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Artículos científicos

Vicisitudes de la labor docente en un contexto de violencia por el crimen organizado

Vicissitudes of teaching because of a criminal gang's context of violence

Vicissitudes do ensino em contexto de violência do crime organizado

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Resumen

La institución educativa tiene el mandato social de transmitir la cultura de la comunidad que la sostiene, pero en muchas ocasiones olvidan su función básica porque padecen de violencias, marginación y pobreza, entre otras problemáticas. La metodología de esta investigación es cualitativa, de corte descriptivo e interpretativo. El objetivo consistió en describir las diversas violencias externas e internas que sufren los profesores de un Colegio de Bachillerato Tecnológico ubicado en el Estado de México. Se realizaron entrevistas en profundidad y grupos focales, así como observaciones naturalistas sustentadas en el análisis institucional, también conocido como *etnografía escolar*. Los resultados evidencian violencia externa perpetrada por el crimen organizado, así como violencia interna ejercida por el director y los estudiantes. Ambas cuestiones generan que los profesores cedan en su labor docente por las amenazas de algunos delincuentes y ante la incompetencia del Estado, la laxitud de las normas institucionales, la falta de apoyo de la sociedad, los directivos y los padres de familia. Las violencias en la institución de análisis son un reflejo de la dinámica social, económica y política, similar a los resultados encontrados en otras investigaciones del país. La escuela tiene episodios alarmantes de violencia, al igual que muchas otras alrededor del mundo, y ha alcanzado un estatuto de naturalización como fenómeno social. De igual manera, se advierte cómo la educación formal pierde importancia en términos de movilidad social para los estudiantes debido a las ganancias económicas que obtienen de forma inmediata por participar con el crimen organizado.

Palabras clave: coeducación, crimen organizado, escuelas, violencia.

Abstract

The educational institution has a social mandate. It has to transmit the culture of the community, but sometimes it is forgotten because it suffers from violence, marginalization and poverty, among other problems. The methodology of this research is qualitative, descriptive and interpretive. The objective of this research was to describe the external and internal violence suffered by teachers in a Technological Bachelorship College located in the State of Mexico. Some interviews and naturalistic observations were done. The results show external violence perpetrated by criminal gangs, as well as internal violence carried out by the principal and students. Both issues affect teacher's work and they accept threats of some criminals and the incompetence of the State, the laxity of institutional norms, the

lack of support from society, managers and parents. Violence in the institution of analysis is a reflection of the social, economic and political dynamics, similar to the results found in other investigations in the country. The school has alarming episodes of violence, like many others around the world. It has achieved naturalization status as a social phenomenon. In the same way, it is noted that formal education loses importance for students because of economic gains. They obtain easy money participating with criminal gangs.

Keywords: Coeducation, criminal gangs, schools, violence.

Resumo

A instituição educacional tem o mandato social de transmitir a cultura da comunidade que a apóia, mas em muitas ocasiões se esquece de sua função básica porque sofre com a violência, a marginalização e a pobreza, entre outros problemas. A metodologia desta pesquisa é qualitativa, descritiva e interpretativa. O objetivo foi descrever as diversas violências externas e internas sofridas pelos professores de uma Escola Superior Tecnológica localizada no Estado do México. Foram realizadas entrevistas em profundidade e grupos focais, bem como observações naturalísticas apoiadas em análises institucionais, também conhecidas como etnografia escolar. Os resultados mostram a violência externa perpetrada pelo crime organizado, bem como a violência interna perpetrada pela diretora e pelos alunos. Ambas as questões fazem com que os professores desistam do trabalho docente devido às ameaças de alguns criminosos e à incompetência do Estado, à negligência das normas institucionais, à falta de apoio da sociedade, gestores e pais. A violência na instituição de análise é um reflexo da dinâmica social, econômica e política, semelhante aos resultados encontrados em outras investigações no país. A escola vive episódios alarmantes de violência, como tantas outras no mundo, e alcançou o status de naturalização como fenômeno social. Da mesma forma, nota-se como a educação formal perde importância em termos de mobilidade social dos alunos devido aos ganhos econômicos que obtêm imediatamente com a participação no crime organizado.

Palavras-chave: coeducação, crime organizado, escolas, violência.

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Introduction

Institutions "are a creation of society to organize, protect and give security to human beings" (Herrera, Luna and Barojas, 2019a, p. 80). According to Manero (1990), "speaking of an institution refers us to specific establishments, with their material base, their visible existence: an association, a university" (p. 152). Although there are different types of institutions, this article focuses on education because it has the social mandate to "ensure the continuity of the community that supports it through the transmission of culture" (Fernández, 1996, p. 108). This cultural heritage is transmitted through its most capable members "because they possess a high degree of spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage and sympathy, always ready to help each other, and to sacrifice for the common good" (Darwin, 1874, cited by Lewis and Steinmo 2011, p. 125). Coinciding with Darwin (1874) and Fernández (1996), both the community and the educational institution have the primary task of ensuring the continuity of culture through fidelity, obedience, courage, sympathy and the common good, although in many occasions they forget their basic function because they are influenced by the external and internal context they suffer: violence, crime, marginalization, poverty, among others.

Regarding poverty, a breeding ground for many problems, the presiding counselor of the National Institute for the Evaluation of Education (INEE) recognized that "the educational poverty of a school accentuates the deficiencies of students and, consequently, leads to low levels of learning (...). Unfortunately, the majority of poor students in Mexico attend seriously disadvantaged schools (Gil, 2018, p. 307). In addition to poverty, schools are organized anarchies (Buendía, 2011), fields of struggle divided by internal conflicts (Ball, 1994) among their institutional actors. According to Buendía (2011), they are characterized by "the lack of coordination between individuals and communities; the relative absence of regulations" (p. 10).

Educational institutions, being a sounding board for society, must be analyzed as small societies from school ethnography, trying to understand "how people live and what motivates them; their relationships with others, the rules (largely implicit) that guide their behavior, the meaning of symbolic forms such as language, appearance, and behavior" (Vázquez and Valenzuela, 2013, p. 13). Likewise, the violence and suffering suffered by institutional actors who often put aside the primary task and prevent students from achieving certain learning that make them fit to live in their social context must be investigated.

Various investigations around the world have addressed the problem of external and internal violence in educational institutions (Remedi, 2004; Reyes-Argona, Gudiño and Fernández, 2018; Velázquez, 2011). No matter the country, religion or economic status, violence is present in most educational institutions. According to Velázquez (2011), it is pertinent “to differentiate between violence against the school and violence within the school (...), [as well as] from the outside in and from the inside out” (p. 17).

For our purposes, this article looks at violence from the outside in and inside the school. The main objective is to describe the external and internal context of a technological high school (CBT) located in the State of Mexico, Mexico. It seeks to answer what type of violence teachers in the CBT suffer and who are the actors who exert violence on teachers.

The word violence comes from the Latin *vis* ('force'). According to Blair (2009), there is no conceptual definition as such, only approximations to what the analysis phenomenon implies. Whoever talks about violence must always be asked what type they are referring to. Therefore, the violence that is exercised in educational institutions is defined as physical, mental and social abuse inside and outside the educational institution. This violence can be face-to-face, virtual or symbolic towards a student, teacher and manager, among others. It can occur in a unique or systematic way, and generates latent or manifest suffering in the victim temporarily or permanently, even up to death.

Violence in schools has been minimized and is so frequent that the problem has been naturalized by the State and by society in various parts of the world. Germany, Canada, the United Kingdom and Scotland (Masse, January 18, 2017), among other countries, have suffered sinister events, although the United States has the highest rates. For example, in the 2011-2012 school year, “10% of K-12 public school teachers (Kindergarten-Twelve) reported being threatened by students in the past 12 months, and the 6% reported having been physically attacked” (Huang, Eddy and Camp, 2017, cited by Abril-Martínez, 2020, p. 197). The most violent and tragic events by number of victims in the United States were the shooting at the University of Texas, Austin, on August 1, 1966; the massacre at Columbine High School, Colorado, on April 20, 1999; the shooting at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia, on April 16, 2007; and the massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School, Connecticut, on December 14, 2012.

In the case of Mexico, the massacre of the American School of the Northeast, in Monterrey, Nuevo León, on January 18, 2017, where a minor shot three of his classmates and his teacher (Milenio, January 18, 2017) ; and the massacre at Colegio Cervantes, in Torreón,

Coahuila, on January 10, 2020, where an 11-year-old teenager shot his teacher and his classmates (Aristegui Noticias, January 13, 2020). In both private schools, the teachers lost their lives.

At the national level, some studies (Cano and Estrada, 2015; Romero, Loza and Machorro, 2013) affirm that the violence exerted by students towards their classmates and teachers is a reflection of the social, economic and political dynamics, which impacts on school and in the different social actors, mainly in the teachers, which is why the following approach by Abril-Martínez (2020) coincides:

[The teacher] does not find support at the institutional level, neither in the relationships of recognition with their peers, nor in the parents, fostering feelings of loneliness in the face of the uncertainty of educational work and the failure of pedagogical strategies (p. 199).

As can be seen, some teachers have lost not only respect for society and its institutions, but even life (Herrera, Luna and Barojas, 2019a). What was previously presented shows that the violence exerted against teachers is a reflection of what is experienced in nations and "as a social phenomenon, it reaches a status of naturalization" (Sáez, 2017, p. 568). It has been a consequence of social decomposition and lack of support from the State and society as a whole, hence the importance of the results of this research.

Method

This research is qualitative, descriptive and interpretive. It is based on institutional analysis, also known as school ethnography. According to Vázquez and Valenzuela (2013), "the ethnography of the school can have an immediately practical interest for teachers. They deal with their problems as individuals and not just as members of a profession" (p. 13).

Participants

Three teachers participated: two women and one man. Their seniority as educators ranges from two to seven years. All three are from the community. Similarly, seven counselors participated, some from the community and others from nearby towns. The sample chosen for the study is non-probabilistic and was taken according to the criterion of convenience (Hudelson, 1994). Regarding the inclusion criteria, teachers and counselors who work in the CBT analysis were considered and voluntarily agreed to participate in the

research. The exclusion criterion was for those teachers and counselors who do not work in the CBT analysis and the elimination criteria was for those teachers and counselors who have stopped working at the institution.

Stage

The investigation was carried out in a CBT located in the northern part of the State of Mexico. The educational institution is located near the México-Tuxpan highway, in an area with serious infrastructure deficiencies. There is no industry, hospitals or tourist attractions. The population is of low economic level.

Ethical considerations

The informants decided to collaborate voluntarily, and for the protection of those involved, the interview fragments that are presented are anonymous. The following keys were used for the individual interviews: teacher 1 (PF1), teacher 2 (PM2), teacher 3 (PF3). In the group interviews, the keys were counselor 1 (GO1), counselor 2 (GO2), counselor 3 (GO3), counselor 4 (GO4), counselor 5 (GO5), counselor 6 (GO6) and counselor 7 (GO7). It should be noted that the authorization of the interviewees to publish the results for academic purposes is recorded.

Materials and procedure

The first contact with the participants was during the Academic Accompaniment Days in January and February 2019. These activities are carried out by the principals of the campuses during the recess, prior to the beginning of the semester. The fieldwork was carried out between February 28 and March 1, 2019. In-depth interviews and focus groups were conducted, as well as naturalistic observations.

Regarding the interviews, the teachers and counselors were invited to participate during the first contact meeting, and those who accepted were contacted individually. Different spaces of the institution were occupied: library, classroom, direction and counselors' office, and they were held at the times that people chose. Semi-structured formats were used that were aligned with the research objectives. The naturalistic observations were made in situ, and a format was used that contained general observation data, description of the place, activities and people, among other variables, as well as a space to insert

photographs when possible. The observations were made during the work meetings, interviews and during the taking of photographs of the institution. Eight observations were made. Notably, a field diary was kept for the interviews and observations.

Analysis of data

The analysis of the results was articulated in three dimensions that made it possible to confront and validate the information. Regarding the interviews, both pre-established and emerging axes and categories were transcribed and identified. The pre-established ones refer to the external and internal context of the CBT. The emerging ones were those issues that worried teachers, such as schedules, privileges and movement of schools to teach classes, among others. It should be noted that this type of analysis was artisan, since no software was used to generalize results.

The naturalistic observation allowed us to explore the behavior of institutional actors in their natural environment, "which in a way guarantees their richness, variety and spontaneity" (Salinas, Posada and Isaza, 2002, p. 248). Its purpose was to validate and discard what was reported by the interviewees, as well as to find new veins of information to be analyzed. The photographs contributed to the description and analysis of the institutional reality, in this case, the reality of the teachers. Its purpose was similar to observations, although with photographic records that help preserve what researchers may forget.

Once the axes and categories of the interviews were obtained, and after analyzing the observation formats and the photographs, the institutional novel was made, which consisted of three parts: 1) creation of the narrative with the information provided in the interviews, 2) analysis of naturalist observations and field notes and 3) analysis of photographs taken in the spaces and interstices of institutional actors. These three parts intertwined creating a single narrative, a single novel. It is worth mentioning that during the writing, talks were held with the contact who allowed access to the research, which served to clarify doubts about the institution and the participants.

Results

External violence: between moderate and severe crime

CBTs are educational institutions that live immersed in a constant context of external and internal violence. As for the first, the role of institutional actors (students, teachers, managers and administrators, among others) does not matter, since most are victims of crime, since they are reached by any tentacle of crime. While it is true that there is moderate crime (car theft, telephone extortions, death threats), it is also true that severe crime (kidnapping, beheaded, theft of hydrocarbons -huachicol- and drug distribution) arouses phobias that paralyze institutional actors because crimes are committed by organized crime.

During the naturalistic observation, they spoke with some teachers who defined the terms of moderate and severe crime in terms of moderate crimes. In this regard, a teacher comments: "Companions' cars have been stolen outside the school. A block away we have entire families that are dedicated to stealing, we know who they are. A few days ago bursts of gunfire were heard "(PF1). During the observation it was confirmed that the main door of the CBT and part of the walls have bullet holes. Regarding severe crimes, the counselors mention:

We have a partner who is kidnapped. There are also death threats over the phone: "You know we're here, your wife is going out, we know where you live." We are afraid that at any moment she may touch us (GO4). In the center [of the town] they found dumped heads and bodies on the road (GO7).

Faced with the threats and the external context experienced by academics, some feel fear and helplessness in the face of organized crime that threatens their safety and that of their family.

Internal violence: between the principal, the students and the huachicol

The internal context of the CBT presents two problems: one first with the authority represented by the Lord director. "There is the compadrazgo disguised as ' I like you, I give you this. You serve me, you are faithful and loyal, I give you '"(GO4). As in the Porfirian era, when influentialism prevailed in the allocation of public positions, at school those who got along well with the principal have a good time at school. A teacher comments: "If the director likes you, he accommodates your schedule, he gives you more hours. If you are not liked and you do not show up, he accommodates the hours as he wants "(PF3). As for loyalty,

“it is not possible for a colleague who has a full shift to be given more hours. I don't know if because she spends a lot of time in directing ”(PF1). An endemic problem to the allocation of hours is the mobility that teachers must do. A counselor and two teachers share:

There is a tremendous problem: the teachers have three hours there, two hours here, five hours there (GO5). A friend teaches in N., S. and in another CBT, there are three schools she goes to. She has to run to get to the other workplace of hers. A colleague resigned for hours here because he couldn't (PF1). I come here four times a week. Two days for an hour that represents a cost in gasoline. I couldn't change the schedules, they were very blunt: "The schedules you have are the ones that stay, there are no changes" (PF3).

Faced with this circumstance, teachers feel stressed and helpless because they have to travel to different places to complete their classes. "There is no support from supervision, union and undersecretary to concentrate all your hours in a CBT." And they add: "Here I help you with your schedule and at the mere hour they do not help" (PF1). As is to be expected, some teachers enter the game of the Lord Director, and those who decide not to do so are expelled from the institution. “The best teachers are leaving. Those who are only looking for the ticket remain. They do not come as teachers of vocation ”(GO5).

According to a counselor, those who decide to stay out of the game are tagged, pressured, conditioned, and sent to the freezer. “It is said: 'Don't talk to so-and-so, and if you hang out with him, you won't be able to access hours’” (GO2), regardless of the fact that they are excellent academics that “have led students to win competitions at the state level and national ”(GO2). Among the academic community it is commented that “a teacher resigned because they had had enough of him. He went where they didn't bother him ”(GO7), he left teaching.

The second problem detected in the CBT refers to conflicts between students and teachers. As in all educational systems, there are some students who are assertive and others who instill fear in their teachers before a final grade that is not to their liking. In the educational institution that we are analyzing, the context of the students is very peculiar and different from other institutions due to huachicol, drugs and the link they have with organized crime. The counselors comment:

Our boys are very tough, very tough because they have experienced strong things. We have the case of a boy who was shot and killed by his uncle. Other boys who saw one of his cousins die burned when the boiler where the

huachicol was going was lit (GO4). We have had students and parents burned, shot (GO5).

The context in which some students live with their relatives due to the theft of hydrocarbons and drugs has led to gunfire with federal authorities, which has generated a tense atmosphere within the institution, although it is also true that some students and relatives have had high economic gains. "In one night they earn more than we earn in a month. Some students say: 'Why go to school if I earn in one night what others have to work in a month' "(GO5).

The illicit environment in which some students are involved has created an unreal and fanciful bubble, and for teachers a difficult situation to cope with. A counselor affirms: "The students defend huachicol tooth and nail because for them it is prosperity: ' If we sell huachicol, we have money. My mother can feed us, my father can buy clothes, so the huachicoleo is good '"(GO7). Another teacher comments:

Unfortunately the students have drugs and huachicol very close at hand. Between the corridors they say: "Such a student is dedicated to selling huachicol." Some are hired for hawks because they have the facility to run fast and notify them if someone who is doing inspection arrives (PF3).

The hawks position themselves at strategic points to watch while their companions commit an illicit act. If they detect the presence of someone who may discover the wrongdoing, they immediately notify their colleagues, either by means of signs, electronic devices or running. In the fieldwork, some teachers commented that they heard that they were paid up to \$ 20,000 (twenty thousand pesos) per night.

Educating hand in hand with organized crime is very complex, especially when the family supports illicit acts. The corrective measures of any high school level do not apply in our institution of analysis. There is pressure and threats on the teaching task in the classroom when applying some discipline mechanism. One counselor comments:

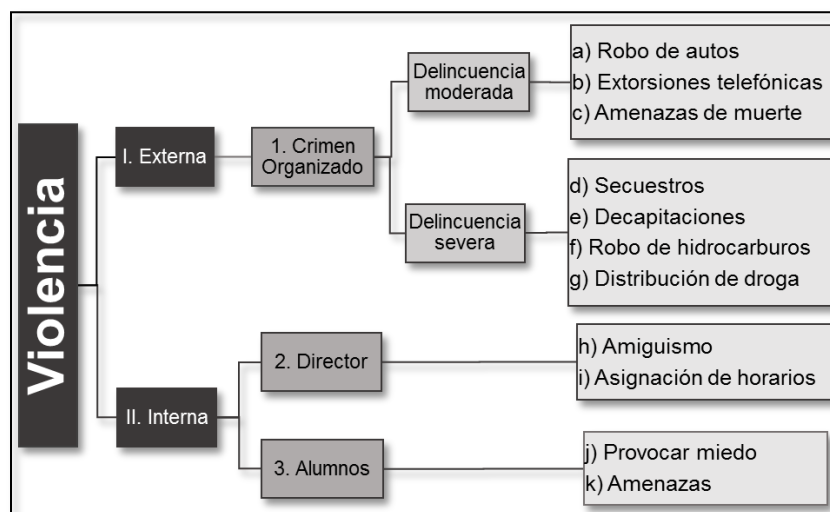
The students say: "A little bit you are going to fail it, teacher? How little is it going to take away points?" There have been occasions when it has been rumored: "The guy threatened the teacher. If he sees you outside the school he is going to give you a lift, if he fails or sends you to extraordinary, that teacher better take care" (GO1).

In that sense, normative consequences disappear because the context makes teachers adapt or abide by the consequences. A teacher comments: “A student who dedicates himself to huachicol and is failed is a risk factor for the teacher. Just when I arrived they said: 'Be careful if you fail such a student, he is dedicated to huachicol and has contacts' ”(PF3). Faced with such warnings from students, teachers try to do their noble work, but fearful of having among their students a member who has links to organized crime.

Discussion

The research achieved the objective of describing the external and internal context of CBT. In the same way, the findings answered the research questions about the various types of violence suffered by teachers and focused on the institutional actors who exercise them. The findings are related to other studies (Herrera, Grijalva and Luna, 2017) that affirm that organized crime is installed in society and institutions and is part of people's daily lives. Figure 1 summarizes the different types of violence and the actors who exercise them on a daily basis in the CBT.

Figura 1. Tipos de violencia que padecen los profesores



Fuente: Elaboración propia

Figure 1 reveals that there is external violence perpetrated by organized crime, as well as internal violence exercised by the principal and the students. The results of this research are related and similar to what Velázquez (2011) refers to when he affirms that there is violence “within the school (...), [as well as] from the outside to the inside” (p. 17). External

violence is explained by poverty, social decomposition and because some of the students' families support criminal acts such as car theft, telephone extortion, kidnapping, huachicol and drug distribution, among other illegal activities. These individuals put their personal interests before the common good, thereby condemning the institution, its people and society because “a society made up solely of selfish individualists could not last long. [Although] fortunately, real human societies are made up of individuals who have diverse preferences and motivations, from extreme selfishness to inspiring altruism ”(Lewis & Steinmo, 2011, p. 131).

In our institution of analysis (embedded in a community of low economic level, with serious infrastructure deficiencies), there are (despite the circumstances they suffer) professors committed to the work of “ensuring the continuity of the community that sustains it through the transmission of the culture that defines it as such ”(Fernández, 1996, p. 108), but also organized crime cells that influence and co-opt students; In short, teachers try to fulfill their educational work, albeit with constant threat and fear.

Regarding internal violence (Blair, 2009) against teachers, the findings focused on the principal and students as the main perpetrators, which cause deplorable conditions in the institutional dynamics. The director assigns hours for cronyism and those who do not enter the game are threatened, conditioned and expelled from the institution. The perverse allocation of schedules and subject load hurts the economy of teachers because they depend on it to complete a decent salary. When they have a bad assignment, they have to travel to different schools to teach classes. Many teachers in Mexico have become chambistas, aboneros and recently baptized "Uber professors." According to Buendía (2011), the institutional dynamics in the CBT are an organized anarchy.

Likewise, it was detected that the violence exercised by students towards teachers in the CBT is a reflection of the social, economic and political dynamics, similar to the results related to other investigations in the country (Cano and Estrada, 2015; Romero et al. , 2013). This problem exists in practically all education systems (Herrera, Luna and Barojas, 2019a; Herrera, Luna and Escobar, 2019b), naturalized and “associated with the loss of legitimacy and educational authority and the splitting of the agreement between families and institutions educational ”(Eljach, 2011, cited by Abril-Martínez, 2020, p. 196).

The State, society and parents have left most of the responsibility to the teacher without offering the appropriate conditions. Teachers must contain violence that is imported from the community and homes into schools. Therefore, we agree with Salinas et al. (2002)

when they affirm that the teacher is pressured by "the high levels of violence and impunity that affect schools daily, and demand tangible results from his work" (p. 247). The results of the CBT coincide with Abril-Martínez (2020) when he explains that teachers lack support at the institutional level and from parents, "fostering feelings of loneliness in the face of the uncertainty of educational work" (p. 199).

The State ignores the problems of violence in schools, and only deals with them when there are massacres involving human lives and when work reports are issued. For educational institutions, the most important thing is to render satisfactory accounts before the regulatory bodies and many parents leave the problem to the teachers, since the important thing is that their child pass for the next school year. On CBT and in many parts of the world, violence has alarming episodes. This, according to Sáez (2017), has achieved naturalization status.

In the same way, we agree that the relationships between teachers and students have changed, "and this makes it easier for the student to appeal to physical or verbal aggression as a way to resolve the problems. conflicts generated in daily coexistence "(Abril-Martínez, 2020, p. 198). The violence that teachers suffer from their students, on many occasions, is veiled by fear of losing credibility with managers and their peers, hence the denial and concealment of an unsustainable reality. In the institution of analysis, there are two main types of threats (kidnapping and telephone extortion) that some students make to teachers for not having a passing grade. It should be noted that their coercion is sustained by having links with organized crime, and before that the teachers give the grade. In many upper secondary schools, as well as secondary schools, students are "promoted regardless of their academic achievements" (Weiss, 2015, cited by Saccone, 2016, p. 131). According to Saccone (2016), in an interview with a teacher, "if you have a high failure rate, you do not enter into stimuli [economic gratification] (...). The young people interviewed affirm that some teachers practically 'give you' points" (p. 134).

Finally, regarding the results of this research, it is prudent to mention that there are limitations, implications and suggestions that must be considered. The research is a unique case, so a social representation cannot be made. Although there are violence and similar institutional actors in many schools, the institution of analysis has unique characteristics due to the place in which it is located, as well as its unique social, economic and cultural context, among other peculiarities.

A second limitation is the very small sample. In this sense, it is worth noting that although the invitation was made to all the teachers, few accepted, perhaps by means of being

punished by the directors or violated by organized crime. Still, those who agreed to participate in the research freely allowed the interviews, naturalistic observations, and visual anthropology to be conducted.

The involvement of the researchers could also be a variable that influenced the selection of the results, since, in one way or another, we are part of the framework of educational institutions. Although it was tried to be as objective as possible, in qualitative research there is always the selection, order and interpretation of the results from the researcher's point of view. Therefore, considering these limitations and implications, it is suggested to continue with the line of research in other schools in the country.

Conclusions

The different manifestations of violence suffered by society around the world have become naturalized, and educational institutions, being a sounding board for society, are producers and reproducers of that reality. The violence suffered by institutional actors in schools shows that the State, society, educational authorities and parents have lost the battle. Teachers wage daily struggles with external actors, such as criminals (sometimes hidden) and internal actors that converge on a daily basis. Organized crime is planted like a vine in the garden, and is part of the daily life of the institutions. Unfortunately, the institution of analysis (and many others in Mexico) are in a fertile geographical area for organized crime due to poverty, social decomposition, and the consent of some members of society who support illegal acts.

Finally, it is prudent to recognize the work of teachers because they co-educate with organized crime in the face of the abandonment of society, incompetence of the State, lax institutional norms, lack of support from society, parents and managers. Teachers and criminals compete for the educational work of students and, sometimes, there are no academic parameters due to threats and fear. In this context, some students have preferred to commit crimes at night than to study in the morning.

Future lines of research

During and at the end of the investigation, three themes were found that attracted attention: 1. The educational model for the elimination of the educational reform, 2. Perspective on the context of the institution from the perspective of the parents and, 3. The dissonance that students face when faced with the seduction of organized crime. It should be noted that the themes found escaped the objectives planned in this investigation, but they are veins that will be developed soon.

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