




Educational inequality on the northern border of México: social reproduction and violence

Desigualdad educativa en la frontera norte de México: reproducción social y violencia

Desigualdade educacional na fronteira norte do México: reprodução social e violência

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KEYWORDS

direct violence,
educational inequality,
marginalization, structural
violence.

ABSTRACT. The persistence of educational actions and mechanisms that increase the exclusion of large groups affect not only school failure and dropout, but also impact low social mobility, an increase social conflicts, and the reproduction of inequality. This statement is contrasted in light of the analysis of indicators of students who completed secondary education in the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico, during 2019 and that illustrates the considerable gap between those who obtained insufficient levels and those who have high academic achievement. The results of the Planea standardized test carried out on 24,532 students were contrasted with socioeconomic, cultural and school modality variables, in addition, the variable of exposure to direct violence was incorporated in order to observe and describe how educational precariousness represents a form of structural violence, which widens the inequality gap, limits mobility and social development. The empirical findings show that there is a significant difference between different school groups, which allows establishing a certain degree of relationship between the context and academic achievement.

PALABRAS CLAVE

desigualdad educativa,
marginación, violencia
directa, violencia
estructural.

RESUMEN. La persistencia de acciones y mecanismos educativos que aumentan la exclusión de grandes colectivos inciden no sólo en el fracaso y abandono escolar, también impactan en una baja movilidad social, un incremento en la conflictividad social, y la reproducción de la desigualdad. Esta afirmación se contrasta a la luz del análisis de indicadores de alumnos que concluyeron la educación secundaria en el estado de Tamaulipas, México, durante 2019 y que ilustra la brecha considerable entre aquellos que obtuvieron niveles insuficientes con quienes tienen alto logro académico. Los resultados de la prueba estandarizada Planea realizada a 24,532 alumnos se contrastaron con

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variables socioeconómicas, culturales y de modalidad escolar, asimismo se incorporó la variable de exposición a la violencia directa con el objetivo de observar y describir cómo la precariedad educativa representa una forma de violencia estructural, que amplía la brecha de desigualdad, limita la movilidad y el desarrollo social. Los hallazgos empíricos muestran que existe una diferencia significativa entre distintos colectivos escolares, lo que permite establecer cierto grado de relación entre el contexto y el logro académico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

desigualdade educacional, marginalização, violência direta, violência estrutural.

RESUMO. A persistência de ações e mecanismos educativos que aumentam a exclusão de grandes grupos afeta não apenas o insucesso e a evasão escolar, mas também a baixa mobilidade social, o aumento do conflito social e a reprodução da desigualdade. Esta afirmação é contrastada à luz da análise de indicadores de alunos que concluíram o ensino médio no estado de Tamaulipas, México, durante 2019 e que ilustra a diferença considerável entre aqueles que obtiveram níveis insuficientes e aqueles que têm alto desempenho acadêmico. Os resultados do teste padronizado Planea, realizado em 24.532 alunos, foram confrontados com variáveis socioeconômicas, culturais e de modalidade escolar, da mesma forma, a variável de exposição à violência foi incorporada para observar e descrever como a precariedade educacional representa uma forma de violência estrutural, que amplia o fosso da desigualdade, limita a mobilidade e o desenvolvimento social. Os achados empíricos mostram que existe uma diferença significativa entre os diferentes grupos escolares, o que permite estabelecer um certo grau de relação entre o contexto e o desempenho acadêmico.

1. INTRODUCTION

The association between contextual conditions and academic achievement has been approached from multiple approaches that associate habitus and capitals (Bourdieu, 1986, 1997), entorno sociocultural (Blanco, 2008, 2009; Tapia- Bracho & Valenti, 2016), sociocultural environment (Chaparro et al., 2016), socioeconomic situation (Cordero et al., 2015) and school modality (Backhoff et al., 2005), with school achievement. However, both in the specialized literature on education, as well as in that related to the design of educational policies, it is repeatedly questioned why social inequality tends to last over time and how, despite the implementation of costly programs called compensatory, the indicators show a gap increasingly widespread among the groups located in the poles of development, a fact that has a particular impact in the educational area, and that has influenced social mobility in Mexico for decades. In this sense, marginalization during childhood seems to be predictive of precarious life in a highly significant percentage (Sandoval, 2008; Sobolewski & Amato, 2005), in addition to being associated with an increase in violence (López-Santiago et al., 2017).

From a pedagogical approach, which has the student as the leading actor, the academic achievement achieved under similar educational plans and programs should be equivalent insofar as the processes of cognitive development and the stages of maturation in infants and adolescents are presented universally (Piaget, 1968; Richmond, 1974; Saldarriaga et al., 2016), only influenced by the socialization process (Cárdenas, 2011; Vygotsky, 1995). Under this logic, the significant gaps observed in the academic performance of different school groups need to be explained from other perspectives that complement teaching-learning theories.

One of these perspectives is based on the theory of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986, 1997; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2003), whose approaches suggest that cultural capital, educational resources, academic aspirations of students, and educational practices in the family will be decisive factors in the academic performance of each social group. Under this theoretical perspective, educational inequalities are "denaturalized" while questioning the notion that

success lies in merit and individual talent to focus on the fact that the hierarchy of educational systems is based on criteria that systematically privilege the dominant social classes.

The reproduction of inequality perpetuates the structural violence that researchers such as Galtung (1996), have written about, who considers that social injustice, as well as the unequal distribution of power, is a form of structural violence because inequality generates marginalization and exclusion, which are regarded as an obstacle to human development, influencing human beings in such a way that their practical and mental achievements are below their potential achievements. In other words, there is violence when the potential is greater than the effectiveness, which is avoidable.

2. METHOD

This document has been structured based on the aforementioned theoretical approaches, and its main objective is to analyze, from a mixed methodological approach, statistical and empirical information through which it is evident that school groups with high degrees of marginalization obtain academic indicators below average and well below those obtained by groups in more favorable economic and social situations. In addition to allowing the empirical verification of the aforementioned theoretical postulates, it documents the location of the population with the highest degree of marginalization, from geographic to school, and briefly illustrates the existence of racism as a form of cultural violence observed in the composition of the population. public and private school students.

The starting point is that the population of Tamaulipas, a state located on the northern border of Mexico and which has significant indicators of direct violence due to the settlement of criminal groups in the geography of the entity, experiences an important gap in social and economic development. of the 43 municipalities (Zárate & López, 2017). Additionally, school marginalization, derived from poverty, has not been significantly reduced despite the implementation of compensatory programs by the Ministry of Education; on the contrary, the gap has widened over the years. Derived from this and under the premise that violence can start at any of the vertices, it follows that the sum of violent manifestations increases the vulnerability of the school groups of the entity that are in conditions of marginalization (Ávila et al., 2014).

For the development of the empirical work, data has been taken from 24,532 students who completed secondary education in the 2018-2019 school year in 745 secondary schools in Tamaulipas, Mexico, among which are various types and modalities: private and public; Technical, General and Telesecundarias; as well as morning, evening and full-time. The student population analyzed represents 46% of the enrollment in the third grade of secondary school during the referred period and 100% of the students examined through the Plana test.

Poverty, academic achievement and school exclusion.

Poverty, according to Galtung, is a form of institutionalized and internalized violence, hence the difficulties in fighting against it, since any attempt to eradicate it will produce strong resistance, both from the social structures that will oppose the changes and form part of the affected subjects themselves. People who lack decision-making power over the distribution of existing resources do not have the same opportunities to access the necessary means to develop their potential. This difference in options gives rise to a permanent situation of inequality that

can be described as structural violence or social injustice, violence that, in turn, can be manifest or latent (Galtung, 1996).

Poverty is not a new phenomenon; however, several public policies have recently been generated that point to educational development as a strategy for eradication. Several authors have already pointed out the limits of academic proposals to overcome situations of poverty and exclusión (Bonal & Tarabini, 2010), , so it is necessary to highlight the role played by material and social living conditions in development. Social. One of the characteristics of current capitalism is that at the same time that the deterioration of the living conditions of a significant part of the population increases, the level of demand for skills, knowledge, and qualifications for insertion in the productive and labor sphere increases. In this way, education has become a tool that reproduces social inequality. In Mexico, according to figures from the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL), from 2008 to 2018, the percentage of the population with income below the income poverty line barely moved from 49% to 48.8% (more than 60 million inhabitants), while the people with income below the extreme poverty line remained in the same decade at 16.8% (more than 20 million). During this same time, the population with an educational lag went from 21.9% in 2008 to 16.9%. Despite the decrease in the academic gap in the country, poverty has not been impacted in general terms.

Regarding educational inequality, we consider it necessary to initially consider what is conceived as educational equality to understand later what is assumed to be a deficit. Thus, we start from the normative principle of equality, which can be summarized in five points proposed by Sussman and Coleman (como se citó en Muñoz, 2003):

1. Equal opportunities to enter the educational system for individuals with the same skills.
2. Equal opportunities to enter the educational system available to members of all social strata regardless of their demographic characteristics and intellectual abilities.
3. Equalize the educational results obtained in the school system by all individuals with specific academic skills who dedicate the same amount of time and effort to their learning.
4. Equalize the educational results obtained in the school system by all individuals who dedicate the same amount of time and effort to their learning, regardless of the academic skills they possess and the social stratum to which they belong.
5. Ensure that those who belong to the different social strata acquire the same learning skills through access to quality educational inputs inversely proportional to the skills with which they enter each course and, thus, obtain the same results at the end.

On the other hand, educational inequality occurs when the conditions defined above are not met in a society, that is, when there is the exclusion of some, whether individuals or groups, from access to educational opportunities, as well as permanence and success. in the school system (Subirats, 2017).

These postulates analyzed the academic performance of 24,532 students who completed secondary education in the 2018-2019 school year. The statistical analysis shows a significant difference between the different modalities, which is above the national average (Backhoff, 2011; Backhoff et al., 2005), but fundamentally between the groups with varying degrees of marginalization. Based on the statistical information, it is observed

that school performance is lower when the category of multigrade school is added to the conditions of high marginalization, as well as the geographical location in the so-called polygons of violence that have been established in the entity and in the which are located 164 schools. Through this quantitative look, it is intended to show how marginalization's material and social conditions affect students' school performance, which adds elements to the reproduction of structural violence in Tamaulipas.

As an indicator of academic achievement, the results are used in the Language and Communication area of the Plana test, carried out in June 2019, whose valid data is analyzed and presented based on the four established levels (Table 1).

Table**1**

Levels used in the Plana test and their description.

Level	Description
Level I	Students at this level obtain scores that represent an insufficient achievement of the curriculum's key learnings, reflecting fundamental deficiencies that will hinder future learning.
Level II	Students at this level have a barely significant achievement in the critical learning of the curriculum.
Level III	Students at this level have a satisfactory achievement in the critical learning of the curriculum.
Level IV	Students at this level have outstanding achievements in the key learnings of the curriculum.

Source: Own elaboration with data from <http://planea.sep.gob.mx/>

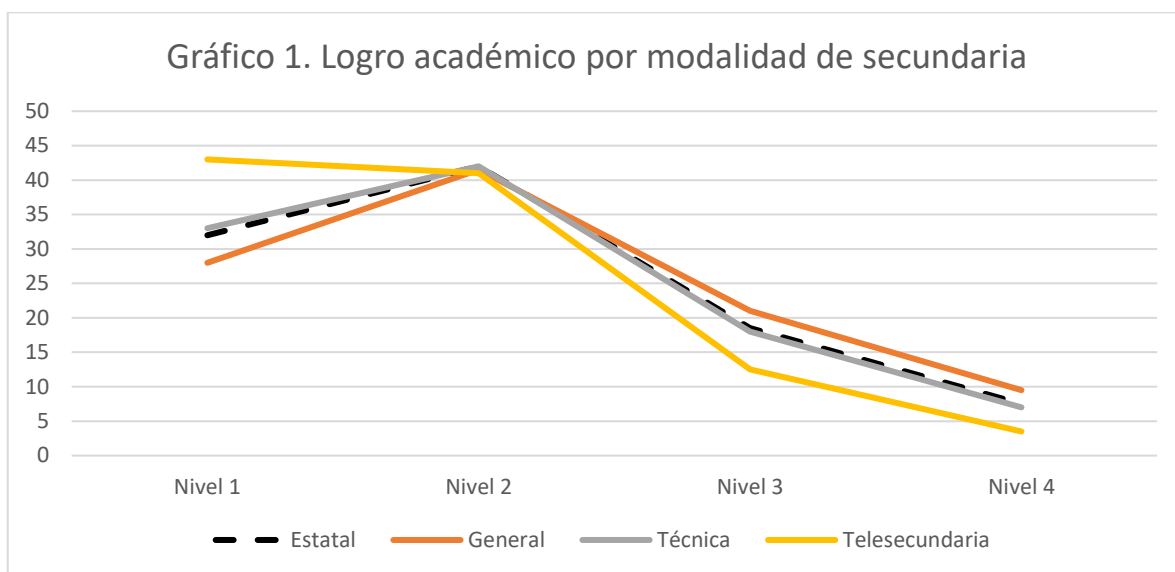
In the Plana test, the learning of two areas is evaluated: Mathematics and Language and Communication; for the present investigation, only the second has been selected because it is considered that it is not only an indicator of academic achievement but that from the language are built the meanings and concepts that contribute primarily to school integration, as well as to the appropriation and construction of knowledge (Cárdenas, 2011). In a broader sense, language marks patterns of expression that identify social groups and play a relevant role in the mechanisms of exclusion. And is that when the subjects do not possess the cultural capital and the linguistic capacities that allow them to appropriate meanings and exchange them, they fail to integrate into the group, which leads to marginalization and self-exclusion (Bourdieu, 1997).

3. RESULTS

Educational inequality: indicators and results

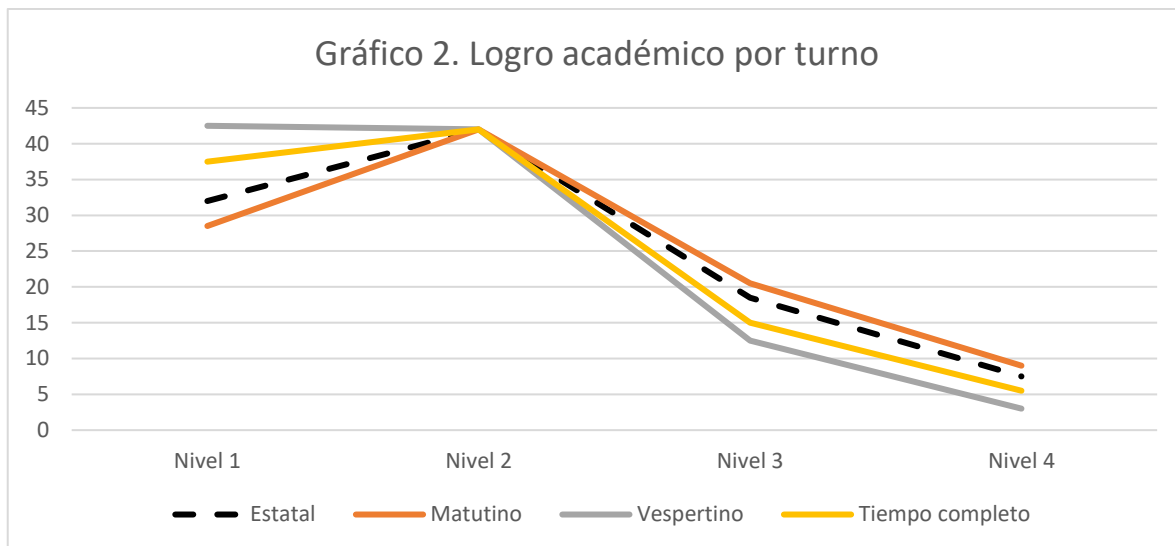
In the case of Tamaulipas, the first finding refers to the various scores obtained in the Plana test by students enrolled in multiple modalities of public secondary schools. The best performance is for the General Secondary

Schools with fewer students in Level 1 and 10 percentage points more in Level 4 than Telesecundarias. (Figure 1).



Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019.

The difference observed in a state aggregate is 15 points between the extremes located at level 1 and six points at level 4 (Graph 1). The gap in the results obtained per shift is similar, the best performance is shown by the students who attend in the morning, above the state average, in contrast, the students who attend secondary school in the evening shift have the lowest indicators (Graph 2).



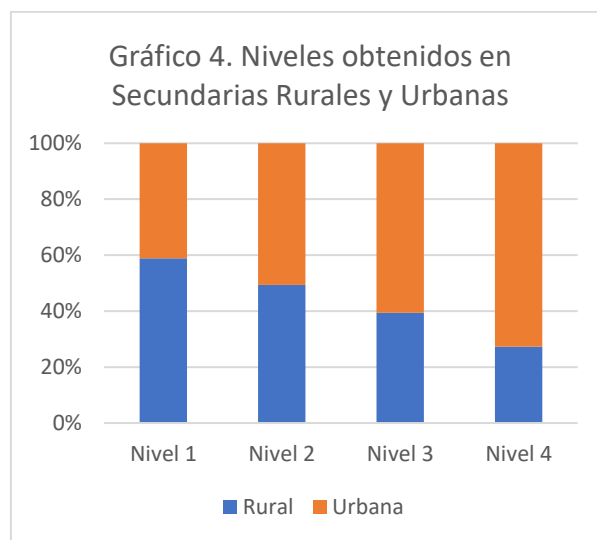
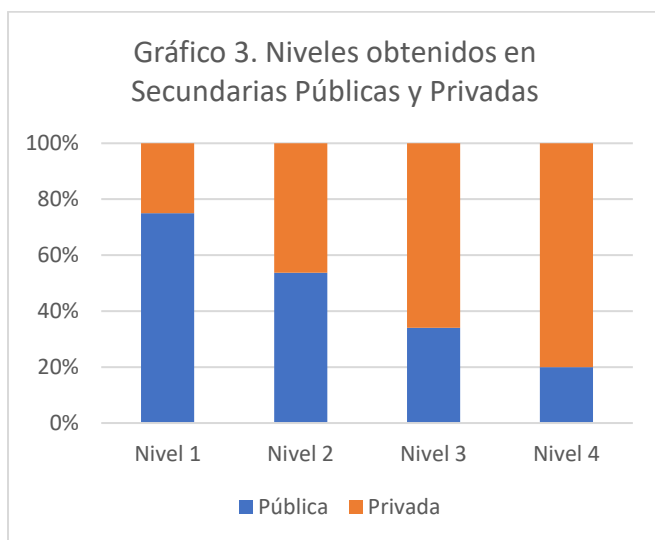
Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019.

The data regarding the performance of students who attend Full-Time Secondary Schools is noteworthy, which have an average of 15 more hours per week of academic and recreational activities and receive financial resources above the rest of the schools. However, 37.5% of the students who attend these secondary schools were located at the insufficient level; in addition, between levels 1 and 2, there are 79.5% of Full-Time students, an average above the morning shift schools and the average State, only below the evening, indicators that

question to a certain degree the relevance of the full-time educational model (Backhoff, 2011; Backhoff et al., 2005).

Education is an obligation of the State, and its objective is to train citizens capable of integrating into society. At the same time, individually, it is expected to strengthen the capacities and knowledge of each participant in the process. Likewise, it is a tool that promotes social mobility, in which Mexico occupies the last place, according to data from the OECD (IMCO, 2018). The figures warn about the high rate of social reproduction that characterizes Mexico, and that can be illustrated by the fact that 52% of children born in high-income households will maintain that standard of living, in contrast to 48% of children who born into families that occupy the lowest percentile will remain at that level for the rest of their lives.

The correlation between marginalization and academic achievement in Tamaulipas is straightforward. It allows us to affirm that the socioeconomic context is decisive in academic achievement, for example, the origin of school financing. Public schools show 24 percentage points more in the insufficient level than private schools and an inversely proportional result in the outstanding level (Graph 3).



Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019.

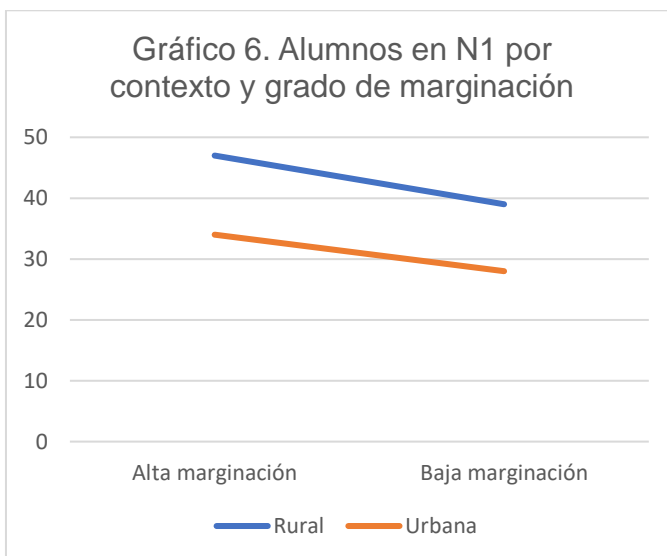
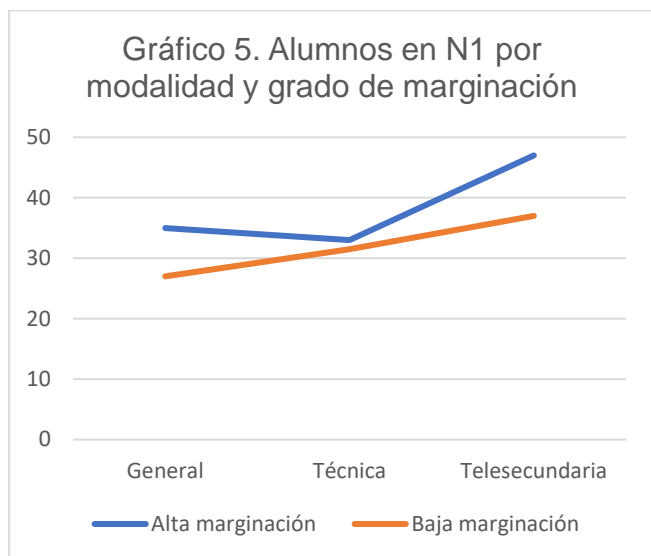
The dynamics of growth of large cities to the detriment of the countryside and the progressive importance given to online learning have placed rural communities in which there is no internet coverage at a disadvantage, which affects to a certain extent the widening of the gap between schools located in urban and rural areas (Graph 4). One of the variables that impact this difference is the existence of media classrooms since while 23% of schools located in cities have a space to carry out computer practices, only 10% of rural schools have it and in the cases in which there are dedicated computers for students, a notable difference is observed: in rural areas they only have five computers per school, unlike high schools located in cities, which have an average of 25 computers per school.²

This lack of computer equipment has a more significant impact, due to the very structure of the model, on the Telesecundarias. Their records show that only 7% of schools have media classrooms. In these cases, the average

² Data obtained from the 911 format (School year 2018-2019) and the Educational Census in Tamaulipas (2018-2019)

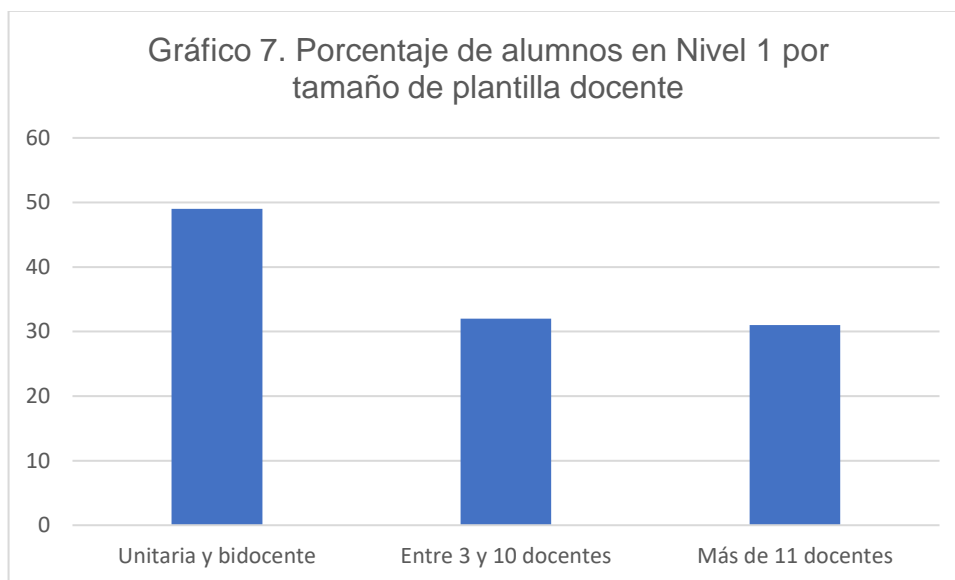
is only five computers. in rural areas, on the other hand, in urban Telesecundarias, it is ten teams per educational center.

As has been pointed out, the degree of marginalization is one of the variables that have the most significant impact on academic achievement, which we can observe empirically when analyzing the same type of school in diverse contexts of marginalization (Graph 5). For example, the number of students in the insufficient level is significantly higher in the General Secondary Schools and the Telesecundarias with a high degree of marginalization. The same thing happens when we analyze the context variable since both rural and urban schools show the trend of better performance in schools located in areas of low and very low marginalization (Graph 6).



Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019.

This lack of computer equipment has a more significant impact, due to the very structure of the model, on the Telesecundarias. Their records show that only 7% of schools have media classrooms. In these cases, the average is only five computers. in rural areas, another aspect that is directly associated with academic performance is that which refers to the size and composition of the teaching staff. The unitary schools, in which a single teacher is in charge of the three grades and of the administrative activities inherent to the direction, represent 9.4% of the total secondary schools in the entity and the two teachers 22.1%, the majority of them Telesecundarias and a significant percentage in highly marginalized áreas (Schmelkes & Aguila, 2019). Suppose the percentage of students who showed an insufficient level in the Plan test is comparatively analyzed. In that case, it is observed that those institutions that do not have a complete organization have almost half of their students located in this range, while in those of larger size, the percentage is 18 points below (Graph 7).

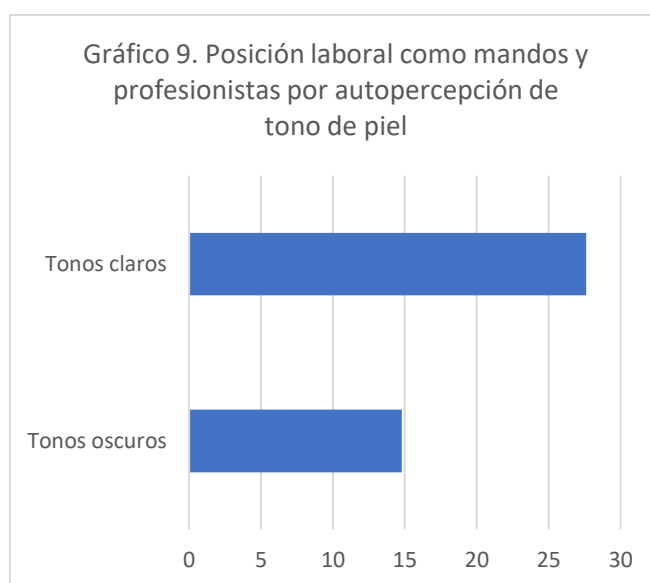
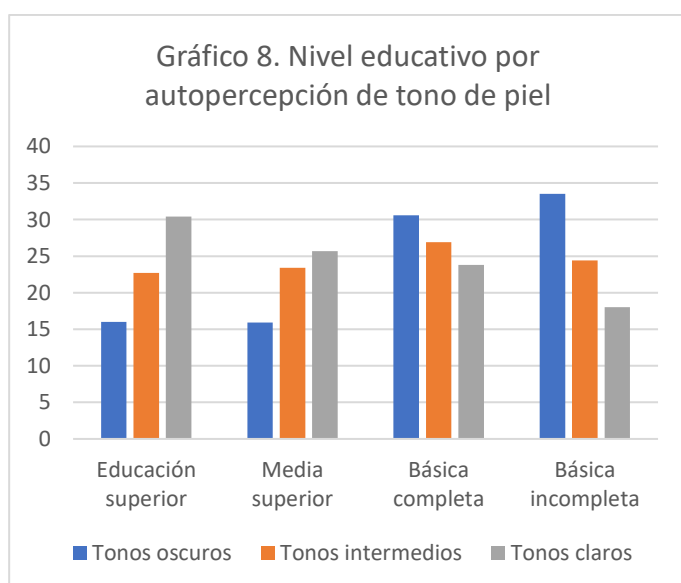


Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019.

Symbolic violence and cultural violence

In terms of inequality, another exciting fact incorporated into the analysis is racial discrimination, which can be considered a form of symbolic violence that does an exercise in social inequality natural (Bourdieu, 2000). It is a relationship of perception and recognition that becomes an essential component of reality and adds to the robust framework of the field in which individuals develop.

Although the belief in the supremacy of a race has no foundation, in practice, it has proven to serve as a basis for the justification of a discourse of domination, which is experienced in various areas, including the school. The association between skin tone and educational level, for example, has been evidenced through the National Discrimination Survey (ENADIS), which was carried out in 2017, in which different institutions collaborated. Among other interesting findings, it was shown through a skin tone self-perception exercise that there is a considerable bias in access to education and employment depending on skin tone (Graphs 8 and 9).



Source: Own elaboration with data from the National Discrimination Survey ENADIS 2017. INEGI

Based on the ENADIS findings, which allude to the difference between the level of education and the self-perception of skin tone, a pilot exercise was carried out in which two schools located in urban areas were selected: one private and one public. Both in neighborhoods with a low rate of marginalization, in which 3rd-grade students were asked to choose the tone of their skin based on the same catalog used in the ENADIS survey. The information obtained correlating the answers with the academic achievement in the different scenarios is very significant.

In private secondary school, the academic performance is above the state average, even though it does not report students at the insufficient level. At the same time, the public one says 42%. In contrast, the gap in the maximum achievement level is 52 points. Likewise, in the population of both schools, the gap between the self-perception of skin tone is very significant, especially between the intermediate and light values, which are 46 and 56, respectively (Table 2).

In summary, it was possible to observe a priori that the self-perception of the lighter skin tone presents higher values in the private school, which also has higher indicators in the Plana test, so through this pilot exercise, a new possibility of analysis, in which it is stated that racial discrimination would be related to school exclusion, to the extent that light skin is still considered one of the desirable values by the elites. Thus, the association between academic success, private education, and pale skin tone is presented as natural and provides the child with a perspective of the world from an early age according to her position.

Table 2

Comparison between variables of skin tone and academic achievement in two secondary schools in Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas.

	Private secondary	Public secondary	Gap
Level 1	0	42	42
Level 2	8.5	37	28.5
Level 3	33.5	15	18.5
Level 4	58	6	52
dark tones	2	12	12
intermediate tones	20	66	46
light tones	78	22	56

Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019 and survey.

In this way, to understand and explain racism in its production and reproduction in the school, it would suffice to observe how what is done in the schooled educational environment is reinforced by what happens outside of it, as an effect of the structure and social institutions that they act encompassing the school itself (Cruz-Baronnet, 2016). The school becomes the ideal agent capable of producing, reproducing, introducing, and legitimizing racism through its structure and access mechanisms that function as a barrier and generate self-exclusion in the dominated classes (Velasco, 2016).

Likewise, through the implantation of opinion-forming elites within the weakest part, indoctrination combined with the manipulation of the partial and biased perception of citizenship numbs the feeling of personal recognition and the sense of personal and social dignity by avoiding the formation of class consciousness (Galtung, 1996).

Violencia directa

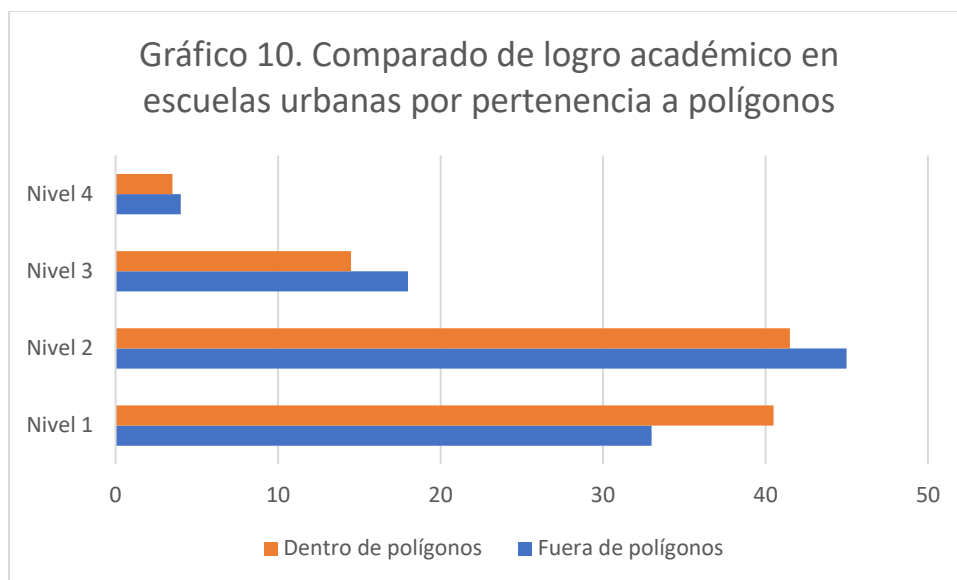
Just as political science focuses on two fundamental problems: the use of power and the legitimation of the use of force, studies on violence focus on two themes: the use of violence and its legitimation (Galtung, 2016). The school, as has been mentioned, reproduces structural and cultural violence by naturalizing inequalities; likewise, as a space for interaction, it functions as an amplifier of the dominant discourses, among which those generated by organized crime groups stand out and which legitimize a certain extent way the use of direct violence that underlies criminal activities.

Adolescents living in Tamaulipas are exposed to drug trafficking daily in their communities. Although the cultivation or production of drugs is not a condition for high homicide rates, there are variables such as the presence of strategic areas and those that they are in dispute, as is the case in Tamaulipas, which can generate high rates of violence (Cubides 2014 citado por Almanza et al., 2018).

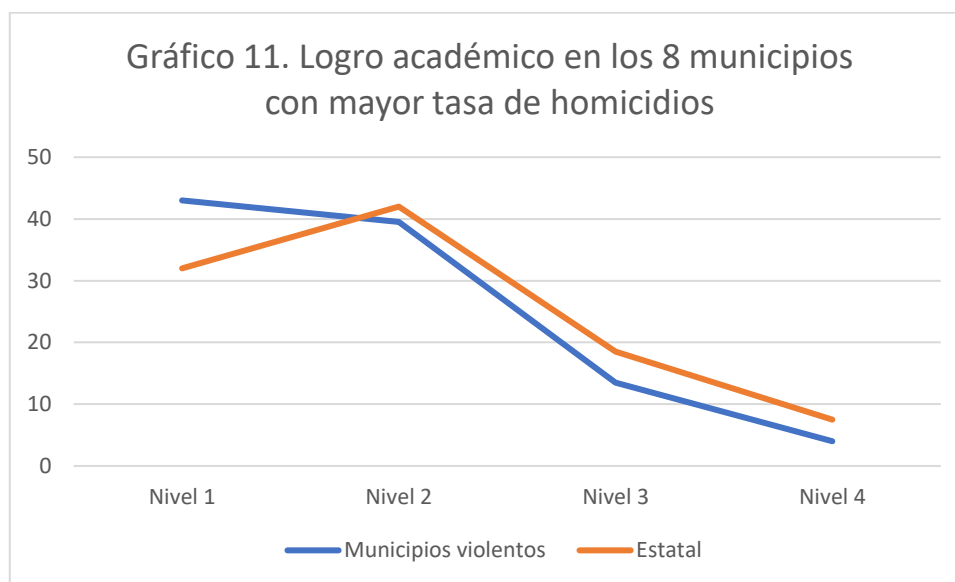
Phenomena such as drug trafficking interrupt social life in various aspects, which has currently increased because drug trafficking activities are mixed with other illicit actions carried out by criminal groups, among which extortion, kidnapping, and forced disappearances, which occupy the first places in complaints in the entity (Inegi 2020). According to official figures from the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System, between 2010 and 2019, Tamaulipas has been placed among the entities with the highest record of crimes related to organized crime (SESNSP 2018, 2019). Likewise, academic research on the subject points out that violence is a phenomenon inherent to the development of the entity (Almanza et al., 2018; Casas & Yado, 2020; Pérez-Fuentes et al., 2015; Zárate & López, 2017).

The teachers of the entity testify to the multiple ways in which direct violence impacts the educational field: suspended classes, extraordinary measures that have been implemented to safeguard minors in classrooms during confrontations, high school dropouts, and cases of orphanhood as a result of the death or disappearance of the parents. Likewise, they narrate the constant repetition of the cycle in which young people and adolescents join the ranks of criminal groups at an early age (Casas & Yado, 2020). In this way, we face scenarios where the various facets of violence converge, whose effects on childhood and adolescence development have not been sufficiently investigated.

Regarding the relationship between direct violence and academic achievement, the data provided by the empirical analysis in the entity show us that the schools located in polygons of priority attention due to the presence of crimes have performance below those found in other districts. Spaces, with a more significant number of students in Level 1 and more minors in the rest of the levels. This trend is even more important in urban areas, as seen in graph 10.



Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019 and Government Secretariat of the State of Tamaulipas.



Source: Own elaboration with data from Planea 2019 and February report on crime in Mexico. <https://elcri.men/mapa-de-delincuencia/> consultado el 1 de marzo del 2020.

On the other hand, if academic achievement is contrasted with the homicide rate in the municipality, it is found that achievement indicators are lower in those where a higher percentage of violent deaths is recorded among its inhabitants (Graph 11). It is essential to point out that for this exercise, the population proportion was taken into account, so some municipalities with many homicides but a large concentration of population are not included since what is interesting to highlight is the extent to which violence is naturalized by the community so that in small municipalities such as Jiménez, Miguel Alemán, and Mier, the rate is above average. However, they have relatively few inhabitants and, in net numbers, fewer homicides than cities such as Reynosa, Matamoros, or Ciudad Victoria.

In the case of Tamaulipas, no determining trend is observed when referring to the relationship between direct violence and educational achievement; even the impact of poverty on academic achievement is significantly higher. This behavior is related to the fact that extreme poverty and violence are not concurrent in the municipalities of the entity. However, recent research (Covarrubias & Sánchez, 2017; López, 2017; Zárate & López, 2017) has documented the formation of a habitus that carries heavy loads of violence, or the consolidation of transgression as a custom, as they call it Covarrubias and Sánchez (2017) when speaking about the case of the border municipality of Matamoros.

4. DISCUSSION

From Galtung (1996) approach, violence can begin at any vertex of the triangle formed by its different manifestations: structural violence, which is a process with ups and downs, and cultural violence, which is unalterable persistent, and direct violence is an event. With the violent structure institutionalized and the violent culture internalized, explicit violence also tends to become formalized, repetitive, and ritual, like revenge.

Throughout the previous sections, statistical evidence has been presented on how the sum of precariousness decreases educational achievement; thus, students who live in highly marginalized areas attend schools with infrastructure deficiencies and with a unitary scheme or bicentenary systematically show lower academic indicators. If we add to this the existence of conditions of direct violence, the results lead us to anticipate scenarios with lower performance.

Violence is a form of social interaction, so the school helps students learn to relate in a violent or non-violent way, being the ideal space for the reproduction of culture and values. Upon entering school, students assimilate into their individual experience a series of codes through which they assume their position in the school. Thus, the violence that each student carries with them when entering the campus is enhanced or diminished by the various situations of tension, and the mechanisms with which they are processed, to which they are exposed in the school space (Prieto, 2005).

For several decades, violence has positioned itself as one of the most relevant issues on the public agenda. For some years, it has increased its relevance in research in the educational field. Gradually throughout the first decade of 2000, the different types of violence were classified, emphasizing the causes and warning about the need to culturally contextualize practices considered violent (Chávez, 2014; Ruiz-Ramírez & Ayala-Carillo, 2016; Santiago & Del Tronco, 2013). Simultaneously, it is highlighted from multiple approaches that structural violence leaves marks not only on the body but also on the mind and spirit and can even affect mental health (Reiss, 2013).

Following this argument, it should be noted that organized crime is not an isolated phenomenon; the problem of social violence does not fundamentally lie in the struggles of cartels and cannot be seen externally in the school. The high degree of marginalization in which millions of inhabitants live and the functional absence of the State in large areas of the country (O'Donnell, 1993), is the perfect breeding ground for the emergence of groups that conceive the public as a loot whose capture would be justified by the validity of the unjust and exclusive social order.

During the last three decades, the indicators of violence and insecurity have increased in Tamaulipas. According to the criminal traffic light (2016), the state ranked 12th in homicides nationwide, 1st in kidnappings, 10th in extortion, and 4th in car theft. Likewise, it is the third state with the highest perception of insecurity, with an index of 86.9%, well above the national average of 73.2% (Envipe 2015), data that has been on the rise. In this spiral, insecurity becomes an identity element in childhood and adolescence, violating their civil and human rights (Martínez, 2014).

On the other hand, Tamaulipas shows an inversely causal relationship between development and violence since it maintains high rates of violence and insecurity. Still, they are not directly related to poverty, as in the case of other entities where localities with lower development indicators are the most violent (Zárate & López, 2017).

Statistical and empirical evidence confirms what Bourdieu's theory of reproduction and Galtung's study of violence state and also suggests an interesting line of investigation that goes deeper into the causal relationships and correlates the variables in a way that, in addition to being descriptive, serve as an instrument to analyze the effectiveness of educational policies in the Mexican entity.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Educational inequality in Mexico has deep historical roots and is interwoven with aspects of cultural reproduction, economic relations, and curricular practices. The educational system, through school infrastructure, widens the gaps by improving the conditions of academic centers in localities with better socioeconomic indicators while keeping rural schools in a precarious situation.

Unsurprisingly, secondary schools in the municipalities with the highest poverty in Tamaulipas present the lowest indicators in standardized tests of educational achievement. Adding to the contextual precariousness is the curricular design designed for students from urban settlements, the multigrade or unitary condition, the scarcity of teaching materials and technological support, not to mention the schools that do not have electricity or drinking water facilities.

Under these conditions of structural violence, which limit the comprehensive development of student's abilities, the possibility of breaking the cycle of poverty and marginalization is removed. Consequently, self-exclusion mechanisms are reinforced.

Likewise, the persistence of school actions and mechanisms that increase the exclusion of increasingly larger groups affect a higher level of social conflict and school failure and dropout, especially when social inequalities are added to poverty.

The vicious cycle of violence that can begin at the apex of structural violence manifests itself in the school environment through mechanisms that foster increasingly unequal and culturally legitimized exchanges. In this sense, it is necessary to seek to strengthen an education in which otherness is considered, which establishes sectoral policies that combat exclusion that ultimately generates violence, conditions learning, and limits equal opportunities for students to prevent insecurity from becoming an identity element in childhood and adolescence.

The empirical findings, fundamentally based on statistical analyzes of the student population in Tamaulipas, constitute verification of Bourdieu's theoretical postulates on social reproduction and illustrate the profound deficiencies faced by entire school communities, whose marginalization represents a form of violence. The structure manifests itself in academic achievement. Likewise, they are constituted as a basis for research works that delve more deeply into the mechanisms of reproduction and the consequences that violence, in all its meanings, has on social development to design and implement assertive educational policies that improve the structural conditions of the school system as a whole.

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Rol de los autores / Authors Roles:

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Mónica Chávez: conceptualización, análisis formal, investigación, metodología, administración del proyecto, recursos, software, supervisión, validación, visualización, escritura - preparación del borrador original, escritura - revisar & edición.

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