https://doi.org/10.23913/ride.v15i29.2144

Scientific articles

La percepción de los jóvenes universitarios en Tlaxcala 2023

The perception of young university students in Tlaxcala 2023

A percepção dos jovens universitários em Tlaxcala 2023

Jorge Luis Camacho Mozón

Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México camacho.cipol@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0236-9442

Ketzalcóatl Pérez Pérez

Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México ketzalcoatl.perezperez@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5534-7234

Angélica Mendieta Ramírez

Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México angelicamendietaramirez@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9344-8653

Resumen

Este trabajo de investigación recoge la opinión de una muestra de universitarios sobre la percepción de la comunicación gubernamental del estado de Tlaxcala, durante el primer trimestre del año 2023. El objetivo principal es analizar la percepción que tienen los ciudadanos, así como saber si la comunicación entre gobierno y ciudadano es efectiva. En los resultados, los jóvenes tlaxcaltecas no han observado algún cambio, la percepción que tienen de la gobernadora y del gobierno que ella encabeza es regular.

Palabras clave: percepción, comunicación, gobierno.





Abstract

This research work collects the opinion of a sample of university students on the perception of government communication in the state of Tlaxcala, during the first quarter of 2023. The main objective is to analyze the perception that citizens have, as well as to know if the communication between government and citizen is effective. In the results, the young Tlaxcalans have not observed any change, the perception they have of the governor and the government she heads is regular.

Keywords: perception, communication, government.

Resumo

Este trabalho de investigação recolhe a opinião de uma amostra de estudantes universitários sobre a percepção da comunicação governamental no estado de Tlaxcala, durante o primeiro trimestre de 2023. O objetivo principal é analisar a percepção que os cidadãos têm, bem como saber se o a comunicação entre governo e cidadão é eficaz. Nos resultados, os jovens tlaxcalanos não observaram nenhuma mudança na percepção que têm da governadora e do governo que ela dirige.

Palavras-chave: percepção, comunicação, governo.

Reception Date: February 2024 **Acceptance Date:** November 2024

Introduction

The present research has a communicational approach, which has as its main objective to analyze the perception that citizens, particularly young university students from the state of Tlaxcala, have about the governmental communication implemented by the state government in 2023, as well as to know if the communication between government and citizen is effective, the above by carrying out a retrospective study of political communication in Tlaxcala, and of the governmental communication that the state government has implemented, where through a government-citizen communication process, actions, programs, and public works are made known, with the purpose that citizens approve, legitimize, generate consensus and talk about a new political culture.

Since 2021, as governor of the state of Tlaxcala, Lorena Cuellar Cisneros has positioned herself as the fifth best-evaluated governor nationwide, reaching approval percentages of up to 56% according to data from Mitofsky (2022), but also ranking her in



first place nationwide among governors by political party, in this case the National Regeneration Movement, by its acronym "MORENA" in the ranking of governors with the highest acceptance and approval of their government (Mitofsky, 2022). which at first could indicate that government communication, or government communication, is effective.

But while consulting firms such as "Mitofsky" place Lorena Cuellar Cisneros in the national ranking of governors with the highest acceptance and/or approval of their government management, in the state and to be more exact in the state capital, where local powers reside and in particular the executive power, there have been countless demonstrations by different sectors of the population, as can be seen in local print and digital media.

Where in a single day there have been demonstrations by transport workers, unions, education workers, students, health workers, etc., showing their dissatisfaction or non-approval of the management of the government headed by Lorena Cuellar Cisneros.

It is also important to mention that official media and sources provide data and information that does not correspond to the reality that Tlaxcaltecas live day to day, to cite an example; in terms of security and according to the report of the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) on urban public security, published on January 19, 2023, in which the fourth quarter of 2022 is evaluated, and where a decrease was obtained in the percentage of social perception of public insecurity from 59.4% to 49.4%. (INEGI, National Survey of Urban Public Security, 2023). Only in reality the data is different, in fact, crimes have increased, all of which can be seen in the media and in citizen demonstrations.

That is why it is important to know the perception of young people from Tlaxcala, specifically those who study at a higher level, because it could be said that they, having access to higher education to train as professionals and later decision makers, could have a different perception than the rest of the young people and citizens of Tlaxcala.

Political communication

The beginnings of political communication have their origins at the same time as civilization, when the social life of communities depended on leaders with skills in the use of rhetoric, eloquence and other skills to communicate their ideas and purposes. "Communication and politics are and have been closely linked to the historical development of humanity" (Berrocal, 2003, as cited in Reyes Montes, *et al.*, 2011).



The term political communication is a concept that began to be used in the fifties, but its most remote antecedents are manifested since man began to live in groups and power relations were presented in coexistence, as stated by (Wolton, 1998, as cited in Reyes Montes, *et al.*, 2011) when he says that "it is as old as politics, which was born with the first exchanges that men have with each other in the organization, consolidation and development of the city."

The author Ochoa (2000), as cited in Mendieta, 2018, states; "politics is a science that studies the relationships between citizens and the State." That is, a complicity is generated between both in which communication cannot be absent, whether direct or not, since in democracy political life is a great system of dialogues.

Political communication is the tool that helps political actors to better understand each other, in a communication process where the three parties intervene, the intention of the message and how the receivers conceive it, in order to legitimize the actions of the government.

Government communication

Government communication, on the other hand, aims at other objectives. Noguera (2005, as cited in Mendieta 2018) states that it is a type of communication that is less spasmodic and more sustained, less heroic, less focused on grand speeches and more on management.

This research will analyze the government communication of the government of the state of Tlaxcala taking management as its central axis: what? and how? is the state government or the governor communicating its government actions; here it is important to mention that "It is understood that government communication has an objective: to generate consensus. If government communication does not act well, there is no consensus and if there is no consensus, there is no good management (Riorda, 2008)." Mario Riorda also points out that you cannot govern poorly and communicate well, if you communicate poorly it is because you are governing poorly.



Revista Iberoamericana para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Educativo ISSN 2007 - 7467

Table 1. Concepts.

Author		Concept
Rafael Alberto Perez (2009)	Communication	Defines communication as all the processes through which people relate and influence each other.
Oscar Ochoa (2000)	Political Communication	It is the process of transmitting and receiving messages, from and to the components of the political system.
Dominique Wolton (1995)	Political Communication	It is the space in which the contradictory discourses of the three actors who have the legitimacy to express themselves publicly on politics are exchanged.
Mario Riorda (2008)	Government Communication	Government communication has one objective: to generate consensus. If government communication does not act well, there is no consensus, and if there is no consensus, there is no good management.

Source: Prepared by the authors using data from Mendieta, (2018).

The perception

The word perception is defined when "experts find a linguistic relationship that involves a preposition of action, per, which can mean "through", and the term capio which means "to catch", "to take", "to seize" or "to appropriate" (Sánchez, 2015).

We could say that when we perceive something in a certain way, we select and appropriate "something", which means that from an entire universe we take only a part, that which represents something for one, but without a doubt certain criteria or principles must be met, so that this does not remain as just hallucinations or mere ideas, it is then when we understand perception as a process, but in the course of this process it is important to note that:





Not everything that impacts us initiates a process of perception, that is, not every sensory impact necessarily goes through a phase of organization and integration in a network of relationships available to the subject, and, therefore, the impacts must be attended to so that they achieve meaning. Thus, perception, at the same time as being conditioned by experience, is in itself a source of strengthening it (Sánchez, 2015).

So, perception as a process is a cumulative experience, which the subject or person has the ability to control, concluding the following:

Perception would not be, therefore, a simple and immediate function in subjects. It requires time and maturation; it requires work and adjustment to reach higher degrees of precision. But we are referring to perception in general and not just visual perception. Differentiating and determining olfactory, gustatory, tactile and auditory perception involves training and learning over time (Sánchez, 2015).

Subjects or individuals select something in particular from a universe, make it their own, accumulate it and mature it, which undoubtedly directly impacts all the "senses" and generates "experience". This will allow them to make a comment or judgment, acquire or take a position, perceive something, and for this it is necessary to stop at what is the Gestalt theory.

While some schools of psychology consider the mental representations that we create in our consciousness as the sum of a set of images, sounds, touches, memories or as we have said before "experiences" the Gestalt theory says the opposite:

Gestalt theory, however, denies that there is a perceptual "whole" that is composed of the set of data that reaches our body. On the contrary, it proposes that what we experience is more than the sum of its parts, and that therefore it exists as a whole, a figure that can only be considered whole. Thus, what happens is that the globality of our mental "forms" prevails over what reaches us through the senses, and not the other way around (Torres, 2023).

Once we have explained what the concept of "perception" means, the principles and laws it follows, from which approach it will be addressed in this research work supported by the Gestalt theory, it is necessary to clarify and point out that next we will talk about social perception, which will serve to better understand the research topic of this work.





Methodology

This research has a communicational approach, carrying out a retrospective study of political communication in Tlaxcala. The methodology to be followed in this research is quantitative, not experimental, with a descriptive scope and a cross-sectional research design. The survey is the technique through which data will be collected to find out the perception that young Tlaxcala university students have about the government communication of the government of the state of Tlaxcala.

To this end, this research will be addressed in three stages: the first, after the statement of the problem, the description, the triggers that led to the beginning of this research work, the background of political and governmental communication; the second, the theoretical perspectives of political communication and, a third stage in which the perception of young university students on the governmental communication implemented by the government of the state of Tlaxcala will be analyzed.

A digital survey will be conducted with 400 young people studying at the university level, who live in the state of Tlaxcala, who meet the range considered from 18 to 29 years of age, they can be university students from public or private schools, the application is through a form on Google and distributed among the university students; this once a pilot test was already applied to 10 people, to find out if the questions were understandable, if the questionnaire was not boring or tedious and to be able to have a broader overview for better obtaining results.

The instrument consists of six questions. The first question measures the perception of young people regarding the current government compared to the previous one. The second measures the perception of the government of Tlaxcala in 2023. The third measures the degree of knowledge of government communication that citizens have. The fourth question measures the degree of effectiveness of government-citizen communication. The fifth rates the government's communication. The sixth and last question measures the degree of approval of the rating of the government of Tlaxcala obtained at the national level. Likewise, for the analysis of the data obtained, the Microsoft Excel 2016 program was used. Performing descriptive statistics, the qualitative and quantitative variables of the study were analyzed, whose presentation was through absolute-relative frequencies.

The main research question of this research work is: How do young university students perceive the government communication implemented by the government of the state of Tlaxcala in 2023?



The general objective of this research work is to analyze the perception that young university students have about the government communication implemented by the government of the State of Tlaxcala in 2023.

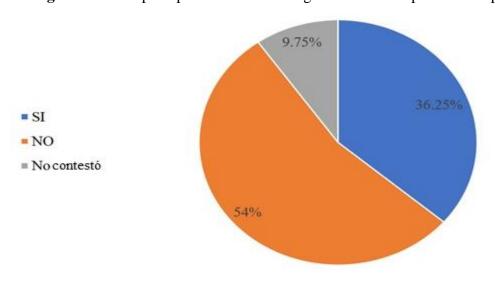
The hypothesis of this research work supports that the current perception of young university students from Tlaxcala regarding the government of Lorena Cuéllar Cisneros presents a discrepancy regarding the evaluation of her mandate.

The specific objectives focused on:

To analyze the perception of young university students regarding government communication implemented by the government of the state of Tlaxcala in 2023; to apply a survey to young university students to find out whether they approve or disapprove of the actions of the government of the state of Tlaxcala and; how they are informed about them.

Results

Figure 1. Youth perception of the current government compared to the previous one.



Source: Own elaboration

In figure number one, we can observe the perception that young university students in the state of Tlaxcala have, on whether they have noticed any change in the current state administration, which has been headed by Lorena Cuellar Cisneros since 2021, who perceive the following; for 216, who represent 54% of the young people surveyed, they responded that they have not perceived or noticed any change with the current government compared to the previous one; while 145 young people who represent 36.25% of those surveyed responded that they have noticed or perceived some change with the arrival of Governor Lorena Cuellar



Cisneros at the head of the government of the state of Tlaxcala; on the other hand, 39 young people preferred not to answer, representing 9.75% of those surveyed.

The information that can be observed is very useful for this research work, because it can be analyzed that more than 50% of young university students in Tlaxcala have not noticed any change with the arrival of the new government compared to the previous one, something that draws attention because the campaign of the now Governor Lorena Cuellar was based on transforming the Tlaxcalteca entity by promising its citizens a new history, leaving behind bad PRI governments, which had governed the entity in the last decade.

Buena
Regular
Mala
Muy mala
No contestó

24.0%

52.8%

Figure 2. Perception of the Tlaxcala government 2023

Source: Own elaboration

Figure number two shows the results of the perception that young university students – who live in the state of Tlaxcala – have of Governor Lorena Cuellar Cisneros and the government of the state of Tlaxcala. Of the total number of respondents, 9.8% preferred not to answer this question, 13% responded that they have a good perception of the governor and the state government, but just over half of those surveyed, to be exact 52.8%, have a regular perception, 24% responded that they have a bad perception, while 0.6% of those surveyed have a very bad and deplorable perception of Governor Lorena Cuellar Cisneros and the government she heads.



It is important to reflect on these results and ask one more question: why do young people have a regular perception, with a negative tendency or with a bad perception of the governor and the government of the state of Tlaxcala?

9.75%

NO
No contestó

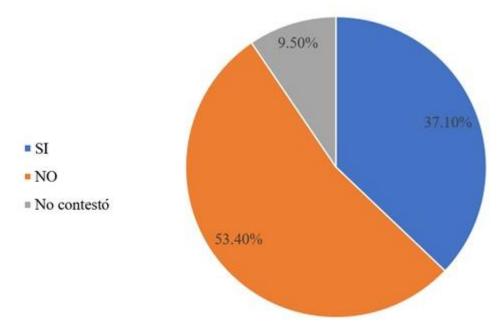
70.50%

Figure 3. Citizens' level of awareness of government communication

Source: Own elaboration

In figure number three, we can see that 282 young people – representing 70.50% of those surveyed – do know or are aware of the means by which the government of the state of Tlaxcala informs and communicates its government actions abroad, 79 of them, equivalent to 19.75% of young people, do not know or have not identified the means in which the actions of this state administration are disseminated, while 39 young people, representing 9.75%, did not answer this question. In the analysis that follows, mention is made of the means that young people know, or that they consider are the ones that the governor and the government of Tlaxcala use to establish communication with the inhabitants of the entity.

Figure 4. Government-citizen communication is effective



Source: Own elaboration

Figure number four shows that 53.40% of young university students living in Tlaxcala consider that government-citizen communication in the Tlaxcala state is not effective, while 37.10% responded that there is effective communication, on the other hand, 9.50% of those surveyed did not answer this question.

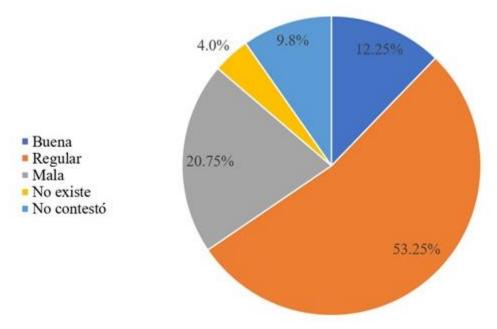
Young university students perceive that the communication implemented by the state government and Lorena Cuellar towards citizens is not effective; something is happening in the communication strategy(ies) of the current government.





Revista Iberoamericana para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Educativo ISSN 2007 - 7467

Figure 5. Government rating

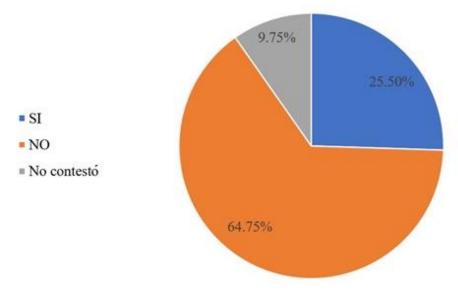


Source: Own elaboration

Figure number five illustrates what young university students answered about how they perceive the communication implemented by the government of the state of Tlaxcala towards the citizens, where 53.25% perceive the communication implemented by the government as average, 20.75% perceive the communication implemented by Lorena Cuellar and the government of Tlaxcala as bad, 12.25% of them perceive the communication that has been implemented in this administration as good, while 4% of young people perceive government-citizen communication as non-existent, 9.8% of those surveyed did not answer this question.



Figure 6. Approval rating of the Tlaxcala government obtained at the national level



Source: Own elaboration

Figure number six represents what young university students from Tlaxcala answered about whether they agree with consulting firms, polling firms, the media and the government itself, where Governor Lorena Cuellar Cisneros is ranked as the second or third best evaluated governor and with high approval percentages above 56%.

64.75% of young university students do not agree with the consultants; on the contrary, 25.5% of the young people surveyed say they do agree with ranking the governor in first place and 9.75% did not answer this question.

Discussion

Regarding the result obtained in the first question, at first it contradicts what the governor, her government and the media have handled so far in her administration, since they say that it can be seen that the entity has managed to advance in such a short time; at least that is what they try to make us believe, through a series of surveys, propaganda; let us remember that the line that the president of the republic has drawn is being followed, since the governor comes from the ranks of MORENA and now more so since we are so close to experiencing a new electoral process.

Regarding the perception of the Tlaxcala 2023 government, a deterioration of the government's image is observed, since the perception that was had of the current governor during the campaign is very different from the one that already exists when it is necessary to solve the social problem, which they promised to solve during the campaign, and whether to





do it or not, and to do it well; the way of conducting oneself and treating people will impact their perception of the rulers and their government, since it is not about who is in charge, but about the entire team, agencies, institutions and of course the people who collaborate there.

Young university students in the state of Tlaxcala are interested in learning about what is happening in their state and the actions of those who govern them, in being aware of political and social issues, and they also know or identify the means through which the state government and the governor communicate actions and public policies to their constituents. "We are at a turning point where political communication requires spectators; but also greater depth in what it transmits." (Mendieta and Estrada, 2017).

It is observed that more than 50% of the respondents perceive that there is no effective communication, that the process of the basic communication model is not being followed, that the government and the governor are not communicating correctly with the citizens, that something is happening in the area of government communication; the governor should ask herself, who? or what? is failing in her government communication strategy, so that the citizens, in this case the young people, have this perception.

If there is no effective government-citizen communication, if basic communication and in particular the communication strategy is not working in the most correct way, if there is no presence in the media or the reach of these is limited, the results of the previous graph are similar, where 213 young people perceive the communication implemented by the state government as average, 82 young people perceive it as bad, and only 49 respondents have a good perception of the communication.

As mentioned from the beginning of this research work from the statement of the problem, a core part is the information that polling firms and recognized consulting firms publish in the media and today on social networks, where from time to time the results of their surveys and national ranking of the governors best evaluated by their citizens are made known and, as already said, the governor of Tlaxcala, Lorena Cuellar Cisneros, is positioned within the five best evaluated and with more than 50% approval of her management.



Conclusions

Young people do not usually show an explicit or deep interest in issues related to politics, government or the social problems currently facing the state of Tlaxcala. This could be the predominant perception among politicians, which would lead to this sector of the population not being taken into account or listened to. This lack of attention could generate the belief that young people are indifferent to these issues. However, the results of the aforementioned graphs show that this is not necessarily true, at least with regard to this representative sample of young people from Tlaxcala who are pursuing higher education. The governor and the government of Tlaxcala have to review their communication strategy, correct it and direct it effectively, since she still has four years left in her term, and if not, these would be the most complicated four years for the government and the inhabitants of the state of Tlaxcala.

But something very important – or one could say the most important thing – is to speak the truth, and not make people believe through surveys and publicity that things are fine, when they are not, proclaiming that the perception of the governor, her government and her governmental communication is good, and that for this reason she achieves high approval ratings for her government management, when it can be seen with this work and with the results presented here that this is not the case.

The first days of the administration saw various demonstrations against the governor, and as the days went by, they intensified, to the point that in a single day various sector of the population, organizations, unions, etc. demonstrated in the state capital – where the state government palace is located.

Without a doubt the inhabitants of the state of Tlaxcala and in this specific case, young university students do not agree with the data that consulting firms such as Mitofsky have published regarding the approval and good perception of the government, because the reality that is lived day to day is very different from what is said in these studies, and we can corroborate this with the data of this work and what is illustrated in graph ten, perhaps this is a sign that only payment is made for advertising of this type, instead of addressing the social problems that afflict the Tlaxcala entity and continuing to deceive the citizenry in order to guarantee the vote in the next elections.

After almost two years of Governor Lorena Cuellar Cisneros' government, young people from Tlaxcala have not observed any change. Their perception of the governor and the government she leads is average, with a tendency toward the negative. The



communication she has implemented is not effective, at least that is what the responses observed previously indicate.

On the other hand, the key to changing the negative perception of young people from Tlaxcala towards their government in 2023, It will be an imperative task for the ruler to find the appropriate channels to communicate and, above all, to transmit political values and their application in public policies. As Iyengar says, *et al.* (2012), this action marks a possibility to correct the erroneous perception(s) about the social composition of the parties.

Future lines of research

One promising line of research is to look in-depth at individual Tlaxcalan youth's experiences with government, focusing on aspects such as transparency, citizen participation, and the effectiveness of public policies. This could involve qualitative studies that use methods such as in-depth interviews and focus groups to capture youth's subjective perceptions and experiences.

Furthermore, it would be important to investigate how young people use technology and social media to interact with government and express their opinions. In the digital age, online platforms play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and social mobilization, and understanding how young people use these tools to engage in local politics could provide valuable insights for improving communication and citizen participation.

Another relevant aspect would be to investigate the differences in the perception of government between different groups of young people, such as those who live in urban *versus* rural areas, or those who come from different socioeconomic backgrounds; in addition to understanding how factors such as access to education, employment and public services influence the perception of government, this could help to identify areas of inequality and design more inclusive and equitable policies.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore how specific policies and programmes targeting young people, such as youth employment initiatives or civic education programmes, impact their perception of government and their civic participation. Evaluating the effectiveness of these interventions and identifying good practices could contribute to strengthening the relationship between government and young people, as well as fostering greater civic engagement among this population.



References

- Conferencia Nacional de Gobernadores. (2023). Gobernadores de Tlaxcala. https://www.conago.org.mx/entidadesfederativas/detalle/tlaxcala
- Instituto Nacional Electoral. (2023). Estudio muestral de la participación ciudadana. México. https://repositoriodocumental.ine.mx/xmlui/handle/123456789/153197
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. (2020). Cuéntame, Población. *INEGI*, México. https://cuentame.inegi.org.mx/monografias/informacion/tlax/poblacion/default.aspx?tema=me&e=29
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. (2023). Encuesta Nacional de Seguridad Pública Urbana. Comunicado de Prensa, *Inegi*, México. https://www.inegi.org.mx/contenidos/saladeprensa/boletines/2023/ensu/ensu2023_0 1.pdf
- Iyengar, S., Sood, G. y Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, not ideology: a social identity perspective on polarization. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(3), 405-431. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41684577
- Mario Riorda, L. H. (2013). ¿Hacia dónde va la comunicación gubernamental en América Latina? 12-14. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/4753491.pdf
- Mendieta Ramírez, A. y Estrada Rodríguez, J. L. (2017). Comunicación política e informal en México: De la era televisiva al Internet. *Opción*, 33(84), 154-190.
- Mendieta, A. (2018). La democracia en tiempos de incertidumbre. Ciudad de México: Gedisa, S.A.
- Mitofsky, c. (2022). *Ranking de gobernadores con mayor aceptación*. México. https://rankingdegobernadores.com/33-ranking-por-estado-tracking/
- Reyes Montes, M. C., O' Quínn Parrales, J. A., Morales y Gómez, J. M. y Rodríguez Manzanares, E. (2011). Reflexiones sobre la comunicación política. *Espacios Públicos*, 14(30), 85-101.
- Riorda, M., (2008). "Gobierno bien pero comunico mal": análisis de las Rutinas de la Comunicación Gubernamental. *Revista del CLAD Reforma y Democracia*, (40), 25-52.
- Sánchez, J. J. (2015). Percepción y experiencia. *Scielo*, 21-36. http://ve.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0798-43242015000200002&lng=es&tlng=es.





Revista Iberoamericana para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Educativo ISSN 2007 - 7467

Torres, A. (30 de julio de 2023). Psicología y Mente.

https://psicologiaymente.com/psicologia/teoria-gestalt

Contribution Role	Author(s)	
Conceptualization	"The same" Jorge Luis Camacho Mozon, Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Methodology	"Principal" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez "who supports" Angelica Mendieta Ramirez	
Software	Not applicable	
Validation	Not applicable	
Formal Analysis	"The same" Jorge Luis Camacho Mozon, Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Investigation	"Principal" Jorge Luis Camacho Mozón, "who supports" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Resources	Not applicable	
Data curation	"Principal" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Writing - Preparing the original draft	"Principal" Jorge Luis Camacho Mozón, "who supports" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Writing - Review and editing	"Principal" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Display	"Principal" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Supervision	"The same" Jorge Luis Camacho Mozon, Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez and Angelica Mendieta Ramirez	
Project Management	"Principal" Ketzalcoatl Perez Perez	
Acquisition of funds	"Principal" Angelica Mendieta Ramirez	