

Bachelor's Thesis



Crime and Development

The direct and indirect impacts of organized crime operated by major drug cartels on secondary education and formal employment among youth in Mexico

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Abstract

Mexico has experienced the dramatic escalation of crime and violence in an organized form since the 1990s, and have also witnessed the highest number of homicides in the last ten years. It has adversely affected the national security, economic growth and social development with an especially detrimental effect on youth in Mexico. This study examines the direct and indirect impacts of drug trade-related organized crime on secondary education and formal employment among youth in Mexico. The empirical evidence shows that poor social, economic and state structures create room for criminality among youth affecting them to lack interest in further education and formal employment to establish career ways. The notion of crime has been redefined as a practical employment trend rather than a divergent behaviour in the mindset of the young generation in the country. The empirical data and information also reflect the scenario of transition of youth from education and formal employment sector to informal sector, namely organized crime. Moreover, the study found Mexico experiencing a growing number of violence in school environments that are linked to drug trade-related organized crime affecting secondary school students to either adapt crime or dropout of educational system.

Keywords: Organized crime, drug cartels, education, employment, youth, Mexico.

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May God bless you all towards prosperity and an intellectual state of peace in your life!

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List of Abbreviations

DEA	United States Drug Enforcement Administration
DTOs	Drug trafficking organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INCB	The International Narcotics Control Board
Nini	Youth neither in education nor in employment
OECD	Organization for Economic Growth and Development
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	The World Bank
WC	Wilson Center (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars)

1. Introduction

Crime is a serious issue that has adversely affected the national security, economic growth and social development with an especially detrimental effect on youth in Mexico (USAID, 2019). Mexico has been a main supplier and a transit country that provides narcotic drugs to the United States allowing Mexicans to create career opportunities and earn billions of U.S. dollars each year. Drug trade has caused crime to be shaped in the form of lucrative business that has significantly increased and developed from a small scale to a larger scale in recent years. Since the demise of major drug cartels in the 1990s in Columbia, the lead has shifted to Mexico and empowered significant growth and development of crime, nationally, regionally, and internationally (DEA, 2019).

Crime is not only associated with the drug production and trafficking to the U.S., but also deals with any sort of violence that hinders the business - demand, production and supply in Mexico and the region. This is driven by large criminal organizations which are very organized in Mexico (Dell, 2014, p. 1-5). Drug cartels are the major criminal organization that primarily deal with drug trade and much of the crime and violence is driven to battle for increasing shares in the drug market within Mexico and in the United States (DEA, 2019, p. 3). This business requires youth with talent, intelligence, capacity and energy where drug cartels recruit for the efficient deployment and effective enforcement of their operations successfully.

According to the WB (2016) report, crime has been the biggest threat to the Mexican economy that been growing annually in recent years. It has grown and developed to such a scale that it can be said to be operated as a functional institute within the social structures of Mexico. It has shaped a scenario creating a very complex environment where the society and government experience the threatening challenges against the well-being and security of the country (Jaramillo et. al., 2016).

It is very clear and broadly accepted that every individual deteriorated youth impacts the education and formal employment sectors of the society and the economy in negative ways (Gustavo, 2015). There are number of evidence and data showing a portion of the deteriorated youth population that are at risk is growing to integrate into the informal criminal sector with adverse impacts on their personal lives and society in Mexico (OECD, 2017). This scenario produces risks to both sides of the case - the subject and the objects (reflected in the analysis section). Youth as a subject at risk and society as an object at risk establish a correlation between each other that will be studied and investigated in the analysis section of this thesis. Social development and economic growth are seriously threatened by subject of the case where they might seriously suffer themselves in addition to the society, they live in out of the risky consequences associated with it.

1.1 Specific Aims and Research Questions

In contemporary development discourses, the unsuccessful development paradigms in most of the developing countries are criticized by improper or unsuccessful research projects. Like the rest of South America, Mexico has been unable to successfully tackle poverty and inequality (Emma Aguilaet. Al., 2012). There are several shortcomings behind this failure but low levels of growth in manufacturing industries has been blamed to be one of the major causes to reduce poverty and inequality in the country (OECD, 2017). Despite this, there has been less focus on youth

development, particularly on secondary education which is a core element of societal development and formal employment as a central factor of economic growth in the context of Mexico. Simultaneously, the 'rise and increasing number of criminal activities in organized forms' is another serious issue that requires significant attention to promote community cohesion and security in the country. All these are serious issues that require scientific attention and consideration in development studies in order to reduce youth poverty and inequality, community cohesion and security in Mexico.

Therefore, this research aims to study, investigate, analyze and understand the impacts of organized crime on secondary education and formal employment with adverse effects on youth in Mexico. I want to employ the proposed research to investigate the relationship between crime in organized form and development (education and division of labour) within the academic environment. This research is conducted to find out the specific direct and indirect impacts of organized crime through Mexican drug cartels on secondary education where the students are aged 15-18 and most of the young labour starting their career are aged 19-24 (WB Institute, 2008, p. 63-65). This bracket of population (aged 15-24) build up 18.2% of the total population in Mexico (UN Statistics Division, 2017). This is a serious concern to be focused.

In other words, '***What are the direct and indirect impacts of organized crime operated by major drug cartels on secondary education and formal employment among youth people in Mexico?***'. This is the main question of this research project.

In order to answer the main question, it is very important to initially understand '***Why crime – not legitimate opportunities – is such an attractive career way among youth in Mexico?***'. In other words this will help us understand why youth in Mexico are engaging to take such a risk while there are legitimate opportunities available in order to push their personal development and career establishment within the formal sector towards prosperity and cohesion in the country?, It is an important part of the main research question in this research.

Since the thesis is focused to study a social problematic phenomena 'crime' and the two important elements of social change '***education***' and economic growth '***division of labour***', it directly establishes a vivid relevant relationship to the development discourse. This will be elaborated in detail, defended on a theoretically established argument and empirical data during the course of source identification and data collection in upcoming parts of this thesis. The findings are aimed to be analyzed based on their causal relationship to development studies in the context of a specific country, namely Mexico.

It is expected that the findings of the research in this thesis will help at-risk youth to avoid becoming criminals. At the macro level, this will affect the crime prevention by cutting through the recruiting hands of the drug cartels in Mexico. This will sum up the youth pool to be strong members of development project in the country driving the society, economy and state towards community cohesion, social development and economic growth.

1.2 Importance of Study: Crime and Development

The importance of crime in determining a country's political and economic progress has been recognized both in academia and political structures, but I believe there is a lack of serious consideration in development discourse, particularly, to consider it as a serious threat and hindrance to the development progress. The development studies require to embrace an extended process of proper research in the academic environment. In my opinion, it does not appear as often as it should, to be one of the top agendas in sustainable development discourses. It will establish a very important relationship between criminology and development studies which to identify crime for the youth as a destructive social phenomenon and increase beneficial awareness among them to head towards legitimate opportunities such as education and decent career way within formal employment sector.

Why is it important to perceive the nature of crime from the viewpoint of development studies? The answer could be as simple as - it is a social problem - but as complicated as - the scientific and systematic study of the causes and effects of it not only on the social life but also on economic progress and political agenda. Crime, according to the sociological criminology, is a destructive type of social phenomenon that has the potential capability of not only preventing developmental processes but also gives birth to other catastrophic social, economic and political problems such as illiteracy, precarity, corruption, terrorism, and even wars (WB Institute, 2008).

According to a report by USAID, understanding the serious impact of crime will allow and influence extra attention of local, regional and global actors to work on prevention of it with extra attention (USAID, 2019).

1.2.1. Why organized crime and why in Mexico?

The existence of crime is not a problem like illiteracy or unemployment that one can live with to survive, but it is such a hazard that threatens the everyday life to downfall any time at any point (Gustavo, 2015, Nieburg, 2013). Almost all of the countries around the world experience criminal activities at the micro and macro-level depending on the nature of their environment, socio-economic and political surroundings at various rates of performances, but the studies show that most of the developing countries suffer more than the developed ones. Since, Mexico is a developing country with a high rate of crime. It will be the focal point of the case study in this thesis.

The phenomenon of crime in Mexico has grown to such a large scale that the criminal activities are committed in a very organized operational manner. According to the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, today the country is still 66% more violent than it was in 2007 (WC, 2018). Homicides, drug production and trafficking, terror, money laundering, armed robberies, kidnapping, sex crimes, human and weapon trafficking are increasing every day in the country. According to another survey by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI, 2017) - Mexico, a total of 33.6 million crimes were committed in 2017 with a total number of 24.5 million victims, which was 2.5% more increase than in 2016. These figures show an upward increase in number of crimes every year which is a serious threat to the development of Mexican society and economy.

Drug demand in the U.S. and supply from Mexico is one of the largest harmful issues where it causes substantial number other minor and major crimes in the region. Drug trafficking is one of the most influential and financially beneficial types of organized crime (DEA, 2018). It is considered to be mother most of other crimes in the region such as homicides, terror, money laundering, kidnapping, human and weapon trafficking, briberies and mass corruption in government offices. Herewith, it is very important to focus on crime in Mexico that affects and hinders socio-economic development in Mexico and increases the drug usage in the U.S. In addition, drug production and supply in affects the health of those involved in the drug-trade and the users that will be discussed in the analysis section.

Organized crimes are designed, formulated and enforced by large criminal groups that are defined by the general rigidity of their complex and well-managed internal structures (Cassese, 2013 and DEA, 2018). Their focus is very centralized on how the operations work, succeed, sustain themselves and to eliminate the external threats against their operations at any possible costs. One of the most important attributes of the criminal organization is internal and external retribution and punishment where the primary purpose of this strategy is to keep operational sustainability, security and structural management within their organizations (Robert et. al., 1994).

The following characteristics define the complexity and importance of organized crime allowing us to understand how threatening and risky they are to the society and economy compared to unorganized or personal level crimes:

- Complex authority and organizational structure,
- Hierarchy of operational commands: Top-down communication and rule enforcement mechanisms,
- A substantial division of criminal labour between classes within the criminal organization: Duties and responsibilities are appointed based on various levels of specific objectives and terms of operations,
- All responsibilities are enforced and carried out in an impersonal manner,
- Meritocratic: Merit-based promotions, appraisals and reimbursements against the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of the criminal objectives' achievements rather than cultural or social approaches,
- Comprehensive and extensive written rules and regulations,
- Commanded under a dictating cultural approach.

While unorganized (also disorganized) crime, in contrast, lacks any hierarchical system. This refers to any crime that is not committed by a criminal organization. This type of criminal behaviour can include pretty much anything and happen for nearly any personal motive. These crimes are usually committed by an individual for personal reasons. Sometimes they are planned in advance, but that does not necessarily need to be the case (Ressler and Burgess, 1985).

Herewith, organized crime has higher level of importance than unorganized in to be focused Mexico.

1.2.2. Why secondary education and why formal employment among youth?

The increasing percentage of crime in Mexico adversely affects the progress within the education and division of labour in formal sectors and this is a very critical issue against the socio-economic development in Mexico.

Each type of form of crime has a different scale of importance and according to (reference) organized crime most often target young people aged 15-24 because this age class of the population have the stronger intelligence, capacity and physical ability than any other age categories. In addition, according to the OECD (2015), poverty in the labour market has shifted from the elderly to the young, this grounds a motivation to focus on the obligations affected by poverty and capabilities of youth aged 15-24 in economy and society. It is also argued that majority of crime are enforced and committed through youth bracket of population because at this they tend to seek career ways (Barlow, 1987, p. 38 and 72).

According to World Education Services (WES, 2019), most of the young students start to commence their upper secondary education at the age of 15 and plan for their future to establish their career ways and enroll in the formal sectors of society or economy, where in Mexico this culture and trend has been attracted by informal criminal sector. It is very advantageous for the Mexican drug cartels to recruit youth and enforce their criminal activities and large operations (DEA, 2018). This is very critical against the future of youth pool in Mexico where youth aged 15-18 have to complete their secondary education and head towards higher education or integrate into the formal sector of division of labour in the economy, when they are aged 19-24 (WB Institute, 2008, p. 63 and 65).

1.3 Delimitation

It is commonly recognized that crime in Mexico causes several forms of violence; delinquency, destruction of community cohesion, psychological frustration, economic loses, illiteracy and unemployment. School absence, formal unemployment and reductions in legitimate opportunities among youth are the core issues that will be investigated in this thesis.

It is very important to understand and distinguish between several forms and types of crime in order to investigate, perceive and analyze their adverse impacts on society, economy and state policy. This will clarify the specific definitions of each form and type of crime to avoid any possible misperceptions and makes it easy to analyze the scenario towards achieving the specific objectives of this research.

Homicide, kidnapping, drug and human and trafficking and smuggling, sexual violence, arms and oil smuggling, money laundering, gang, burglary, larceny and robbery crime, racketeering, cybercrime, terrorism and war crimes are famous and well-known criminal practices that create concerns among the academia, governments and international actors, today. Each of them has a specific objective and produces various outcomes at various levels either on society, economy or government policy progress with different levels of importance. It is not very simple to distinguish between such types and forms of crimes since they may have shared objectives and conducted for similar purposes, while this research will focus on the importance of organized crime on economic

and social development where the purpose is to gain financial resources through any possible violent and non-violent approaches.

Some of the aforementioned crimes are committed and enforced based on personal motivations (namely sexual violence, torture, hate crimes) in an unorganized form and most of them are based on economic and political motivations in very organized forms (Macionis et., al. 2010). Simultaneously, politically and economically-motivated crimes are more dangerous and threatening to the societies at macro level other than unorganized forms of crime that are committed on personal basis being less harmful to the societies at micro level. Since Mexico is experiencing poverty, the main purpose of the thesis is narrowed down and limited to economically-motivated organized crimes other than politically-motivated where youth are searching and establishing their career ways through crime. Mexican drug cartels are those criminal organizations that are the main sources of employment. They create career ways for youth in Mexico with a motivation where crimes are designed, formulated and enforced under a very structured process. It causes Mexico an increased level of criminal activities, youth illiteracy, deterioration and deficiencies in formal labour market (DEA, 2018).

Hence, crime, education and employment in the context of Mexico are the key focus of the thesis in this research. Furthermore, it is very limited to investigate the causal relationship between organized crime (other than unorganized crime), secondary education (other than primary and higher education) and formal employment (other than informal employment). There might potentially arise indirect impacts organized crime on un/disorganized crime, secondary education on primary and higher education and formal or informal employment, that will be studied and analyzed in analysis section of the thesis.

1.4. Disposition

The thesis is structured in a way to embrace an introduction to the problem, a background to critically understand the phenomena and nature of crime, a theoretical framework to approach the problem, the research method, a scientific analysis of the problem, finding towards finding potential answer(s) and closing the thesis with a concise conclusion providing a summary of the work in this research.

In the *previous section*, the basics of the main problem have been introduced with a glance over associated issues in the context of Mexico. The aims and research questions opened the introduction part to follow by providing a comprehensive background about crime, education, division of labour and economy at micro and macro level in the *upcoming section*. It will be followed by previous research to give an overview of relevant literature in *section three*. This also helps this research to identify shortcomings and gaps contradicting the results particularly in this research in the field of crime and development in Mexico.

Section four will include a theoretical framework to approach the problem scientifically. In this section, the phenomenon of crime and development will be framed based on the sociological theories of crime, deviance and delinquency defined and argued by Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton. This model will focus on the importance of crime and delinquency in relation to education and division of labour from the viewpoint of functionalism, anomie and division of labour theories.

The *fifth section* is structured to identify and explain the research methodology in order to scientifically and empirically collect data towards a scientific analysis of the problem in this thesis. The *sixth section* will introduce the empirical data and the findings with a scientific analysis in accordance with the research methodology and theoretical framework. In this section, crime will disclose its specific objectives targeting secondary education and formal employment, directly and indirectly, among youth in Mexico.

The last and final part of the thesis will provide a summary of the project work with a conclusion to provide suggestions and solutions based on the findings and results of the investigation in this research.

2. Background

In this section, history and nature of criminality, economy, educational advancements and status of division of labour will be assessed from 1980 to 2019 in Mexico. This interval gives us a solid information about the country when it started to face several downturns in economic growth and breach over controlling the drug trafficking market in the region after the demise of Colombian drug cartels.

2.1 History and Nature of Criminality in Mexico

The drug trafficking business and the organizations behind it have been active for more than a century in Mexico. This business is supported by drug production industry which is run by drug cartels in Mexico. They operate drug on an international scale with local, regional and international linkages for the production, management, supply and distribution in many countries, with the largest market share in the United States. This is a lucrative illegal business industry which is increasingly growing and gaining control of the drug market with a complicated distribution structure through their alliances with the criminal organization in the U.S. (CRS, 2018-9).

Criminal business has significantly increased and developed from a small to a larger scale in recent years in Mexico. After the demise of major drug cartels in the 1990s in Columbia, the lead has shifted to Mexico with an important transition to play an international role in drug trade (CRS, 2018-9). This has empowered significant growth and development of crime, nationally, regionally, and internationally.

Mexican drug cartels gradually took over drug trafficking business with the generation of high profits out of cocaine smuggling to the United States. Mexico became the largest shareholder of cocaine in the drug market in the region, gradually, evolving from being a transit country and couriers for the Colombian drug cartels to be the main proprietors and wholesalers, that they are today (CRS, 2018).

In addition to cocaine, according to the U.S. State Department's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR, 2019), Mexican drug cartels are the major producers of marijuana, heroin

and methamphetamine destined for the United States. In addition, Mexican drug cartels export significant quantities of heroin and fentanyl and despite its own production and supply to the United States, it is also a primary cocaine smuggling route to the United States from Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia (DEA, 2018, p. 50 and 97).

Thus, the Mexican drug cartels rose to hold dominance over the drug market in the U.S. after the 1990s (DEA, 2019, p. 12). This autonomous business for the Mexican drug traffickers in the U.S. became even more profitable and lucrative. This transition and market share over drug market in U.S. raised the stakes in Mexico domestically among number of drug cartels which encouraged the use of substantial types and forms of violence in Mexico in order to protect and promote market share and earn bigger profits. It has caused domestic competition through the use of any sort of violence, bribery and corruption to neutralize the competitors' and government's action against them. This is how organized crime has emerged, structured, processed and enforced which is the major source of increased violence in Mexico (CRS, 2018-9).

2.2 Crime in Mexico: An International Dilemma

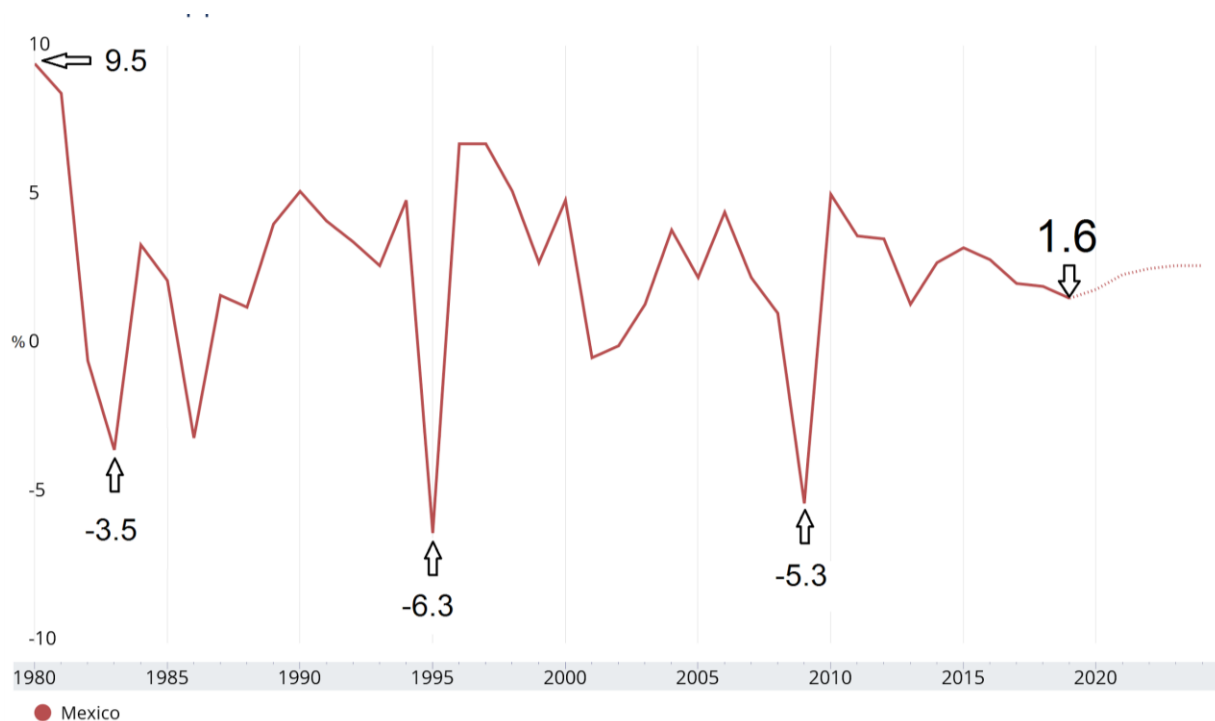
Crime in an organized form is not only putting the Mexican society at risk domestically but is a destructive institutional phenomenon to the regional and international security and solidarity. According to a report by the DEA (2018), the Mexican crime is growing from domestic to transnational and international scale which is a serious threat to national and international security. Several internationally powerful criminal organizations are escalating their violence to consolidate their economic benefits and market share within the Western Hemisphere (ibid). They hold such a large portion of market share adding to their power that they can influence the local government in Mexico to protect their operations in the country. Their operations flow from Mexico to the United States and are expanded into the West Africa, Latin American (particularly Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela), Western Europe and the Middle East (CRS, 2018).

There have also been connections of Afghan drug trafficking organizations with Mexican drug cartels operating with those in West Africa to smuggle heroin to Europe and the United States (ibid). The growing number of economic benefits from such criminal activities are motivating the organized criminal groups from Russia, China, Italy, and the Balkans to establishing ties to drug producers in Mexico (ibid). The expansion of organized criminal activities at the international level is often accompanied by dramatic increases in local crime and corruption that threatens both local and international development. Despite this, it is also reported that low level subordinated criminals working under the operations of the employers are exploited extremely - economically and physically that often leads to the imprisonment or deaths. The large portion of this category are the potential youths away from or without education or formal employment (WB, 2016 and OECD, 2018).

2.3 Economy in Mexico: Growth and Poverty

Today, according to the World Bank data (2018), Mexico is the 15th-largest economy in the world with a gross domestic product (GDP) of USD 1,224 trillion and 1.6% annual economic growth. While compared to back in 1980, it was the 10th-largest economy with a GDP of \$228.6 billion with 9.5% annual GDP growth. The economic growth raised and turned down several times noticeably with high positive and negative percentages between 1980-2019. The progress made up the annual GDP growth with an average of 2.9% and 2% during 2016 and 2017-18, since 1980. This is because of the debt crisis of the 1980s, peso crisis of the 1990s, the U.S. and the great recessions of the 2001/09 that distorted and imbalanced the Mexican economic (Crandall, 2004, WB, 2019 and IMF, 2019). Despite a positive average rate of economic growth, Mexico has been unsuccessful in tackling poverty, particularly youth poverty and create a lucrative encouragement towards legitimate opportunities (Emma Aguilaet. Al., 2012 and OECD, 2017).

Figure 2.1: Real GDP Growth in Mexico between 1990 to 2018



Source: IMF World Economic Outlook (April 2019)

The World Bank Poverty and Equity Brief (2018) shows that 43.6% of the Mexicans were living under national poverty line (USD 1.90 a day, 2018 PPP) in 2016 compared to 46.1% in 2010 (USD 1.00 a day, 2010 PPP). It reflects to a moderate progress towards poverty reduction that hardly corresponds to the progress set in the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number one - No Poverty by 2030. Despite such moderate progress, the population is risking to face further income inequality in the country due to the low levels of economic growth and manufacturing productivity. The report also shows an average of 2.4 percent economic growth between 1980 and 2017 based on primary growth in service industry but an overall decline in manufacturing growth, particularly

in labour-intensive industries. This gives us the insight that there is a lack of focus and investment in labour force skills that has affected the productivity growth to decline.

Moreover, the OECD (2018) reported that economic resources have not been fairly distributed among the Mexican population which is an alarming concern to reduce inequality. This is one of the major causes of the economic crisis in the country. In addition to the dull rate of manufacturing growth, globalization, technological advances and policy among emerging countries have only widened the gap between rich and poor. The report also assesses the effectiveness of social and labour market policies to tackle poverty and rising inequalities where Mexico is blamed for the negligence in this field.

Theoretically, such downfalls and shortcomings in economic growth and poverty elimination, create concerns for the academia and international actors to focus on in the context of Mexico where crime is simultaneously growing with economic crisis.

2.4 Education and the Division of Labour in Mexico

On the other hand, education is valued as a great source of formal and decent employment in the economy. It further motivates, creates and establishes legitimate opportunities in the division of labour for inhabitants of a society to achieve sustainable livelihoods and economic growth (OECD, 2018).

With respect to the recognition of education as a human right, clearly stated on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Mexico has put struggle educational development systems intensively since 1950. Mexico has recognized education is one of the fundamental factors of development with substantial investments in human capital and a necessary condition to establish relations of equality among the population (Robles and Navarro, 2012).

According to the Mexican National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), despite the low rates of educational participation in Mexico than other major Latin American countries, there has been significant developments in the education structures (Robles and Navarro, 2012). According to a report by the Secretary of Public Education (SEP), the illiteracy rates decreased from 82% to 5% and enrollments in the formal educational system (from elementary to graduate education) increased from 3 million to 36.4 million between 1950 to 2018. Significantly, the lower-secondary education became free and compulsory in 1992 affecting a rise in enrollment from 4.1 to 6.5 million and the upper-secondary in 2012 that has increased enrollments in from 2.7 in 1997/1998 to 5.2 million in 2017/2018, in education systems (SEP, 2018). The report showed disparities between urban enrollments higher than rural which is a universal challenge, nationwide.

The World Bank (2008) assesses the importance of knowledge and talent as two significant components of success in today's global knowledge-based economy. For Mexico, there have been several certain challenges to move towards a knowledge-based economy such as deficits in education spending, manufacturing industries, regional and international economic crisis and more importantly - crime. The U.S. News and World Report (2018) reported a 4% budget cut in the education sector with 72% reduction in educational reforms in 2018 and a 40% budget cut for teacher trainings that have affected the quality of education, particularly learning and teaching

motivation among students and teachers. According to the WES (2019), spending in the education sector is very critical to address high unemployment rates among youths in Mexico where 827 324 young people were reported unemployed in 2018 including 58% of whom held upper-secondary school diploma. This is a big figure out of 23 million youths in the total population of 126 million in the country (WB, 2018, UN Population Division, 2018).

The Mexican Policy Brief (2017) reports that there is a relationship between the labour force marginalization and the noticeable decline in manufacturing productivity. The report shows 22% of Mexican youths were not in employment, education or training in 2015 (OECD, 2017). It is also reported that more than half of young Mexicans were unable to complete the upper secondary education which makes them at risk of being not in employment, further education or training. It is also one of the objectives of this research to explore why more than half of young Mexicans are unable or lack interest to complete their upper secondary education and develop their skills to enter the formal labour market rather than be drawn into criminality. This could be one of the reasons why youth enroll into the informal sector of the economy when they find better opportunities to make money.

3. Previous Studies

There are a substantial number of researches, studies and grey literature in the field of crime, education and employment that are conducted by several relevant and concerned actors at stake, such as the following:

- Federal Government of Mexico
- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
- United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
- The World Bank
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
- The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA)
- The U.S. Congress
- The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB)
- Organization for Economic Growth and Development (OECD)
- Several well-known academic institutes such as Harvard, Cambridge, Oxford, Stanford, California, San Diego universities.

Due to the limitations provided by thesis requirements and the complex nature of literature review assigned for this study towards data collection and analysis, it has been decided to address few relevant studies and researches to look and relate on common themes and differences in the available literature. It has not been easy to differentiate between the introduction, background, previous studies and analysis regarding the data and information reflection. However, it has been difficult decide on to provide information and data, and analyze and compare the findings in different sections of the thesis, the following studies are seemed relevant to relate towards the identification of potential gaps and contradictory results in the field of crime and development:

- Dell, Melissa (2014). *Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War*. Harvard University: Melissa at Harvard University assessed the escalation of drug trade-related violence in Mexico where the evidence in her studies blames local government for the increased number of criminal activities in the country.
- Working Paper on Crime and the Economy in Mexican States (IMF, 2015): The study assesses the relationship between poor economic performance and increase in homicide rates. It is reflected that Mexico's GDP is affected by rising number of criminal activities and poor economic progress.
- Mexico Policy Brief: Social and welfare issues (OECD, 2017) and Education Policy Outlook Mexico (OECD, 2018): The studies reflect more than half of young Mexicans lack the upper secondary education that leads them to enroll into the risk of being not in formal employment, further education or training. It is a serious issue to the development progress in the country where several other reasons, other than crime, have been rooted in it. Being neither in education nor in employment creates insecure and informal employment that have serious long-term effects on health, fertility and crime, eventually endangering social cohesion.
- 'Out of School and Out of Work: Risk and Opportunities for Latin America's Ninis' published (World Bank, 2016); This work shows the direct and indirect relationship between the growing number of youth that are neither in education nor in employment and organized crime, education, economic development and societal distraction in Latin America with an extra focus on Mexico. The findings of the study are 1). It contributes to the intergenerational persistence of inequality, 2). It is linked to crime and violence, in some contexts, and 3). Failing to address the problem of ninis in Latin America could prevent the region from exploiting an emerging demographic window of opportunity. It is shown that youth with poor education or no education are more likely to commit a crime than those with secondary and higher education.
- The Mexico's Drug Cartels and Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations (Congressional Research Services 2017-2018) with the support of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA): The study reports several numbers of data where the expansion of criminal organizations and escalation of drug war in Mexico that affect the youth's behaviour and economy in negative ways. The aforementioned reports and papers show adverse effects of the drug on health and public policy affecting Mexican and U.S. citizens negatively.

This, based on previous studies, is holistically agreed among that drug cartels are as such structures that function negatively in Mexican society. On the other hand, educational institutions are as such social structures that function positively leading individual's behaviour towards solidarity, peace and socio-economic prosperity. One can achieve the social status and economic development at a

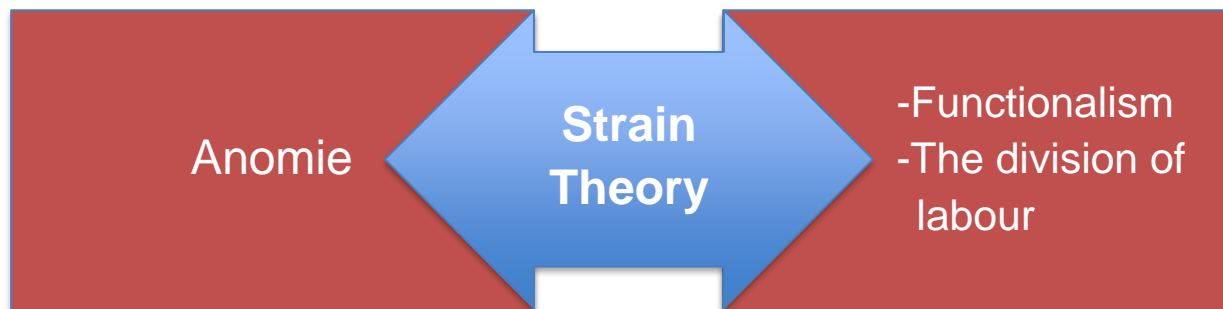
micro level through money out of crime, but it might be challenging to interact with prosper and peaceful societies where the results might be unsustainable.

Moreover, it is required to look further and study more, the information and data found in previous studies and the available literature, ground a solid relationship between - the data from practical life within crime, education and employment, and the theories identified by Emile Durkheim, George Mead, Charles Cooley and Robert K. Merton, that will be discussed below.

4. Theories of Crime and Delinquency in Mexican Context

There are several approaches which describe the phenomenon of crime in Mexico and its impacts on social, economic and physical environments, but this thesis is theoretically grounded and framed around the sociological theories of crime, deviance and delinquency defined and argued by Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton. This model, shown in figure 4.1, focuses on the importance of education and division of labour, and crime and delinquency from the viewpoint of *functionalism*, *anomie* and *the division of labour theories* by Durkheim and *Strain theory* with co-arguing the importance of *Merton's theory of anomie and crime* in Mexican context.

Figure 4.1: A theoretical model approaching crime in the context of Mexico.



4.1 Emile Durkheim and Development

Education and division of labour are the two important elements of achieving sustainable development goals in every society. Education and labour have an interconnected relationship between each other where improvements and advancements in any of the sector will affect the other directly and indirectly. This relationship has several theoretical roots and can be referred to the classic arguments of scholars within development discourses. Emile Durkheim (1893), the nineteenth-century French sociologist, argued the importance of labour in economic growth as a significant driver affecting the entire cycle of development (Pierson et. al., 2014). He, in *The Division of Labour in Society*, argued that transition of a society from primitive to advanced may cause some major disorder, crisis, and anomie while once it is reached the advanced stage, the society becomes stronger and developed (Durkheim, 1893). In the context of Mexico, it can be argued that advancements in the educational system may potentially play a significant role that might bring such a consequence to reach the integration of youth in the division of labour as productive labour keeping them out of criminality. While on the other hand, the early stages of

advancement or any shortcomings in the progress, might risk the isolation and marginalization of those youth who lack capacity or interest in education from the formal sector of the division of labour and this might lead them ending up to integrate into the informal criminal sector. According to his school of thought, education (despite the shortcomings) plays a core role in almost every sector of development discourse (not only division of labour) to tackle poverty, promote equality and reach economic growth. In addition, education aims to increase human knowledge towards a systematic perception of societal problems and solutions such nature of crime and its consequences on socio-economic conditions of life (ibid). Education does not only produce capable labour to directly impact the economy but also a knowledgeable society to affect other sectors of socio-economic livelihoods, directly and indirectly - such as effective management of natural, economic and social resources (ibid).

Durkheim's theory of *functionalism* follows the *structural functionalist theory* of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Talcott Parsons that defines the importance of the relationships and functions of social institutions coming up together to make up the society through promoting solidarity and stability (Pierson et. al., 2014). Functionalism views education as a social structural institution that - if it functions effectively - can positively affect the division of labour having the potential ability to promote a society towards solidarity and stability (Pierson et. al., 2014). For example, The United Kingdom as one of the developed parts of the world where the investment in educational structure has been very successful to overcome the rest of the socio-economic problems in other structures of the society (Derek, 2018). While on the other hand, according to this theory, crime can be defined as an institute that functions destructively in a social structure in Mexico. The country is experiencing a number of negative social, economic and physical impacts on the structures in society. According to this theory, the structural functionalist view of development in education and division of labour can provide opportunities for the social security and welfare, that can affect the establishment of other beneficial social institutes such as healthcare, unemployment security and pension.

Apparently, Durkheim's argument in the *'The Division of Labour in Society'* has not neglected the impact of crime in society and viewed it as a critically demolishing element against education and on the other hand how education can counter crime (Durkheim, 1893). Durkheim's argument relates the importance of functions of the educational institutions towards maintaining a cohesive society and to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks on how education can counter crime directly and indirectly in society from a micro to macro-level orientation. Durkheim's theories can ground a positive image in society that education impacts social and economic status and this will motivate the individual's behaviour in different social structures (e.g. in division of labour) to select careers towards formal employment and to avoid being part of informal employment sector (e.g. criminal careers) that demolishes the solidarity, peace and sustainability.

In accordance with Durkheim's school of classic thoughts, the modern academic society argues the importance of investment in education that has been very prominent and central in development discourses. There are very high macro-marginal returns to the investments in education through raising the average level of schooling that makes it possible for poor countries to grow rapidly (Breton, 2013).

4.2 Robert Merton and Criminology

Furthermore, the sociological theories of deviance and delinquency, defined by Robert K. Merton, approach and describe crime from the viewpoint of structural functionalist theory. Merton prominently worked on to extend and elaborate on Durkheim's notion of *anomie* and *social structures* (Barlow 1987, p. 38). The term '*anomie*' was first used in the book '*Suicide*' by Durkheim in 1897 when he was methodologically studying the social facts in the context of society. Durkheim referred *anomie* to a "social condition when individuals suffer a loss of external guidance and control towards goal-seeking endeavors" (Lilly et. al., 1995). Such conditions in accordance with his school of thought, is a product of "normlessness" in which the structural systems of regulation and restraint are broken down which cause individuals to end up in a disrupted and weakened condition. Durkheim used this term to define the theory of suicide, explaining why individuals end up committing suicide, but Merton (1938 and 1957) used it to criticize the structures of some segments of society that lead individuals' behaviour towards committing crime (Barlow, 1987, p. 37-38). Merton's work extends and elaborates the notion of *anomie*. It is the central feature in strain theory of crime, that he originated.

In this thesis, the *strain theory*, is also utilized to evaluate the social conditions and economic pressures addressing crime and delinquency in Mexico. According to Merton, the strain theory states that social structures may pressure individuals to face the status of *anomie* and commit crime within a society (Barlow, 1987, p. 25). According to liberal criminology, strain theory studies the status of criminal individuals in society and suggests that when such class of individuals fail to achieve their valued objects through legitimate opportunities, they end up stressed and frustrated tending to guide their behaviour through rule-violating acts to reach their goals. It is broadly accepted that socio-economic goals and interests are established within the social structures of the society where people are externally pressured to achieve, either through legitimate or criminal behaviour (Barlow, 1987, p. 26). Why criminal behavioural choices are growing to be accepted as trendy employment careers rather than legitimate opportunities among youth in Mexico, is a fundamental question of this thesis to be answered below.

Theoretically, it can be defended that scientific investments in human capital through education will result in improvements and advancements in the capacity and capability of labour. This process, in the long run, will potentially affect the rest of the social, economic and physical environments, such as maintaining a cohesive educated society and contributing to the growing role of division of labour in the economy. It also promotes sustainable development in progress and demolishes the potential obstacles against it (e.g. crime and delinquency).

4.3 Global Governance and Crime in Mexico

Crime is considered as one of the harmful barriers against the course of action being implemented in progress by the United Nations global plans to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Despite UN agencies like the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the local governments and several other local and international organizations, it is believed that counteracting crime through education and decent jobs can prevent and control crime domestically and worldwide. It will be a micro level indicator that will affect the macro level policy making and policy implementation facilitation to the local and international actors.

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), that gives everyone a right to education and Sustainable Development Goal four - Quality Education - educating people with knowledge, skills and expertise will definitely have positive impacts on the progress of achieving the rest of the SDGs. Particularly the objectives of the SDG number one - No Poverty, number eight - Decent Work and Economic Growth and number ten - Reduce Inequality by 2030.

5. Research Design and Methodology

The overall method of the research is based on a documentary analysis and literature review using secondary sources through academic and grey literature (Bryman, 2016, p. 97-118). Since the topic of research regards the relationship between crime, education and employment, I have decided to collect data for all these three social phenomena and conducted a converged data analysis. The research is conducted in accordance with the initial plan to look for the secondary sources available in grey literature. The qualitative and quantitative data on the secondary sources will be reviewed, related and analyzed in the context of Mexico. It will ground an empirical background in three consecutive stages, for each of the aforementioned elements, and the results will be summarized in a converged piece of analysis.

The required data and information have been collected from several academic text books, articles and journals, local statistical and crime prevention authorities of Mexico and the United States authorities, visual documentaries by international news media, and the grey literature published by international organizations such as UNICEF, UNODC, The World Bank, IMF and OECD.

The method I have selected for the data collection and analysis has several advantages. The most prominent benefit that it does not require large financial resources and time which a field study demands (Bryman, 2016, p. 97-118). The other benefit is the use of data from very reliable sources such as The National Institute of Statistics and Geography which is an autonomous agency of the Mexican Government dedicated to coordinate the National System of Statistical and Geographical Information of the country and The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, United Nations and OECD. There seems to be an obvious difference in the accuracy, validity, concreteness and proper implementation of a field study to collect data/information between the work of an experienced team of researchers compared to an undergraduate student.

On the other hand, one of the disadvantages of the documentary analysis/literature review, I believe is the real perception of the problems. Bryman (2016, p. 97-118) argued that a student misses a real-life experience and simply sits in front of the screen of a computer. This type of documentary analysis tends to be more theoretical, less practical. Regardless of the advantages and disadvantages, this method mostly allows students and researchers to test a hypothesis rather than to draw a theory out of it.

6. Analysis

This section is structured to analyze and draw the answers in the light of the background information, previous studies, theoretical arguments and research methodology, as discussed in the previous sections. It is divided into two main parts to conduct a micro and macroscale analysis since there are two correlated questions in this thesis.

6.1 Criminal Careers versus Legitimate Opportunities: A Microscale Analysis

It seemed necessary to initially go through understanding why youths in Mexico are choosing to establish their careers through crime in the informal sector other than legitimate opportunities to integrate into the formal sectors towards socio-economic prosperity and community cohesion in the country. This will help us to analyze macro-scale impacts of what individuals at micro-scale produce in the Mexican society.

6.1.1 "El Chapo": A motivation to criminality

Joaquin Archivaldo Guzman Loera, who is known for “El Chapo” was a principal operator and leader of the organized crime syndicate known as the Sinaloa Cartel (DEA, 2019). He is considered to have been the most powerful drug trafficker in the world who is informally titled as the drug lord where Sinaloa Cartel is considered as the largest and most powerful drug trafficking organization (DTO) in the Western Hemisphere (Insight Crime, 2019).

Guzman was born in 1957 in the state of Sinaloa and raised in a poor farming family in the rural community of state of Sinaloa (Beith, 2010). It is reported that his father, despite being a cattle rancher, was also an opium poppy farmer and he was helping his father to support the family. He dropped out of school in third grade due to family economic problems and the 100 km distance to commute (De Cordoba, 2009). He endured physical abuse in his family at the hands of his father when he was a child, he sometimes fled out of the house to escape from being beaten.

Due to the lack of employment opportunities in the rural community of Sinaloa, he turned to help his father to the cultivation of opium poppy and grow marijuana for local drug dealers. It was his age he started to get involved in the drug trade through his father (Beith, 2010). His clashes with his father Guzmán caused him to cultivate his own marijuana plantation when he was at age 15 with his six young cousins (Reyes, 2013). At the age of 20, he sold his house for the greater opportunities in organized crime. His business grew significantly and opened him the opportunity to work with the nation’s rising and larger drug dealers by the late 1970s and later to transport the narcotic drugs through Sinaloa into the United States in the mid-1980s. He was a very talented, prolific and successful drug trafficker, which led him to establish his own drug cartel in 1988 - the Sinaloa Cartel (Longmire, 2011).

The Sinaloa Cartel started and continued the operations by handling the production and transportation of mass cocaine, methamphetamine, marijuana from Mexico to the United States since its establishment in 1988 (U.S. Department of State, 2015). This business became very lucrative and the exports expanded from regional to international scale covering the European markets. According to the International Business Times (2015), Sinaloa cartel became the world’s

most powerful gangster enterprise and organized crime syndicate that continuously operates and enforces the international drug trafficking, money laundering, and organized crime.

Guzman was ranked the most powerful drug trafficker in the history of Mexico between 2009 through 2013 (U.S. DEA, 2015). He turned out to be the world's most dangerous drug trafficker and most wanted criminal by Attorney General of Mexico and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration since 2001 and arrested twice in 1993 while escaped in 2001 and in 2014 escaping out of the prison in 2015 in Mexico. He was finally arrested by Mexican Navy's Special Forces in assistance with the U.S. DEA in 2016 where he was extradited and convicted for life sentence in the United States (NBC News 2016 and DEA, 2019)

As a role model, El Chapo is a great example for the young people to learn out his personal life and criminal career within the organized crime in Mexico. His life and career provide us several aspects and issues to address and analyze such as;

1. Early life within his family,
2. As a youth when he left his father.
3. In adulthood when he stepped towards the criminality in a very large scale that his family would have not expected,
4. Successful fugitive criminal: Two times arresting and more importantly his escaping plans with success, and,
5. The End: His final arrest putting him behind prison bars outside of his own country.

It is not very simple for a commoner to emerge out of extreme poverty and become the world's number one fugitive and a Forbes-listed billionaire (U.S. DEA, 2015 and Forbes 2014). It means that El Chapo, as Mexican citizen, was a very talented, ambitious, prolific and more importantly a very successful man in his career (regardless of his choice) in the history of Mexico. His career has continuously been very profitable and lucrative since 1980s to a portion of the Mexican population even after his extradition out of Mexico. The criminal trade and business he established, promoted and developed had several enormous negative impacts while such a competent and capable figure could impact the society positively. He earned his life sentence behind the prison bars in the United States as the most dangerous criminal in Mexico affecting the region, when instead he could be a national 'HERO' in the country with such a talent he had. What and who is to be found guilty behind this scenario, is difficult to answer, but El Chapo (in this scenario) is a product of the functional societal flaws in the Mexican society where he lived in.

The followings are the main and basic reasons and factors why it was so interesting and lucrative to El Chapo (as a Mexican youth) to enroll into the criminal sector and establish his career other than other legitimate opportunities. to be a hero not a villain. Some of the important factors relating to the research question that caused El Chapo's integration into crime are:

1. Physical abuse,
2. Lack of access to educational system and family wise motivation,
3. Existence of functional and active criminal sector with massive opportunities,
4. Corruption in state offices.

El Chapo is not the only deteriorated Mexican when we talk about the poor structures at family, societal and governmental level and the relationship between crime, education and employment. There are many other criminals like El Chapo and it is difficult to figure out how many they are since they are part of the informal sector. The DEA (2019) reported that the greatest drug trafficking impacts on the region are rooted to Mexican drug cartels where there are nine major and several smaller cartels with thousands of workers in the country. Each cartel is operated under the leadership of several senior level criminals where the operations are enforced mostly through the employment and deployment of thousands of vulnerable (poor, unemployed or uneducated) young people in Mexico.

It is very important to understand the micro-scale dynamics of every individual criminal because there is greater potential in Mexican youth to produce macro-scale outcomes, as El Chapo did. With this regard, the growing amount of criminal violence in organized level, is the outcome of the collection of all those individual criminals who come up together and pose a greater threat to the Mexican society, economy and state. According to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR, 2019), in 2018, more than 28,000 homicides were linked to organized crime committed through youths by drug cartels in Mexico. This is a serious and critical issue which is the outcome of the poor social structures where young Mexicans grown up.

The sources provide information and analysis on the condition of El Chapo as an outcome of socio-economic strain causing him to end up in the status of anomie and become a criminal while he could struggle to integrate into the educational system instead of criminal sector. Despite the status of anomie, I believe he was over ambitious to become a drug lord with a solid intention other than to be forced by society. The sources have been in favour of El Chapo having the only alternative to be criminal and blaming the poor social, economic and state structures. It is felt that there is a lack of sources talking about the alternative career ways for him in society other than to be a criminal.

6.1.2. Poor social, economic and state structures

There are several arguments and reports that show strong critiques against ineffective and poor social, economic and state structures causing youth to lack interest in legitimate opportunities and head to integrate into criminal sector. The micro-scale interest and motivation has direct relation to macro-scale structures and state policy in Mexico causing youth to have a greater interest in criminality rather than to become educated and integrated in the formal sectors of society and economy.

The historical criticism of the failures of the Mexican government include: causing education systems to remain ineffective and unattractive for the families to motivate children and youth (WB, 2018). On the other hand, the existence of massive and well-paid criminal opportunities cause a lack of focus on education among poor parents and their children in Mexico. On the other, reports and interviews with some of professional employed criminals show a transition of formal employees to informal due to low salaries and temporary job opportunities that will be discussed below.

Despite some significant developments and advancements in the educational systems, there are several critiques against the poor and unsatisfactory progress and performance in this sector. The school attendance has increased over the years since the 1950s, when Mexico had only three million students enrolled in education. While In 2011, there were 32 million enrolled students (Rama, 2011). It is reported that in 2015, 44% of youth aged between 15 to 24 are enrolled in secondary or tertiary schools that shows an increase from 32.8% in 2000 (INEGI, 2015). Where were the other 66% of youths and what did they do in 2015?, is a critical issue that grounds a reason to criticize the educational system in Mexico.

On the other hand, according to the Mexican National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), despite the low rates of educational participation in Mexico compared to other major Latin American countries, there has been significant developments in the education structures (Robles and Navarro, 2012). According to a report by the Secretary of Public Education (SEP), the illiteracy rates decreased from 82% to 5% and enrollments in the formal educational system (from elementary to graduate education) increased from 3 million to 36.4 million between 1950 to 2018. Moreover, the report shows that tertiary enrollments grew from 15% in 1990 to 38% in 2017 (SEP, 2018).

Significantly, the lower-secondary education became compulsory in 1992 affecting rise in enrollment from 4.1 to 6.5 million and the upper-secondary in 2012 that has increased enrollments in education systems from 2.7 in 1997/1998 to 5.2 million in 2017/2018 (SEP, 2018). Different sources provide different information and it seems difficult to analyze, but the data show positive progress in higher secondary school enrollments, but the dropout data is missing that will be discussed below.

The World Bank has also conducted a study on the young people who are neither working nor in schools are often “Ninis” in Latin America which is a pressing issue in Central America, particularly in Mexico. The World Bank has conducted a study and found nearly 20 million young Latin Americans who are either out of work or educational system which a great problem in the region. The World Bank assessed the number which is growing and could be related directly to the magnitude of organized crime and violence risking young people and the society as a whole (World Bank, 2016). The bracket of Mexican ninis is made up of young people between 15-24 years of age and most of them live in the bigger cities that did not complete their upper secondary education. It is also reported that poverty and the growing need for informal work opportunities, simultaneously, at early ages causes youth to stay out of further education or formal employment. This results in school dropouts that further affects their ability to meet formal sector job requirements which is why most of the ninis are forced into a state of anomie by social and economic strain, and to look for temporary, unstable, informal and more dangerously the criminal jobs in order to survive (World Bank, 2016). The study shows that women make up two thirds of the ninis population bracket, putting them at risk for early marriages while most men involved in criminality for their survival, either at the age of 15-18 drop out school, or at the age of 19-24 turn to criminality due to the lack of formal employment. Furthermore, it is reported that merely 20 percent of students in the lowest income bracket complete their upper secondary education out of 67 percent who graduate in the country.

The World Bank mostly puts the responsibility on Mexico where the increasing number of ninis are associated to the escalation of violence in Mexico. One could, however, argue that this is a regional problem that the international community is required to focus and counteract on accordingly. The WB criticizes poverty in domestic context, local policies and poor structures while the main factor is rooted to drug demand from the United States. This can be criticized with the argument that cutting demands from United States will affect the drug production to decline and this will lead informal employment to decrease, created by drug cartels. It could potentially create motivation among youth towards education than criminality.

The Mexican Policy Brief (2017) reports that there is a relationship between the labour force marginalization and the noticeable decline in manufacturing productivity. The report shows 22% of Mexican youth were not in employment, education or training in 2015 (OECD, 2017). It is also reported that more than half of young Mexicans were unable to complete the upper secondary education which makes them at risk of being not in employment, further education or training. It has direct relation to secondary education and the existence of massive criminal opportunities. The well-paid criminal opportunities create a lack of interest to pursue or complete upper secondary education and develop their skills to enter the formal labour market rather than be drawn into criminality. El Chapo was a good example of such a case when he found himself unable to be educated or find decent employment in the market, he turned to involvement in criminality. The following data shows a bigger picture of youths turning to the criminal sector in Mexico.

There are several interviews conducted by international news media that shows a direct transition of talented and educated professionals and employees out of formal sector to informal and criminality due to the unstable, temporary and low salary job opportunities in the formal sector. "Inside Mexico's Infamous Meth: Super Labs" is a documentary and news report by Sky News (2015) that provided some important information about drug business and interviews with several workers inside an anonymous drug in Mexico. The documentary visualizes the status of workers, how Crystal Meth is produced, trafficked and brought money back to the cartel in Mexico from the United States. Two Ph. D graduates in chemistry are interviewed that say they makeup GBP 300 000 a year while they could never earn through any formal employment in Mexico. They explained how crystal meth is produced and said despite the toxic and poisoning effects of the process on their health, they risk working with the cartel. It is a great employment opportunity for them and a lucrative source of high-quality production for the cartel - being a medium size organization - that brings up GBP 12 million in a year from the United States (Sky News, 2015).

In another interview with a worker filling the drug capsules, the worker said he had been working for the cartel for 16 years since he was 16 and most of the other workers (shown in the documentary) were either young between 15-24 or have started years ago while they were at that age. Almost all of the workers reported to use drugs themselves and suffer serious headaches out of the drug production and packing process. They said they make money and they don't care about their health and deadly violence as a consequence of such career (Sky News, 2015).

The 16 years of employment with a criminal cartel and syndicate did not scare him out of the consequences. This shows ineffectiveness of state structures to the scale that rule of law goes under question. The two Ph. D. graduates and the drug processing workers said that they were working for an organization that protects their safety and security from rule of law. It is vividly said that

there are at least a thousand cartels like that they work for and their safety is secured through an organized and structured management of the cartels through bribes. They hold a very effective employment, logistics and security protection, allowing their products to reach United States in two days after production (Sky News, 2015). In return, the big money is laundered back into the Mexico and is redistributed among the stakeholders in the drug market.

In the documentary, the social influence and status of El Chapo is reflected where people believe he was commissioned by Jesus to steal from the rich and give it to the poor. The massive drug money he made was used and redistributed among the society from low to middle- and top-class people in Mexico. El Chapo is called a 'Narco Saint' in the Mexican society. People in local communities helped him several times when the government was pursuing him (Sky News, 2015). If the community were aware of the macro-scale outcomes and consequences of El Chapo's business, would they have helped him? This shows the unawareness or negligence of the Mexicans in El Chapo's community about the consequences of drug production and trade affecting them negatively more than the charity they were receiving from El Chapo.

Furthermore, according to Mexico's defense ministry, around 1,383 elite soldiers deserted from government's military between 1994 and 2015 and recruited by drug cartels (The Guardian, 2018). It is reported the elite Mexican soldiers are continuously recruited by cartels with high salaries to enforce intentional killings effectively and this an example that indicates a transition of employees formal to informal sectors.

The findings indicate that micro-scale problem, the behaviour of youths in selecting criminal career ways, are associated with the macro-scale problems, and *This points to why crime - not legitimate opportunities - is such an attractive career way among youth in Mexico where social, economic and state structures are poor and ineffective to some extent.*

6.2. Impacts of Organized Crime on Society and Economy: A Macroscale Analysis

This part aims to uncover some of the direct and indirect impacts of organized crime by Mexican drug cartels on secondary education where the students are aged 15-18 and the formal labour market when most of the young labour start their career at the age between 19-24 (WB Institute, 2008, p. 63-65). This bracket of population (aged 15-24) build up 18.2% of the total population in Mexico (UN Statistics Division, 2017), which is very significant bracket for the population for the development of Mexico.

6.2.1. Drug cartels: A growing source of black employment

Organized crime is enforced by major drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) that are called drug cartels in Mexico (Dell, 2014). These organizations are prominent that represent the criminal sector in the country. Most of criminal activities and rule-violent acts are enforced and committed in a very organized and structured way that is referred to as 'organized crime'. It is just what the name suggests, there are some sorts of organizations behind it where there are drug cartels in Mexico. The drug cartels are such DTOs that deploy their operations through a hierarchy of employed youths in several levels of middle and upper management with a diversification of roles, the same way as large corporations (Barlow, 1987, p. 286-308). Barlow argues that organized crime is

operated for economic purposes to bring money and financial resources, and such resources that are redistributed among 1). employees to keep their operations going on, 2). briberies to government officials to protect their organizational values and existence, and 3). developing their organizations to reach global criminal sector.

This is very important for Mexican drug cartels who enforce their operations in an organized manner in order to hold their financial share, remove threats and protect the narcotic drugs production and supply operations in Mexico and the United States. Similar to large corporations that benefit from the basic theory of economics - supply and demand (Whelan and Msefer, 1994) - the more demand for drugs, leads to a rise in production and this process produces more money for Mexican drug cartels that are laundered from the United States (DEA, 2019). IT impacts money redistribution in Mexica creating more room for black employment opportunities among youth in the production country, Mexico.

In other words, as discussed above, the micro-scale dimensions of crime create the macro-scale outcomes and it is how organized crime has been established as a sophisticated functional institute in Mexico impacting the region. The scenario of organized crime produces lucrative business that brings billions of U.S. dollars into Mexico creating massive employment opportunities for youths, often aged 15 to 24. It causes Mexico to experience a further escalation of increased violence and an accepted career trend within criminal sector among youth at microscale.

According to the United States Congressional Research Services (2019), there are nine major and several minor drug cartels operating in Mexico. The Tijuana/Arellano Felix Organization, Sinaloa Cartel, Juárez/Carrillo Fuentes Organization, Gulf Cartel, Los Zetas, Beltrán Leyva Organization, La Familia Michoacana, Knights Templar and Cartel Jalisco-New Generation are the large drug cartels and criminal syndicates competing to expand their share in the market through any sort of rule-violent acts in Mexico (DEA, 2019, p. 14). Due to such escalation of rise in violence and crime, the scenario is often referred to as the 'Rival Alliances' and 'Mexican Drug War' to compete for turf. This is a great threat to the development of the local society in Mexico and to regional security. Both countries, Mexico and the United States, suffer as a result of the Mexican drug war in the region. It is measured in terms of rise mostly in homicides, assault, torture, money laundering, theft, kidnapping, briberies, health impacts and social behavioural change among students in schools (e.g. hate, discrimination and extortion crimes as discussed in the previous part). In the figure the increasing rates homicides since the 1990s in terms of measuring crime and the impacts on society and economy, particularly on secondary education and formal employment.

The DEA has conducted several studies and provided number of reports on Mexican drug trafficking and war tracing the source of the crime to Mexicans and Mexico. These sources could be criticized by saying that they don't take into account drug demand from the U.S. An additional criticism could be that these reports do not talk about organized crime in the U.S that is linked to the Mexican drug suppliers.

Figure 6.1: Homicide rate in Mexico between 1990-2017



Credit: CFR (2019)

Source: National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI)

The homicide rate in Mexico is growing every year and reached 31,174 murders reported in 2017 and 33,341 murders in 2018 (INEGI, 2019). This is the highest toll since late 1990s which represent an average of 85 deaths. Out of the above data, 1,468 were children under the age of 18 where 1,023 were aged 15 to 17 years old (INEGI 2018 and UNICEF, 2018). According to the World Bank and UNICEF much of the homicides are associated with organized crime committed by drug cartels in Mexico (Heinle et. al., 2015, p. 14).

The World Bank (2016) report states that in high-crime states of Mexico between 2007-12, the growing number of ninis statistically explains at least a quarter of the increase in homicides each year between 2007-2012. According the Guardian report (2018) homicide rate increased by 15% in one year between 2017-18 that followed by a decline in secondary education enrollment from 65.891% to 65.836% (WB, 2018). It motivates the argument of the analysis that the growing number of homicides each year establishes a relationship to the disappearance of youth from education and formal employment sector either as crime enforcers or victims. This points to an impact on secondary education and formal sector employment as most of them are youth between the ages of 15 to 24. The ninis are a vulnerable target for drug cartels and source of expansion of criminal employment and deployment. They significantly engage to earn money, thus contributing to increasing crime and violence in Mexico. Given the dynamics and dimensions of poverty, unemployment, poor social, economic and state structures, they establish a strong association with informal employment and rising rate of homicides.

6.2.2. Violence in Mexican Schools

There is a number violence reported in Mexican schools each year causing a significant rise in dropouts, extortions, hate and discrimination crimes associated indirectly to organized crime. State Human Rights Commission in Mexico (Spanish: Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos; CNDH), reported various cases of extortions and thefts among students and by students targeting teachers in schools where state presence lacks.

According to data from INEGI (2018) 4 out of 10 students have witnessed or experienced violence at the school environment such as physical or verbal abuse, theft or discrimination (El Universal, 2018). This may cause a hostile school environment where the practices of what is learned outside of schools are applied inside schools. The data suggests that this phenomenon is increasing and significantly spreading organized crime in the vulnerable areas of the country. Teachers and students are threatened by a minor portion of students linked to organized crime. It is reported that the threatening students' behaviour inside schools is affected either through their parents or friends involved in organized crime. This is a reflection of what they learn and experience outside of schools (InSight Crime, 2016). The recent INEGI data shows 1.1 million children under the age 15 and teenagers under the age of 18 drop out of school because of violence in school environments (El Universal, 2018). These dropouts may lead to issues such as contributing to a growing number of ninis, which in turn can lead to their integration into the criminal sector of society in Mexico.

The growing number violence in some schools may risk students to either learn from those students with criminal background or linkages to organized crime, or quit to continue their education. This can possibly impact students to become professional and/or official criminals after they graduate within the formal sectors of society, economy and state structures, or lead the number of ninis to grow in Mexico.

Some numeric data and information on violence in the Mexican educational system is found out on local media. Simultaneously, there is criticism towards the media's provision of accurate information in the country about crime (The Guardian, 2019, BBC, 2019). Due to previously discussed factors like corruption, bribery and fear, one could call the factuality of some sources used in this thesis to question.

6.3. Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

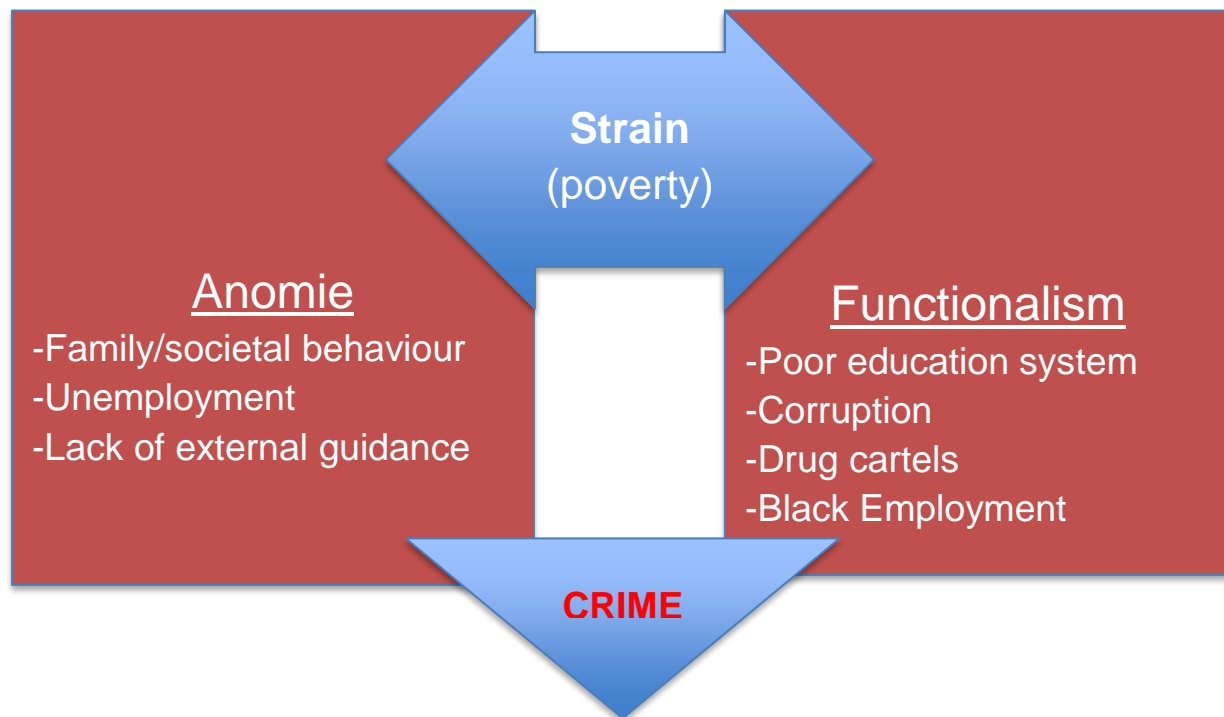
The data and evidence shown above reflect that organized crime is a catastrophic and destructive dilemma in Mexico. It is very important for the domestic and regional actors to theoretically perceive the dynamics and dimensions of organized crime as a social problematic phenomenon and counteract accordingly towards prevention, community cohesion and socio-economic prosperity.

If we go through and assess the early life and career of 'El Chapo' as a role model in this thesis, we discover that he ended up being in the status of *anomie* caused by strains within the poor social, economic and state structures. According to Durkheim's school of functionalism and criminology, El Chapo can be referred to the social condition of anomie when he suffered the physical abuse in the family, lack of formal employment in the market and loss of external guidance and control

towards goal-seeking endeavors and to prevent him planting opium poppy and entering the organized crime sector in Mexico. Such conditions in accordance with his school of thought, is a product of ‘normlessness’ in which the structural systems of regulation and restraint - such as access to education, formal employment and rule of law - were broken down (Barlow, 1987, p. 37-38). Altogether, in accordance to *strain theory*, the socio-economic *strain, tension and pressures* led El Chapo to end up committing rule-violating acts and being a criminal (Barlow, 1987, p. 25). This is how Merton’s work (1938 and 1957) extended and elaborated the notion of anomie as a central feature in strain theory of crime, that he originated and applied in the field of criminology.

The figure below is drawn on the nature of how crime has come up to be committed in the context of Mexico in the light of theoretical framework of this thesis:

Figure 6.2: A theoretical model of crime in Mexico



In addition, the information acquired from the experiences of previously mentioned people (two Ph.D. graduate students, military force recruitments by cartels), it is discovered that poor social, economic and state structures may cause criminal behavioral choices to grow and to be accepted as trendy employment careers rather than legitimate opportunities among youth in Mexico. Since the 1990s, the phenomenon of crime is growing annually and spreading throughout the map of Mexico (shown in figure 6.3). This is critically dangerous for the future of youths in the country (Jaramillo et. al., 2016).

Figure 6.3: Area of drug cartels and criminal syndicates by region of influence (2018)



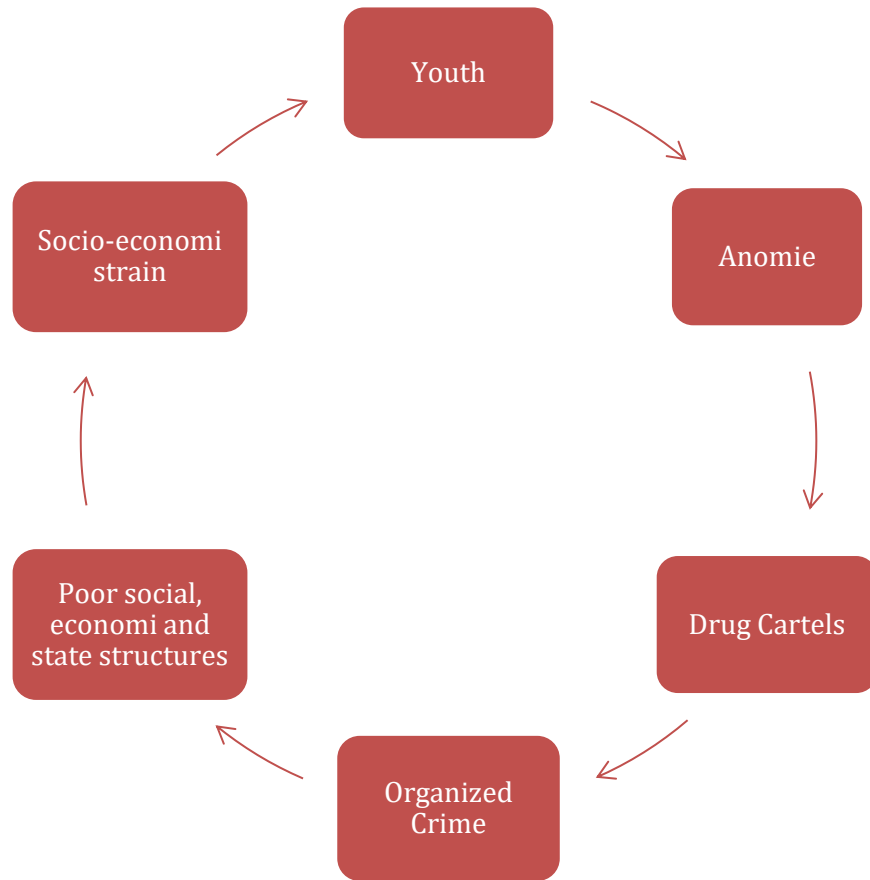
Source: Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations, p. 29. Drug Enforcement Administration (2019).

We have also noticed above that there is evidence showing that violence in educational systems is increasing. Crime within educational institutions where students learn to commit crime either as a result of interacting with other members of society, anomie or strain, may lead the students to be part of both formal and informal sectors, namely organized crime. The integration of students with a criminal background may seriously harm the educational environment through providing opportunities for noncriminal students to learn from the criminal students. This will result in some

of them integrating into structures of government institutions and holding political power which, in some cases, is the most desired opportunity for criminals (Barlow, 1987, p. 73). The social learning process theory, which was not included in the theoretical framework of this thesis, argues that this could be the most dangerous category of criminals (ibid).

Here, I propose that the findings theoretically point to circulative impacts between youth, crime and drug cartels as illustrated in figure 6.4. The above data and evidence reflect that some youth that end up in the status of anomie (committing crime) are affected by socio-economic strain, for example poverty. They contribute to the growth of drug cartels, which enforce their operations through different sorts of rule-violating acts. This in response, affects the society, economy and state policy in negative ways such as increases in homicides, transition of students and formal employees to informal criminal sector and corruption within the government authorities.

Figure 6.4: Circulative impacts of crime



Theoretically, it can be proposed that investments in human capital through education will result in improvements and advancements in the capacity and capability of labour in Mexico, as argued by Durkheim (1893). There is, however, some evidence in this thesis pointing to failures and flaws within the educational system that may increase youth deterioration and integration into criminality in Mexico.

7. Conclusion

The following statement by the World Bank Institute (2008) makes sense of the extra focus on thinking for legitimate opportunities

‘‘The first firm embarks on a virtuous circle of learning: success breeds success—inclusion in knowledge networks brings new expertise and makes subsequent learning more productive. The second firm falls into a vicious circle of poverty: failure breeds failure—exclusion from knowledge networks diminishes further chances to catch up.’’

The international community, theoretically and practically, support the establishment and promotion of education to maintain a cohesive society that might potentially impact the economic growth and state policy in progress, positively. It is scientifically accepted that knowledge-based economy is a great factor of productivity and a proxy for the nation's ability to absorb and mobilize people of the same nation towards prosperity. This capability is directly dependent on each country's institutions and structures in the framework of society, economy and government.

Unfortunately, the case is very different in Mexico where prosperity, social and economic safety and security is under a great threat, namely by organized crime. Organized crime has grown to such a level that nowhere is felt safer throughout the country. Drug cartels that are in the core of the organized crime, have established such a sophisticated structure that made crime visible almost everywhere in society, economy and state structures. It is very complex to reach every single aspect of organized in this piece of research due to certain limitations, but it has pointed out some causes of choosing criminal career way as an accepted employment trend among youth. It has also identified some of the major impacts of organized crime on secondary education and formal employment among youth in Mexico.

If we refer to what has been said in the previous studies and analysis sections of this thesis in the light of background information and theoretical framework, some of the direct and indirect impacts of crime can be induced from looking at the society through a micro and macro-level orientation. It focused on the characteristics of crime at both individual and organized level as a critically leading component of societal destruction in Mexico. This is not a new field of study or a topic which lacks sufficient research in the context of Mexico. There have been several scientific studies, journals, articles, books, reports and documentaries, but this thesis added and contributed to scientific research in development studies and took a critical look at the future of crime and delinquency as an accepted career trend among youth in Mexican society. It has been found that ***poor social, economic and state structures*** create room for youth to be absorbed into the criminal sector of society other than guiding their interest towards legitimate opportunities. This at macro-level affects an ***easy access to criminal opportunities and transition of labour from formal to informal sector, namely crime***. Finally, the study discovered some of the indirect impacts of organized crime affecting the growth of violence in school environments causing an increased number of student dropouts each year from educational systems, particularly in upper-secondary schools.

There is a potential risk that organized crime in Mexico can spread and may lead youth to be found criminals everywhere in all aspects of society. This may lead the society to a criminal evolution and diffusion in every sector of the society. The World Bank's criticism demonstrates that there is a lack of investment to some extent in human capital to create legitimate opportunities and promote formal employment. While investment in educational structures can potentially work as a preventive approach to keep youth out of the informal criminal sector, it also motivates the formal employment to grow within the division of labour in society that plays a central role to boost economic growth and achieve sustainable development for all.

I believe the condition, dynamics and dimensions of organized crime prevents Mexican youth to fully incorporate and integrate into the formal sectors of society and economy. This is causing an isolation of youths from free rights of socialization, development and prosperity. Any negligence or shortcomings in the process of integration of labour into the formal sector of the economy can create opportunities which might lead youth to be absorbed by the informal criminal sector with the long run negative impacts on labour policies, health and pension structures. It might also further strengthen the most destructive institutional forces in the society - namely crime.

Finally, it is a recognized fact that the cultural capital, with an economic support, of families directly affects the education of their children. Similarly, effective economic and strong state structures create incentives for everyone to stay out of criminality and integrate into the formal sectors of society and economy. This is very important for policymakers at stake within Mexico, the United States and the international community to focus on. As discussed above, there is a possible risk that the growing scale of organized crime may produce professional and official criminals within the formal sectors of society, economy and state structures, or lead the number of ninis to increase in Mexico while educating the nation, strong enforcement of rule of law and raising awareness about the consequences of crime can possibly prevent it from happening.

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