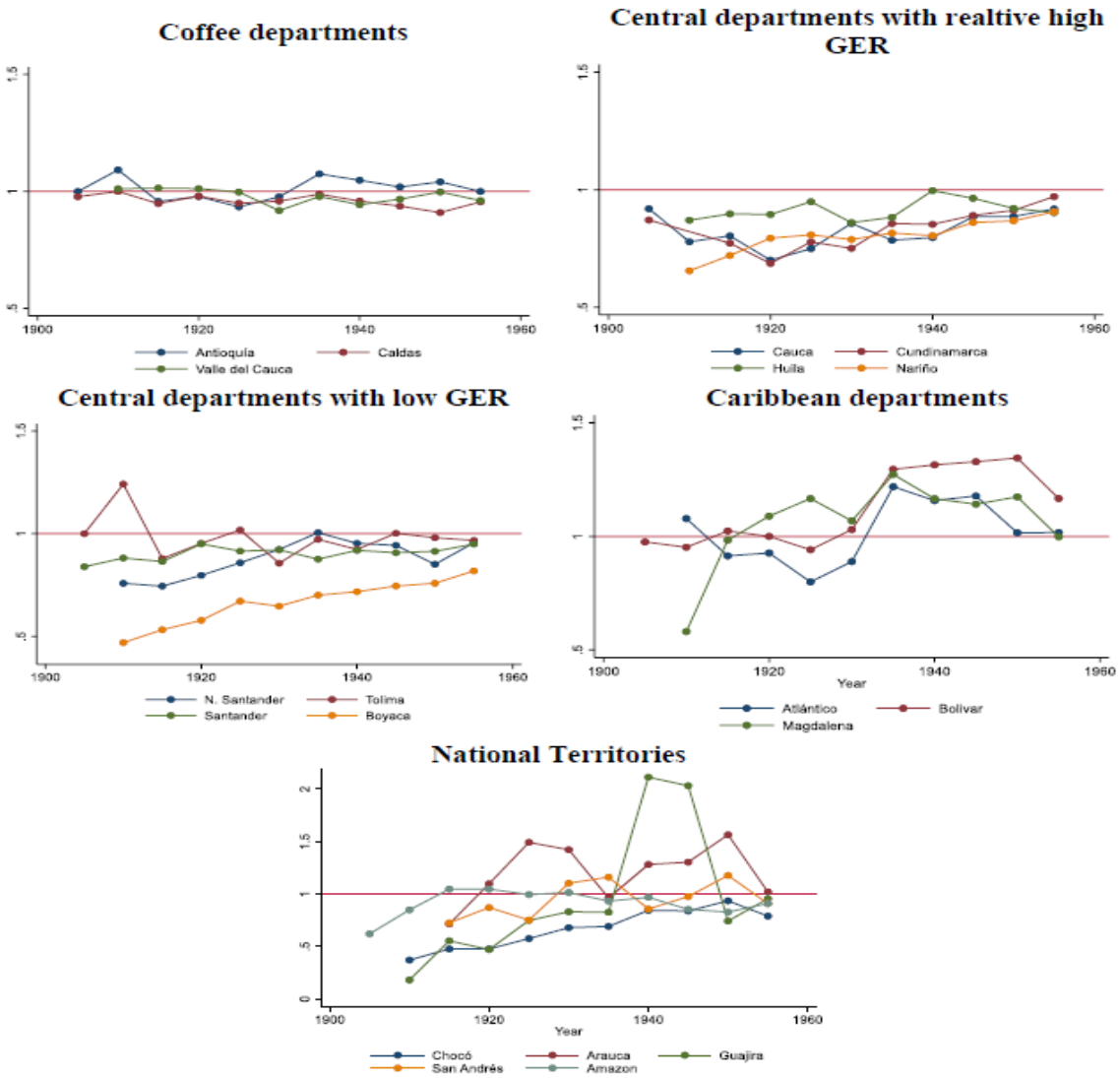
Concerning the above, according to the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1928, many departments had to cope with the frequent flight of qualified teachers to departments with better infrastructure and better pay, such as Antioquia, Caldas, Cundinamarca, Atlántico or Valle del Cauca. For this reason, it can be understood that the departments with the highest educational budgets had little interest in teacher training. In the same way, in the most industrialized and urbanized departments, a feminization of urban work could be observed. For this reason, the job opportunities for women outside teaching would be much greater and better paid; for example, they could work as secretaries, in telegraph offices, or for accountants (España-Eljaiek, Fuentes-Vásquez and Gaviria-Meléndez, 2022). Finally, about the remaining territories, it is clear that vocational and teacher training began to increase from the 1930s, becoming a new training outlet for those who had no interest in continuing with tertiary education.

Figure 7 gives the ratios of girls to boys enrolled in primary education by departments and National Territories. In general terms, it can be observed that there were more boys than girls enrolled in primary education in practically all departments during the first three decades of the 20th century. After that, the number of boys and girls enrolled tends to converge in most territories.

Overall, a general increase in female enrollment compared to male enrollment is observed since 1930. Little is known about why there were more girls than boys enrolled in primary education. Ramirez and Salazar (2010) also observe a similar pattern at the end of the 19th century without providing a plausible reason for this fact. The hypothesis used in this research is that until 1933 female education was of lower quality than male education, which could have discouraged the female demand for education. In addition, as already mentioned, women were prohibited from working without the permission of their husbands or fathers until the early 1930s. However, the need to incorporate "cheap" labour into the fledgling industry may have contributed to the abolition of this provision in 1932. This milestone could have stimulated the demand for female education, given the new job opportunities that women could now access.

Moreover, the results show five different patterns. First, coffee regions show more or less parity between boys and girls enrolled in primary school throughout the period. The departments also exhibit the highest enrollment rates, which could be associated with better local educational policies to extend coverage. Second, the central departments and National Territories, except for Arauca and Guajira, show a trend of more boys enrolling in primary education and a tendency to parity from the 1930s. This pattern reflects the paternalistic and sexist policies of the time, which were aimed at reinforcing boys' education. Finally, the third pattern was exhibited by the Caribbean departments and some National Territories such as Arauca or Guajira for some years, in which a much higher enrollment of girls than boys was observed during most of the period, with, during the first three decades of the 20th century, more boys than girls in primary education. However, the trend changes from then on, resulting in more girls than boys. Little is known about the reasons for this trend, neither in Colombian historiography nor in educational memories, so it is impossible to offer a different hypothesis to explain it. For this reason, some ideas have been suggested for it. The main hypothesis relates to family structure on Colombia's Caribbean coast. Although Arauca is not located on this stretch of coast, it shares some features with it. In these regions, family structure has been marked by free unions and a high absence of men in most cases, giving women a fundamental role (Helg 2001). This particularity is not observed to the same extent in the rest of the country (Saavedra, Palós and Gay 2013), which may explain why women saw a greater need to educate their daughters since many of them would end up becoming the only providers of family income.

Figure 7. Range of sex ratio in primary education by departments and National Territories, 1904-1958

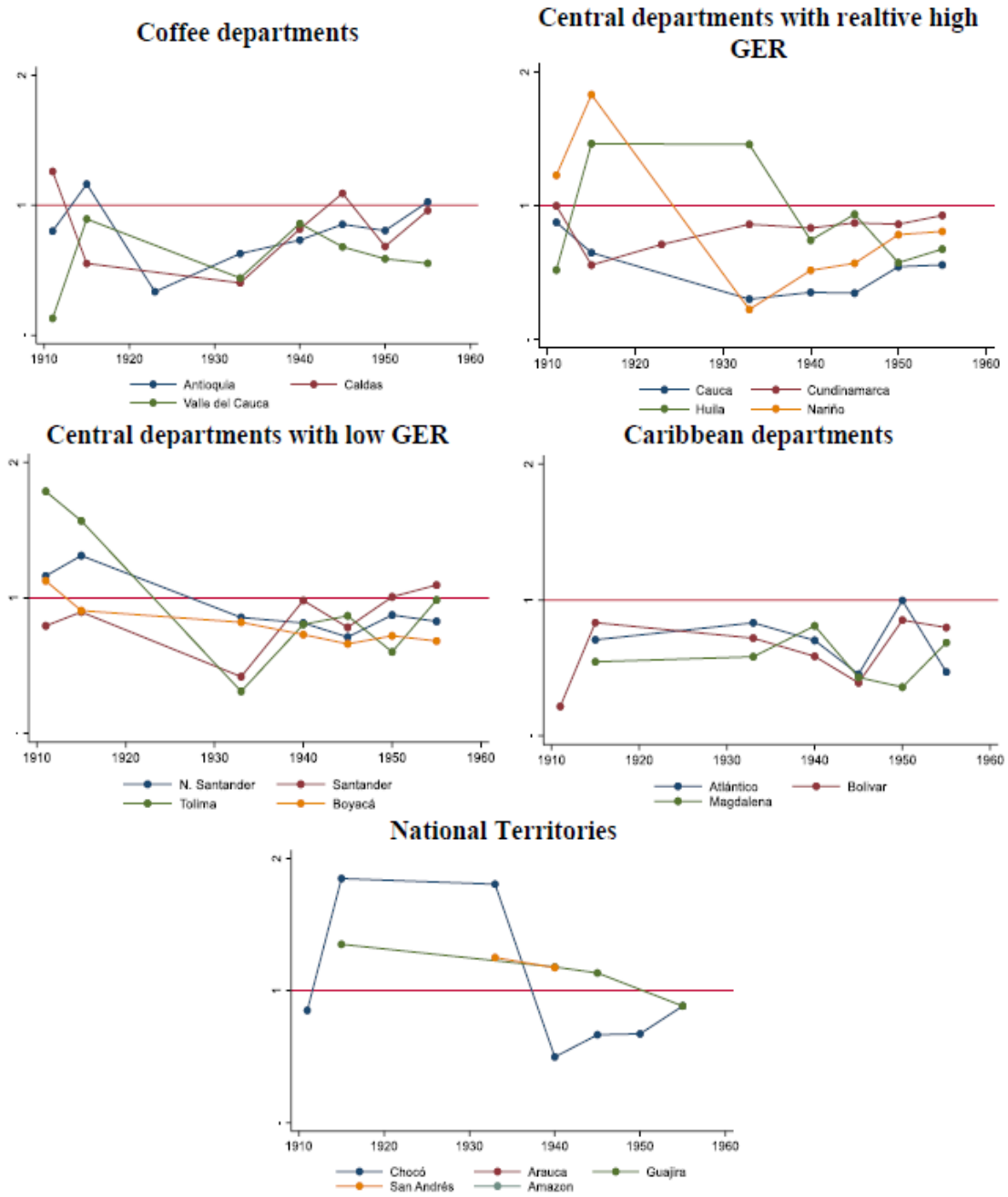


Source: own elaboration. Note 1: the enrollment figures are divided into thousands of children 5 to 14 years old. Note 2: the ratios are defined as girls enrolled/boys enrolled in primary school. One (1) indicates the same number of boys as girls enrolled in primary education. Ratios greater than one (1) indicate more girls than boys enrolled. Ratios less than one (1) indicate more boys than girls enrolled.

Figure 8 gives the ratios of girls to boys enrolled in secondary education by departments and National Territories. It is striking that practically the same pattern can be observed, with more female enrollment in the first decades of the 20th century, a trend later reversed. This fact is quite striking because educational policies were focused on discouraging female education, so the question arises: What type of education was provided to females enrolled in it? Figure 9 gives the range of sex ratios for public and private education in academic schools nationwide. The series show that there were very few girls in public education compared to boys in the first decades, with more girls than boys in private schools. This may explain why the departmental ratios show an advantage in female enrollment during the same period.

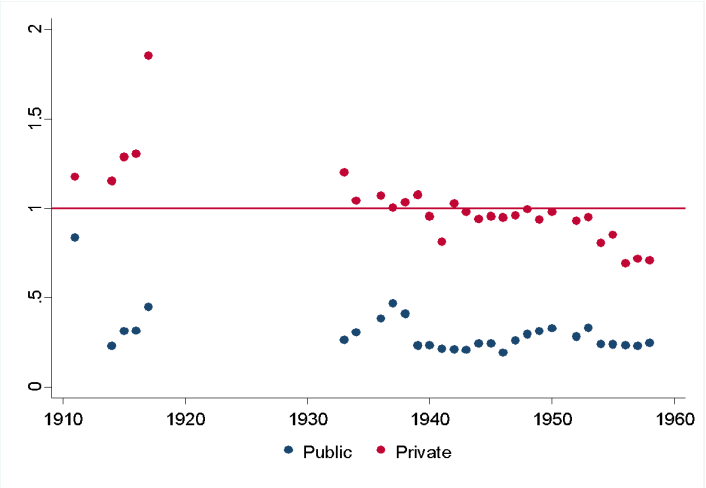
Although Law 39 of 1903 provided that the national government would finance at least one academic school and one for teachers, both men and women, in each departmental capital, the reality was that only schools for men and women were financed in Antioquia, Boyacá, Cauca and Cundinamarca, as explained in the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1911. Other departments only had male schools. Still, others did not have any schools funded by the government in the first decade of the 20th century. Therefore, the only alternative open to women was to study in private schools founded by Catholic congregations.

Figure 8. Range of sex ratio in secondary education by departments and National Territories, 1904-1958



Source: own elaboration. Note: the enrollment figures are divided into thousands of children 5 to 14 years old.

Figure 9. Female/male enrollment in secondary academic education, 1910-1958



Source: own elaboration

Helg (2001) explains that the Sisters of the Presentation led the post-elementary instruction movement not only because of the number of campuses they founded but because of their wide geographical coverage. Like the Sisters of the Presentation, many were women's congregations that dedicated themselves to providing secondary training to women in private schools, becoming, in most cases, the only alternative for them. Between 1880 and 1899, the Presentation Sisters founded 33 women's colleges across the country, followed by a similar number between 1900 and 1930.

In Chocó, for example, in the 1910s, the local government could not make the investment required to build secondary schools due to the existing demand, which is why the support of the Catholic communities was required to found them. Such is the case with the secondary school for women, which was made possible thanks to the congregation of the Mission of Sisters of Charity, as explained in the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1916. A similar situation occurred in Cauca, which was made possible by several secondary schools in the late 1920s thanks to the support of the Sisters of Charity, as explained by the Yearbook of the Ministry of Education for 1928.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, female secondary-school certificates only qualified them to work as schoolteachers, seamstresses or homemakers, and in no cases were they thereby qualified to continue their studies. In fact, the educational programmes for female secondary education differed significantly from those for male secondary education.

Overall, the first changes in secondary education that increased the participation of women occurred in vocational education, not academic education. In 1927, the National Pedagogical Institute for Young Ladies was created, one of the first institutions to offer quality education to women and allow them to professionalize pedagogical education (Helg 2001). In any case, the supply of vocational education was much smaller than academic education. However, in general terms, the secondary education supply for women was still less than for men.

5. Conclusions

Because there is not much information about the origins of inequality in Latin America, and given that education is crucial to understand the long-term evolution of inequality (Goldin 2001), this study has aimed to contribute to uncovering the origins of this inequality by focusing on education in Colombia during the first half of the 20th century.

Because Colombia is a very heterogeneous country with marked long-term regional inequalities, this work has focused on offering new evidence on educational outcomes from a sub-national perspective. As previous regional studies of education have focused on the central regions (Ramírez and Salazar 2007) or do not analyse patterns by taking into account the various categories (Fuentes-Vásquez 2019), this research provides new evidence in incorporating, on the one hand, both the centre and the periphery of the country, and on the other hand, disaggregated data by public and private education, rural and urban schooling, and gender.

The constructed series show significant regional differences in primary and secondary education enrollment rates during the first half of the 20th century. In general, there were considerable differences in educational results between the country's centre and periphery, which can be explained by the capacity for self-management, among other aspects.

Since the end of the 19th century, the country has been organized into departments and National Territories. The departments had high budgetary autonomy, while the National Territories depended on the central government. This territorial division was extended to the educational system. This fact created a marked difference in educational coverage in the long term in both primary and secondary education.

Moreover, in referring to the departments, we are not referring to a group of homogeneous regions. Conversely, many of them did not share the same institutional characteristics, nor the same economic resources. These substantial differences, in turn, resulted in different patterns in educational outcomes.

As for primary education, overall, this was mainly rural and public. Also, the series show slow growth from 1900 to 1950 and faster growth in most territories. Looking at the observed patterns, we see that the GERs were mainly higher in the departments than in the National Territories, except for Chocó and San Andrés.

Results also confirm that, during this period, the educational provision in the country was very uneven between the different regions in both coverage and quality. Concerning the departments, Antioquia, Caldas and Valle del Cauca have the highest enrollment rates in the country. These departments have a long tradition of growing coffee. They were the first to be industrialized, so there may be a direct connection with investment capacity, as Ramírez and Téllez (2007) suggested. Other departments, such as Cundinamarca, Cauca, Huila Norte de Santander, Nariño and Tolima, show a gradual increase in GERs until the late 1940s, becoming much more significant from the 1950s. Finally, the Caribbean coast departments (Bolivar, Magdalena and Atlántico) had low rates than other departments.

Concerning secondary education, the first thing to note is that the rates were much lower than those for primary education. From this general fact, four patterns were identified. The first pattern affects the departments that had the highest rates, such as Antioquia, Atlántico, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca. As with primary education, this can be explained by a higher budgetary capacity. In a second pattern of good performance, we have the Caldas, Norte de Santander and Santander departments, which, although they did not reach the same standards as the first pattern, show relatively good educational outcomes. A third identified pattern is that of the departments with a low level of coverage in secondary education, such as Bolivar, Boyacá, Cauca, Huila, Magdalena, Nariño, Tolima and finally, Chocó. In these departments, the main economic activity was agriculture, so primary training was already sufficient to exercise effectiveness in this field. Finally, most of the National Territories had a practically non-existent pattern in secondary education until the 1930s. However, as was observed in the case of primary education, Chocó and San Andrés have different performances than the rest, possibly related to the particularities of these previously exposed territories.

Furthermore, when we focus on secondary education disaggregated by type of training, the results show that before the 1930s, academic training was predominant throughout practically the entire period and in most of the territories, again except for San Andrés and Chocó, where the GER in teacher training was the highest since the 1930s. In both cases, these territories sought to train their own teachers, either to maintain their own religion and language, as in San Andrés, or because they could not offer salaries similar to those shown in other regions, as happened in Chocó.

Regarding the analyses of the series by gender, the results for primary education show several patterns. In general, more boys than girls were enrolled in primary education in practically all departments during the first three decades of the 20th century. In contrast, the territories located on the Caribbean coast show the opposite trend: more girls than boys were enrolled. This pattern has been observed from the beginning of the 20th century, while in others, it has been seen since the 1930s. The central hypothesis seems to be related to the family structure. On the Caribbean coast, most families are the result of free unions. In most cases, however, the men are absent, and the women become the head of the household. This institution may explain women's interest in educating their daughters since many of them will be the only family income providers.

Lastly, in the analysis of gender for secondary education, a single pattern is observed. The series show more female enrollment in the first decades of the 20th century, which was later reversed. The fact that more women than men enrolled in secondary education in the early decades of the 20th century is striking

because women were banned from access to tertiary education. If we analyse the schools where girls were being educated in greater depth, we see that most girls were enrolled in private schools. At that time, Catholic private education became the only option for women to access post-primary education. Starting access to higher education for women was approved, and at the same time, schools were forced to equalize educational programmes between men and women. Despite this, the state promoted vocational training instead of academic training, which provided access to tertiary education.

As a general conclusion, the results obtained in this work allow us to state that a large part of the Colombian population was totally or partially excluded from mass education during the first half of the 20th century.

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Appendix 1: Discussions of sources

Sources used to collect data on students in primary and secondary education

Table A1.1. Sources used to collect data for primary schools, 1904-1958

Year	Source
1904	Yearbook of the Ministry of Education (YME) for 1909
1905	Statistical Yearbook (SY) for 1905
1906- 1908	YME for 1909
1909-1910	YME for 1910
1911-1913	YME for 1911
1914	YME for 1916-1917
1915	SY for 1915
1916-1917	YME for 1916-1917
1918-1919	YME for 1920
1920	YME for 1921
1921-1922	YME for 1922
1923	
1924-1925	YME for 1923
1926	YME for 1926
1927	YME for 1928
1928	YME for 1928
1929	Not available
1930-1931	YME for 1931
1932-1933	SY for 1933
1934-1937	SY for 1934-1937
1938	Not available
1939-1950	SY for 939-1950
1951-1952	SY for 1951-1952
1953-1958	SY for 1953-1958

Table A1.2. Sources used to collect data for secondary schools, 1904-1958

Year	Source
1904	YME for 1909, only for Cundinamarca
1905	SY for 1905, only for Cundinamarca
1906	YME for 1909, only for Cundinamarca
1907-1908	YME for 1909
1909-1910	YME for 1910
1911	Not available
1912	YME for 1912
1913	Not available
1914	YME for 1916
1915	SY for 1915
1916-1917	YME for 1916-1917
1918	YME for 1919 for Atlántico and Caquetá, YME for 1921 for Cauca, YME for 1920 for the other territories.

1919-1920	Not available
1921	YME for 1922, only for Antioquia, Boyacá, Caldas, and Huila
1922	YME for 1922, only for Bolivar, Boyacá, and Cundinamarca
1923-1927	Not available
1928	YME for 1928, only for Antioquia, Caldas, and Cauca
1929	Not available
1930	YME for 1931, only for Antioquia
1931	YME for 1931
1932-1933	Not available
1934	SY for 1934
1935	Not available
1936-1937	SY of 1936-1937
1938	Not available
1939-1950	SY for 1939-1950
1951	SY for 1951-1952, only for Cauca
1952	SY for 1951-1952
1953-1958	SY for 1953-1958

Territorial changes

Due to changes on the borders, the following territorial reorganizations were made to build long-term series:

Table A1.3. Territorial groupings of data from 1909 and 1910 according to the territorial organization of 1942

Department	Territories included
Antioquia	Antioquia, Sonsón, Medellín, and Jericó
Atlántico	Atlántico and Barranquilla
Bolivar	Bolivar, Cartagena, Sincelejo, and Mompós
Boyacá	Boyacá, Casanare, Tundama, Tunja, and Santa Rosa
Caldas	Caldas and Manizales
Cauca	Cauca and Popayán
Cundinamarca	Cundinamarca, Bogotá, Facatitivá, and Zipaquirá
Chocó	Chocó and Quibdó
Huila	Huila and Neiva
Magdalena	Magdalena and Santa Marta
Nariño	Nariño and Pasto
Norte de Santander	Norte de Santander and Cúcuta
Santander	Santander, Galán, Bucaramanga, and San Gil
Tolima	Tolima and Ibagué
Valle del Cauca	Valle del Cauca, Buga and Cali
Arauca	Arauca
Guajira	Guajira
San Andrés	San Andrés
Amazon	Amazonas, Caquetá, Meta, Putumayo, Vaupés, Vichada, Tierradentro

Table A1.4. Territorial groupings of data from 1954 to 1958. A 1. Territorial groupings of data from 1954 to 1958

Department	Territories included
Cundinamarca	Cundinamarca and Bogotá

Table A1.5. Territorial groupings of data from 1951 to 1958.

Department	Territories included
Bolivar	Bolivar and Córdoba

Appendix 2

Table A2.1. Primary education gross enrollment rate disaggregated by departments and National territories, 1905-1958

Year	Antióquia	Atlántico	Bolívar	Boyacá	Caldas	Cauca	Cundina-marca	*Chocó	Huila	Magdalena
1904	24.5	4.99	5.76	8.58	16.69	42.44	22.69	6.57	13.71	5.26
1905	24.5	4.99	5.76	8.58	16.69	42.44	22.69	6.57	13.71	5.26
1906	23.34	13.5	12.83	9.72	21.74	43.69	22.32		14.51	5.52
1907	25.23	14.8	11.19	11.9	23.85	52.24	26.37		17.03	7.06
1908	19.78	13.37	7.46	11.06	25.25	52.55	27.16		18.39	7.62
1909	38.11	17.28	7.18	10.12	22.01	24.67	15.82	6.31	16.45	2.75
1910	37.05	14.16	9.55	10.73	22.52	17.52	13.78	5.46	15.47	5.49
1911	27.98	18.02	9.23	11.04	22.65	16.14	12.78	7.48	18.22	12.72
1912	27.78	17.06	10.12	11.19	26.74	16.35	16.44		20.35	13.47
1913	30.95	13.79	9.73	13.3	28.23	19.3	15.53		14.61	8.69
1914	34.98	20.12	11.99	16.44	30.61	24.81	18.88	9.31	16.31	11.71
1915	38.72	18.24	12.07	16.68	36.91	23.72	17.44	9.76	19.55	12.5
1916	36.76	19.45	14.48	18.55	38.99	24.46	19.46	12.89	21.88	12.86
1917	40.84	19.51	17.02	18.88	39.51	26.24	10.31	16.96	21.55	13.36
1918	37.51	17.07	14.59	16.41	36.67	17.17	17.32	12.57	19.09	12.56

1919	35.52		9.30	17.55	35.97	22.68	17.97		19.51	12.13
1920	34.92	15.2	9.75	15.25	37.48	23.24	18.85	12.18	19.27	11.71
1921	36.11	19.06	12.09	13.68	32.55			12.41		12.15
1922	35.82	18.86	12.54		31.72		16.08		17.64	13.36
1923	35.63	24.22	14.52	13	33.79	25.74	19.22	12.77	22.74	15.06
1924						20.27				12.8
1925	36.72	23.51	14.09	14.35	34.74	21.45	18.23	12.37	22.19	12.06
1926										12.53
1927			13.11			22.33		15.94	19.6	12.65
1928	36.44	15.35	16.39	15.12	34.35	22.85	22.42	7.86	23.53	15.25
1929										
1930	34.48	14.05	18.05	16.05	32.76	25.44	23.90	19.61	22.18	15.62
1931	37.45	16.77	18.99	12.81	35.03	30.46	23.80	17.75	24.68	
1932	34.82	16.53	16.22	20.11	35.20	26.85	24.96	23.04	24.59	14.9
1933	33.37	15.67	13.29	20.34	34.28	23.19	25.06	20.61	25.41	13.79
1934	36.04	22.37	19.17	18.41	36.7	29.48	25.56	22.51	26.08	15.34
1935	34.83	18.8	19.89	18.35	30.88	28.31	24.06	18.8	27.3	16.25
1936	37.61	17.86	18.18	19.27	30.24	28.67	27.55	24.43	23.36	21.21
1937	35.66	20.29	15.56	19.39	29.33	27.38	28.26	23.68	21.17	21.40
1938										

1939	36.97	17.66	16.83	20.65	33.62	27.22	26.53	22.06	22	19.02
1940	34.19	15.82	17.61	20.51	32.88	27.2	26.28	27.63	24.3	21.03
1941	37.76	20.12	16.88	22.73	34.79	31.84	28.51	28.45	26.8	25.27
1942	35.13	19.02	15.05	21.93	33.93	29.08	27.81	22.62	30.09	23.06
1943	35.2	21.5	20.78	21.76	34.72	30.43	27.72	26.51	29.37	22.79
1944	36.92	23.84	19.71	18.35	33.02	29.7	28.84	25.1	28.7	22.88
1945	37.36	21.71	19.94	19.57	31.48	30.37	23.76	23.93	27.52	16.09
1946	36.49	20.37	20.41	20.93	30.04	28.51	28.74	25.1	27.84	21.52
1947	36.34	20.56	21.17	22.9	30.18	26.5	27.79	25.81	29.6	23.62
1948	36.61	16.4	22.16	22.83	31.92	28.04	26.59	25.57	30.92	24.28
1949	38.76	20.48	19.7	24.36	30.3	26.8	24.13	20.11	32.31	23.39
1950	38.74	23.69	21.25	29.45	29.14	28.04	26.41	19.93	30.66	22.15
1951	36.31	20.34	23.84	27.26	30.65	25.39	25.43	39.85	28.16	16.55
1952	37.23	26.59	23.57	26.78	34.56	28.58	35.56	27.77	35.84	19.51
1953	41.17	30.14	25.92	28.36	36.97	35.43	38.97	29.39	35.86	29.42
1954	40.95	29.14	26.43	31.47	37.46	34.79	35.69	29.08	36.53	24.83
1955	42.12	32.43	27.92	34.59	38.28	34.37	38.72	30.2	41.65	24.94
1956	42.61	33.27	29.52	34.92	37.26	35.44	41.31	32.37	40.05	25.89
1957	41.01	34.53	28.09	35.48	38.46	37	42.86	30.48	41.22	24.65
1958	41.81	36.3	33.96	34.44	41.01	36.62	45.42	31.21	42.08	25.68

Year	Nariño	Norte de Santander	Santander	Tolima	Valle del Cauca	Arauca	Guajira*	San Andrés*	Amazon*
1904	18.46	4.08	19.11	15	24.98	29.83	1.63	30.69	7.25
1905	18.46	4.08	19.11	15	24.98	29.83	1.63	30.69	7.25
1906	23.02		18.34	11.01			1.63		6.99
1907	20.15		19.55	14.07			1.61		7.95
1908	18.87		17.95	10.86			1.78		9.19
1909	19.35	3.80	19.55	12.3	21.57		3.07		10.76
1910	20.15	4.77	11.31	11.48	25.56	26.36	4.24	28.9	14.89
1911	19.99	18.17	11.62	11.9	30.79			28.55	12.31
1912	21.37	18.3	14.67	12.51	31.19			23.09	
1913	18.47	13.25	20.43	12.9	29.32				
1914	23.72	22.41	20.82	15.23	35.18	23.79	0.45	57.14	15.82
1915	25.11	16.6	19.52	17.38	36.2	26.44	4.48	53.64	10.73
1916	24.66	17.17	22.24	17.51	36.78	6.72	5.47	62.87	15.55
1917	23.76	14.92	18.43	20.86	36.1	18.92	7.47	47.72	47.75
1918	26.16	15.92	17.71	18.55	34.64				29.51
1919	23.02	16.43	17.3	16.92	33.14			44.08	14.05
1920	22.59	15.92	16.78	16.42	31.14	22.83	7.47	49.40	13.37

1941	16.81	22.06	23.77	21.38	36.39	18.11	5.01	55.16	25.02
1942	20.01	22.73	21.31	20.55	37.10	17.79	4.65	49.52	23.83
1943	22.01	22.21	20.51	20.24	37.19	18.60	4.78	43.22	25.55
1944	23.67	23.44	20.26	24.38	37.97	17.18	7.16	41.89	23.94
1945	23.92	18.80	19.13	24.3	34.71	12.64	3.41	65.06	14.89
1946	23.63	24.96	22.37	23.59	34.43	12.32	3.29	36.91	22.27
1947	25.74	24.79	23.85	26.04	37.08	14.75	3.96	53.33	22.07
1948	26.30	23.81	24.02	27.85	35.08	10.54	4.48	47.15	24.72
1949	24.94	26.57	21.59	29.72	31.04		1.58		25.40
1950	28.22	29.97	27.12	25.18	35.08	10.32	1.74	50.13	28.98
1951	42.82	29.72	25.40	23.81	33.04	24.64	7.44	51.80	32.36
1952	28.73	35.68	30.37	21.10	35.38				
1953	33.73	36.06	30.79	28.4	38.16				
1954	36.71	37.95	29.69	32.55	40.55				
1955	37.95	36.75	31.77	35.55	39.66	19.7	5.11	40.25	23.30
1956	37.23	36.94	35.13	33.46	41.10				
1957	35.43	38.56	36.76	32.53	39.94	34.24	43.77	79.86	28.33
1958	35.26	36.48	37.5	35.42		31.48	44.57	86.84	28.93

Source: see text. Note: the enrollment figures are divided into thousands of children 5 to 14 years old. * = National Territories.

Table A2.2. Secondary education gross enrollment rate disaggregated by departments and National Territories, 1905-1958

Año	Antióquia	Atlántico	Bolívar	Boyacá	Caldas	Cauca	Cundina-marca	*Chocó	Huila	Magdalen
1904							10.77			
1905	6.50	12.39	1.7	2.29	10.24	6.89	11.52		0.37	1.63
1906	6.53	15.37	1.74	2.37	10.21	11.59	14.51		2.78	2.14
1907	2.81	9.51	2.55	2.67	7.54	10.85	11.15		7.03	0.45
1908	7.46	8.20	3.21	2.61	7.96	3.48	12.25		6.20	2.03
1909	0.11						3.8			
1910	0.25		0.11	0.16		0.21	8.13		0.27	0.18
1911	8.31	1.20	1.53	4.99	1.44	2.69	2.6	1.15	0.75	0.30
1912	4.67	3.55	3.09	2.73	3.83	1.53	7.62		2.68	1.48
1913	7.20	9.4	5	2.77	6.29	2.50	6.77		1.20	3.57
1914	8.09	5.53	4.18	3.04	6.56	1.75	7.76	0.58	3.00	2.67
1915	9.28	7.37	3.72	3.27	5.00	2.24	8.32	0.46	2.78	2.93
1916	10.51	6.98	4.09	3.41	5.88	3.45	13.51	0.61	3.09	1.36
1917	8.36	7.59	4.31	3.24	7.28	4.26	14.09	1.83	4.09	1.48
1918										
1919										
1920										

1921	0.67			2.06	0.21				0.3	
1922	7.24	14.94	3.66	1.85	2.87	2.16	6.7		2.48	0.66
1923	7.75	14.35	3.34	1.89	2.58	2.21	6.51	1.22	3.02	0.81
1924										
1925										
1926										
1927										
1928	7.47	1.22			0.24	2.61				
1929										
1930										
1931										
1932										
1933	5.98	6.27	2.07	0.02	3.31	2.04	2.95	2.32	1.97	1.93
1934	6.21	7.14	3.03	2.94	3.33	2.02	8.86	2.26	1.95	2.59
1935										
1936	6.39	7.97	2.19	3.08	2.97	1.94	8.55	3.47	2.14	2.05
1937	6.42	7.73	1.69	2.35	3.8	1.34	9.15	0.52	2.94	1.58
1938	7.18	8.06	1.97	4.2	4.6	3.28	9.81	2.04	3.13	2.35
1939	6.62	10.69	3.69	4.29	3.09	2.94	10.15	3.03	2.83	3.06
1940	6.84	10.72	3.7	4.3	3.76	2.93	8.4	2.38	2.77	2.45

1941	6.85	10.28	2.36	3.67	3.1	3.10	9.70	2.95	2.72	0.32
1942	5.87	11.45	2.87	3.62	5.44	3.18	9.56	3.27	3.20	2.40
1943	7.68	10.41	3.09	4.18	4.51	3.16	9.15	3.28	3.07	3.90
1944	7.39	11.29	3.06	4.16	4.36	3.13	8.89	4.11	3.00	3.83
1945	7.43	11.43	3.81	4.28	4.3	2.45	7.33	3.53	2.62	3.70
1946	9.17	9.97	3.89	5.02	5.75	4.5		6.15	2.67	4.28
1947	9.36	8.12	4.61	4.83	4.97	4.37	5.91	4.41	3.28	5.58
1948	9.92	8.41	4.45	4.32	3.99	3.48	5.79	4.72	3.81	2.44
1949	9.25	13.89	3.78	4.02	3.94	3.44	4.42	5.47	2.97	1.76
1950	9.86	13.06	4.52	4.67	3.85	3.45	7.16	6.09	2.97	1.73
1951										
1952	7.86	13.29	4.73	3.99	7.86	2.14	14.14	5.92	4.74	3.48
1953	7.86	14.83	4.02	4.96	7.81	2.56	11.48	5.46	5.37	4.81
1954	8.48	13.37	4.92	5.25	7.94	2.82	12.42	4.82	5.32	3.95
1955	10.22	14.17	6.29	4.97	7.94	4.12	16.34	3.07	6.24	5.96
1956	16.18	18.56	7.29	6.49	8.47	5.31	21.86	2.71	5.90	6.62
1957	15.77	20.87	7.48	6.78	10.5	6.17	21.37	5.37	7.31	7.79
1958	17.23	21.58	7.81	7.51	11.85	6.06	22.91	7.73	7.34	7.20

Año	Nariño	Norte de Santander	Santander	Tolima	Valle del Cauca	Arauca	Guajira	San Andrés	Amazon
1900									
1901									
1902									
1903									
1904									
1905	2.86		1.90	0.63					
1906	3.18		3.83	3.87					
1907	3.61		2.84	5.86					
1908			2.58	5.65					
1909									
1910	0.16								
1911	4.60	4.86	2.32	2.38	1.57		1.88		
1912	4.10	5.47	2.70	2.29	6.11		1.82		
1913	4.28	7.03	2.67	1.92	2.57				
1914	4.76	5.89	3.35	2.43	5.20				
1915	3.95	5.8	2.87	5.38	6.98		11.35		

1916	4.90	6.24	3.63	3.21	8.31				
1917	5.08	7.69	4.86	1.51	15.62				
1918									
1919									
1920									
1921									
1922		4.67	1.55	5.29	6.39				
1923	2.09	4.86	1.51	2.33	5.24				0.21
1924									
1925									
1926									
1927									
1928									
1929									
1930									
1931									
1932									
1933	2.02	4.82	2.2	1.19	3.41	0	0.53	3.09	0.55
1934	2.00	4.95	3.49	1.39	3.96	0	0.51	3.6	0.51
1935									

1936	2.52	4.43	3.19	1.78	3.52	0	0	2.37	0.3
1937	1.5	3.71	4.07	2.19	2.54	0	1.16	3.04	0.3
1938	2.74	5.1	4.68	1.87	4.7	0	0	4.37	0
1939	2.85	4.81	4.73	2.03	6.31	0	0		0.21
1940	3.19	5.72	5.95	2.58	5.17	0	0	12.46	0.33
1941	3.8	5.99	4.64	4.38	5.2	0	0	11.74	0.65
1942	4.35	7.37	4.35	4.03	5.53	0	0	11.82	0.47
1943	4.07	7.19	4.08	4.12	6.19	0	0	13.56	0.38
1944	4.01	7.4	4.03	4.05	6.21	0	0	7.47	0.27
1945	4.46	7.28	4.26	5.78	7.56	0	0	7.27	
1946	5.45	8.57	6.09	6.49	6.15	0	0		
1947	5.16	7.68	5.88	4.71	5.97	0	0	9.11	0.08
1948	4.67	5.1	7.44	4.76	5.76	0	0		0.71
1949	3.41	7.86	7.22	4.28	4.5	0	0		0.61
1950	5.09	8.18	6.89	3.61	6.2	0	0		0.69
1951									
1952	4.71	7.74	6.14	2.3	6.27	0	0	6.46	0.52
1953	5.06	7.96	6.97	4.94	7.04	0	0	6.08	0.65
1954	3.96	7.61	6.78	4.77	7.31	1.67	0.35		1
1955	5.05	8.21	7.53	5.59	6.48				0.14

1956	6.37	10.58	8.34	6.59	8.44		0.13			0.69	
1957	6.85	13.17	9.85	6.12	10.22	0.54	3.77			1.5	
1958	7.65	10.95	10.55	7.17	11.14	2.96	3.18	3.26		2.6	

Source: see text. Note: the enrollment figures are divided into thousands of children 5 to 14 years old. * = National Territories.