

The student movement of 2025 at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico

El movimiento estudiantil de 2025 en la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México

Juan Gabino González Becerril

Center for Research and Advanced Studies of the Population of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico

Abstract

Objective: Expose the student movement of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico in 2025. It is sought to show that this movement is a factor of change in the university. This movement has motivated students to fight oppression, corruption, antidemocracy and injustice, elements that have contributed to the development of mobilizations that sought to cement individual and collective university rights.

Keywords: Student movement, actors, teachers, administrative, rector and democracy.

Resumen

Objetivo: exponer el movimiento estudiantil de la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México en 2025. Se busca mostrar que dicho movimiento es un factor de cambio en la universidad. Este movimiento ha motivado a los estudiantes a luchar contra la opresión, la corrupción, la antidemocracia y la injusticia, elementos que han contribuido al desarrollo de movilizaciones que buscaron cimentar derechos individuales y colectivos universitarios.

Palabras clave: Movimiento estudiantil, actores, profesores, administrativos, rectora y democracia.

INTRODUCTION

The student movements arise due to educational inequality; repression and the lack of freedoms are determining factors in the generation of socio-student conflicts. Young people as a demographic category fight for their right to freedom expression, democratization in the election their bureaucracies, politic participation and a free, critical, plural and humanist education. Some features of the situation of the movement of the young people between 15 and 29 years old, who's attend high school, bachelor's and postgraduate levels, as well as the conflicting relationships young old people and ossified bureaucratic apparatus of the university that only responds to de commercialization the education.

After fittys years, the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEMéx) was shaken by student movement that proposed the democratization through to direct voting to election the first female rector and is recognized as a historical struggle that breaks with tradition of imposition from state goverment palace, as from the male rectorship.

The order presented in our document, being with the background of studies on students movements in Latin America, next the demographic data of young people in the Mexico State, 2020 is briefly presented, to then give rise to theme of the student movement of the Uaeméx, 2025; the participation of teachers, the candidates as main actors, the issue of counselors, the administrative ones, that of external actors; former rectors, the consequences and opportunities and, finally the conclusions.

BACKGROUND OF STUDIES ON STUDENT MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

There are theoretical and reflective effort that, both globally and Latina American levels, have aim to address the student movement in a systematic way. Also from the movement of the recognized the university shape, the history sociology, sociology, the theory autonomous, theory new Latin American movements, some frame in the theory underdevelopment or dependency and very few from sociodemography (Donoso, 2024; Gómez, 2015).

Students movements are associated with the social movement theory, such as between the old and the new social movements (NMS). Key theories such collective behavior, the resource mobilization and NMS, how these stand paradigms explain collective action and tensions between State (the university ahtority) and civil society (the students) (Aranda, 2000; Gómez, 2015).

The background maintain that the student movement is characterized by its heterogeneous composition, their democracy organization, its capacity for renewal, negotiation, and the subject to be address constantly. Its identity is marked by generational protest (by demographic context and national politics context), resistance to subordination, corruption, cultural resistant, and the search for alternative values in the context of new social and political transformation.

It should be noted that existing approaches to analyze student movement, such as collective behavior, sources mobilization (or political opportunities) and new social movement, present limitations when apply European and American paradigm to Latina American were the relations between State (authority) and civil society (student movements) are more authoritarian and less differentiate. In this context, the student movements is presented as current force that drives others social movements and challenges the current neoliberal model.

The student movements stands out for its role as a detonator the social changes among university students, its sensitivity to authoritarianism and its explosive potential in moments of crisis. Although it faces challenges such ideological inconsistency and the lack the commitment of some students, the student movement to be a key expression of the concerns and demands of the youth people as demographics entities (Aranda, 2000; Gómez, 2015).

Derived from the above, it is argued that one of the sociological limitations is demographics. Therefore, the socideomographic approach must locate the large demographic data and the controversies and the prospective on student movements. This approach must consider the process of demographic development and its differents youth transtions, demographic bonus, as well as of the social conflicts of a cultural reformist type that affect contemporary student populations who are associated with the social network. This is because it is necessary to understand that the youth, as it is a time to transition between adolescence and adulthood, is an appropriate space to more clearly appreciate the weaknesses, inconsistencies and university injusticies on which life in society is built intimes of social networks, information or crhoniques of movement in real time (Donoso, 2024; Gómez, 2015).

Such a situation present transverselly in all today's youth is expressed even markedly in those who migrante from the countryside to the city, a struggle that shared with the residents, at the same time, they regularly share objectives and concerns with their peers in educational contexts and/

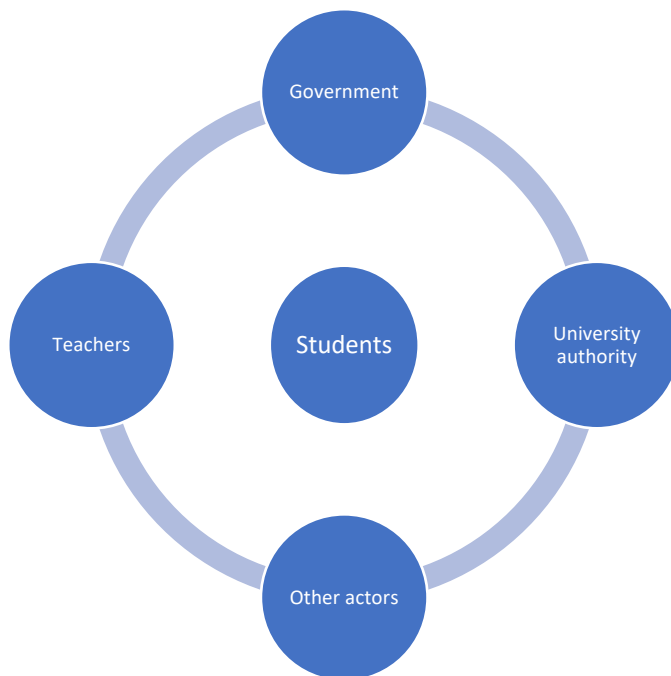
or study issues linked to Human or Social Sciences where the UAEMéx student movements have traditionally emerged (Donoso, 2024; Gómez, 2015).

Student movements in Mexico had been contextualized by development models, political and social transitions and not demographics ones. Context in which, the why arise, how, when and why, circumstances youth social actors are incorporated in its movement. These movements expressed their demands to the institutions and their representations, subject to context of the change of the neoliberal model to development based on humanism (DOF, 2025), change of educational model, in which the student was educated for the market (commodity), to the new Mexican School that include the free (SEP, 2019). By not taking account what is expressed in the constitutional rights base in human rights come the student march which have not been free of expressions of violence, repression, scabs and their consequences once conclude, likewise, the challenge of the identifying and configuring the most relevant aspect of the actors involved in the process (students) against their whom present their demands (authority represented in the university rector).

The demographics dividend and student movements are an expression socio-student tensions, as well as change in the demographic structure of the population of Mexico and the mexiquense entity. Social actors come from this: the students, teachers, the family fathers, that come the middle class that they support with food to the students and others abroad actors who show solidarity with the protest and were protagonists of the mobilization in 2025 (Scheme 1). At the same time, there were actors such as government institutions, political groups, the media, among others, in the national context of the so-called fourth transformation and that precisely in the Mexico State a woman governs whose political arguments are from the left and humanism as a system of government.

In simple terms, the approach social actors and student movements it is where our work is located which has been developed with antecedent that have been studied in the context of the theory of social movements in Latin America. That is, we analyze the demographics, collective behaviors challenges and political opportunities in the student movements. Furthermore, this approach supports the historical emergence (student theory and cycles) and the strengths and areas of improvement in this fight for truth, justice, reparation and democratization in the election of university authorities (Donoso, 2022).

Scheme 1: Social actors in the UAEMéx student movements



Source: own elaboration.

Student movements includes demographics notions, the protest and organization, collective action, in the context of mundialization, globalization, the transformation of nation states, deglobalization, that is, in current societies, social movement that operates simultaneously in varios physical public space, in “sands” such as social networks or virtual communities: Facebook, X, Instagram, WhatsApp, among others (Donoso, 2022).

Involved localized antagonist represented in educational institution, government, teachers or other social actors with official or hegemonic conception that have been perpetuated in power and corruption. These actors have visions or interest linked to the dominant group or familiy sectors. The student conflicts is also a consequence of the disagreements between social classes, a product capitalism economic order, and its resolution would have to with accentuating social polarization until precipitating the replacement of this order, such as the reform of statutes, laws, or institutional orders and replacing them with others. Therefore, the student movements is recognized as changing and dynamic at the demographic, cultural, edu-

cational, or university level of the society in which said movement occurs (Donoso, 2022).

All this, in our country, it is know that the population perceives corruption, regarding the perception of young people, they also perceive that corruption exist in mexican universities and academic dishonesty, which are triggers for the movement student (Ramírez and Casas, 2020). This event has its context population changes, global social changes and changes in student movements as actors of change (Hauser and Duncan, 1975).

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF YOUNG OF MEXICO STATE IN 2020

In Mexico there are 35 million of young people between 15 and 29 years old; recognized as part of the demographic dividend; in the Mexico State, are 4.2 million young people, of which 49 per cent are men and 51 per cent women, 2020. At the regional level, the largest absolute size is concentrated in the metropolita municipalities abject to Mexico City and Toluca (table 1). Smallest ones are the southern and northwestern region of the Mexico State, the former reconized as having an international migratory tradition and the latter with the greatest representation of indigenous language speakers, manly mazahuas and otomies. In percentage terms, it is to a greater extent higher for the female case in all regions in relation to the male proportion. However, the case of metropolitan area of Mexico City stands out, whose percentage distribution is very similar for both sexes. This percentage distribution expresses the potential demand for high school and bachelor's degrees at the regional level of the entity.

Table 1: Young people between 15 to 29 years of age by región in the Mexico State, 2020

Region	Men	Woman	Total
Southern region	102,726	109,900	212,626
Mazahua-Otomi indigenous region	229,053	240,830	469,883
Toluca region	310,669	318,510	629,179
Corona Region Mexico City	1,462,759	1,470,397	2,933,156
Total	2,105,208	2,139,637	4,244,845
Percentage			
Southern region	48.3	51.7	
Mazahua-Otomi indigenous region	48.7	51.3	100.0
Toluca region	49.4	50.6	100.0
Corona Region Mexico City	49.9	50.1	100.0
Total	49.6	50.4	100.0

Source: INEGI, 2020.

The above exposes the demographic pressure towards the demand for higher secondary and higher education in the entity; even with the increase in the UAEMéx offer, going from 65 thousand in 2020 to almost 100 thousand students in 2025, which represents only 2.3 per cent of demographic size of Young people between 15 and 29 years of age. Although UAEMéx has 11 university centers, six professional academic units, 21 faculties and a performing arts school distributed in 28 municipalities in the Mexico State. In addition, it has 24 research centers and two institute. Its infrastructure include 200 laboratories, six clinics, two operating rooms, an amphitheater, 29 workshops and a variety sports and cultural facilities. The main campus, is located in the city of Toluca, on Cerro Coatepec; known as university city, which is not enough to meet the demand in high school bachelor's and postgraduate degrees (PRDI, 2021).

For example, in year 2024 there were 47,770 applications for admission to higher level, but only 16,794 applicants remained, leaving out 65 per cent of the applicants.¹ This expresses the imbalance between educational supply and demand in the entity at its middle and higher level in the Mexico State (González, 2024).

THE UAEMÉX STUDENT MOVEMENT, 2025

The student movement of 2025 was a series of demonstrations by Mexican students against authoritarianism, the election method for candidates for the rectorship and corruption of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico. In simple terms, they asked for the annulment of the election, universal voting, and a democratic process to choose the person who would lead the destiny of our university. The student struggles has its antecedents in 1975, which began in November of that year. As in the past, in 2025, the demands began with graffiti on walls, cardboard, blankets and gardens of University City (CU), but they became a total takeover of CU and the rector building which named "The student house", whose emblematic image is the covering of the bust of Adolfo López Mateos located at the top of CU with the slogan "if there is imposition there will be revolution". The 2025 movement began at the Faculty of Humanities on May 2 in the City of Toluca with the slogan of a list of requests that was adjusted over time. These requests focused on guaranteeing universal voting; They requested the annulment of the current rector election process because they read that it was an imposition and that it gave continuity to an authoritarian line

¹ <https://lajornadaestadodemexico.com/incertidumbre-academica-en-uaemex-recha-zan-a-65-de-aspirantes-a-nivel-superior/>

in university governance; they request subsidized dining rooms; that the university be free since education is not a commodity and free of any type of violence, especially gender violence, and not criminalize the movement and give way to dialogue.² As can be seen, the resignation of the rector was not yet planned, however, after the resignation of PHD Carlos Eduardo Barrera Díaz, there are voices requesting that charges be filed for damages to the university.

On May 11, the student movement published a statement calling for the rector's resignation due to repeated omissions. That same day, the so-called Unified Student Swarm of the UAEMéx held a rally in the main square of Mexico City during the morning hours of the town led by President Claudia Sheinbaum.

In a statement dated May 19, 2025, the students of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the UAEMéx expressed their disagreement with the new narrative of the person in charge of the rectory and his supporters, recognizing the advance of the feminist struggle, but rejecting the imposition.³ Which is praiseworthy and worthy of applauding their position.

The students did not fall for the new narrative, to such an extent that they asked for the dismissal of the directors of the Faculty of Humanities, Beatriz Adriana González Durán and Alejandra López Olivera Cadena, director of Languages, on May 21.⁴ This is an indication that students on the move are not subordinated and easily manipulated by a speech with false promises.

The student movement in its session in Cerrillo on the 21st in the minutes of the resolution assembly ignored the university advisors,⁵ to this was added the ignorance of the person in charge of the rectory on May 25 in moral and political terms due to the lack of direct, effective and representative dialogue of the UAEMéx students.⁶

² <https://oem.com.mx/elsoldetoluca/local/facultad-de-humanidades-entregara-un-pliego-petito-rio-el-paro-estudiantil-continua-23120731>

³ Estudiantes de la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México (2025, mayo, 19). Comunicado. <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=122123029364830462&set=a.122102237072830462>

⁴ Plana Mayor (2025, mayo, 21). Asamblea Universitaria endurece sus peticiones; exigen destitución de directoras en Humanidades y Lenguas. https://www.planamayor.com.mx/asamblea-universitaria-endurece-sus-peticiones-exigen-destitucion-de-directoras-en-humanidades-y-lenguas/?fbclid=IwY2xjawKbldpleHRuA2F1bQIxMQBicmlkETfWdFRJcXA4d-2l0dnJtR0VJAR5mZ-MZsph6Ota1oAHlpYeI4ADVEHMcgkqMSyiuMUNU1sNk_bCOCdiJ_vIR1w_aem_DFztO5T3iCvzbkDEL-uG7w

⁵ Asamblea Universitaria UAEMéx (2025, mayo, 24). Comunicado de la Asamblea Resolutiva. <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1024976483148573&set=pcb.1024976653148556>

⁶ Asamblea Universitaria UAEMéx (2025, mayo, 25). Comunicado Oficial. <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1025805099732378&set=pcb.10258051463990407> García Adriana (2025, mayo, 30). Movilización estudiantil de la UAEMéx en Toluca; ingresa al edificio admi-

With the cry “no, no, yes, yes, we are out again”, the indefinitely stop students of the UAEMéx marched on May 30 through the streets of Toluca to demand that their petition to democratize the university, free education, among others be met.⁷ The objective was to reach the administrative building of the university, in which the University Council was supposed to meet to reform the University Statute.

In this student march they were accompanied by the assembly of professors of the UAEMéx and by the representation of the Cocolos of 1976. Who in unison shouted that the “Cocolos” and the “Cocolitos” “United Will Never Be Defeated.” Only in our opinion it was not to reach said building; We believe that efforts should be directed to the local chamber of deputies or, where appropriate, to the state government palace. Because any commitment that was agreed upon with the person in charge of the rectory, if it occurred, there would be no guarantees. On the other hand, with the chamber of deputies, who are responsible for the reform of the university law and those who allocate the budget to the university, it could attend to a commission at the same time as dealing with the affairs of university students by assuming commitments.

After the student march on May 30, 2025, there were several student positions, from the accident at the Faculty of Medicine to the restart of the activities of the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences. The statement of the Assembly of the Faculty of Medicine of the UAEMéx on acts of violence, harassment, emotional intimidation towards the university authorities. Likewise, the call for the continuation of dialogue assemblies at the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences (FCPyS) for June 5; the request for the resignation of the director of the Faculty of Geography on June 5; those of the Faculty of Tourism and Gastronomy following up on their 45 points of their request list, revealing the abandonment of the university authority, especially those in the east, south and north of the State of Mexico.

On June 10, the students took to the streets again from the student’s house to the UNIRadio headquarters, which they called the march of silence and to ask for a voice in the UAEMéx media. With this action there are 42 days of protest. However, there are 42 days of omission on the part of the university authority or government actors to resolve their request. It is a cry to the wind which has no response. ¿Who will finance free education?

nistrativo. <https://oem.com.mx/elsoldetoluca/local/estudiantes-de-la-uae-mex-convocan-a-una-nueva-marcha-en-toluca-23828880>

⁷ García Adriana (2025, mayo, 30). Movilización estudiantil de la UAEMéx en Toluca; ingresan al edificio administrativo. <https://oem.com.mx/elsoldetoluca/local/estudiantes-de-la-uae-mex-convocan-a-una-nueva-marcha-en-toluca-23828880>

Who will provide the resources for the breakfast rooms? Who will attend to the reform of the university law? And the entire list of requests from students, teachers and administrators, if there is no commitment and there is no meeting between those involved.

After the march, on June 16, they delivered a general request list to Isidro Rogel, in charge of the rectory's office, and to the members of the dialogue commission of the UAEMéx student movement. On Tuesday the 17th at 10:00 a.m. the first dialogue table is scheduled to begin to discuss the request list. Almost a month and a half after the strike, these first opening acts take place that could lead to its end.

Between June 16 and 27, meetings were held to discuss the issues of the reform of the university statute. The university swarm participated by highlighting points of meeting and disagreement, such as the case of the report on the Expanded Consultation to the University Community on the Reform of the University Statute.

On July 1, 2025, at the fourth work table, the student movement, the person in charge of the rectory and the spurious University Council (60 of them cast their vote), in the student building, jointly approve the repeal of article 43 of the university statute that criminalized the student movement. It was approved that the quantitative audit, with criteria of direct, personal, secret voting and will respond to the principles of representativeness and majority will. In accordance with the principle of representativeness, the student vote will be counted as two, the teacher as one, and the administrative vote as one.⁸ This criterion is contrary to what the teachers proposed, that is, the weighted vote. Furthermore, said agreement did not include representation from the academic and administrative sector. This cannot be called a triumph of democracy, rather it is an agreement based on the rigged criteria of the university representatives. That is, a criterion that will continue to favor the group in power of the institution.

The student movement, before the process of electing the rector of the UAEMéx, made an agreement with the person in charge of the rectory and the University Council to hand over the facilities on August 3. However, it was learned that the movement fragmented between those who decided to continue with the electoral process and those who wanted to reinstate the

⁸ Vocería UAEMéx (2025, 10, julio). Proceso de Elección de Rector o Rectora de la UAEMéx para el Período Ordinario 2025-2029. <https://www.facebook.com/people/Vocer%C3%A1-Da-UAEM%C3%A9x/61576971532268/>

procedure. They are the ones who invaded the UAEMiTAS building one day before the election.⁹

This was expressed in the participation in the vote, in which only 20 percent of the almost 100 thousand students recognized by our university did so. However, the fundamental role of the movement to democratize our university is recognized by directly voting to elect our rector. This does not stop here, because it is a precedent that will have its effect in democratizing faculties, academic unions and administrative unions.

The teachers

On May 13, they constitute the Assembly of Academics of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEMéx) and issue a statement in support of the student movement. This assembly raised three points: i) appoint an interim rector at the proposal of the Student Movement; ii) they requested the resignation of the members of the current University Council and the Special Electoral Commission, and iii) the assembly was unaware of the possible appointment of a person in charge of the rectory office.

The movement of teachers in support of that of students was born with members of different faculties who are related to the student demand. The professors have different profiles, with ideological differences and institutional interests, but they come together in a common objective: supporting the student demand. As in any movement, there are scabs, infiltrators, joints and people who are undesirable in the Assembly. However, the moral and physical support and those deployed have expressed interest in a structural reform of the university in which all actors fit.

Likewise, like every movement and assembly of teachers, they lose themselves in the fundamental objectives of the student petition list as well as their own. This can be seen in their emails, What-sApp, with what they called chronicles, to such a degree that some were already proposing to change study plans, include philosophy, ethics. On the other hand, others support the continuity of the election of the rector, proposing online surveys through Change.org.¹⁰ The professors, in relation to the organic structure, did not understand the list of the student movement's request list, but

⁹ Jasso, Bernardo (2025, julio, 14). Protestan en edificio de Uaemitas a menos de 24 horas de elección de rectora de UAEMéx. <https://www.milenio.com/policia/protestas-en-edificio-de-uaemitas-de-la-uaemex>

¹⁰ Change (2025, mayo, 16). Respeto al proceso vigente de elección de rectora UAEMéx. https://www.change.org/p/respeto-al-proceso-vigente-de-elecci%C3%B3n-de-recto-ra-uaem%C3%A9x?recruiter=88004431&recruited_by_id=9e30b83c-c10a-464f-b725-6a9f57b46ca6&utm_source=share_petition&utm_campaign=psf_combo_share_initial&utm_term=take_next_step&utm_medium=facebook&utm_content=fht-490572829-es-419%3A1

they did understand the continuity in wanting to appropriate the request list student.

Until May 30, the professors in charge of the rector's office of the university and the counselors were in permanent session, the professors remained fragmented. Each Faculty took a position, for example, the Faculty of Humanities, the professors published their disagreement with their director, Economics towards informative meetings.

Also the Assembly of Professors of the UAEMéx accompanied the students on June 9 with the student slogan "Let's be one voice", "Together for the University" and the professors' slogan Heirs of Struggle, Justice and Honesty! Like the students, justice does not come and the academic or political power of the entity listens to us. In this context, PHD. Alberto Saladino, who is one of those who lead the Assembly of Professors, requested the resignation of the five candidates and the reinstatement of the electoral process for the succession of the rectorship.

The Assembly of Academicians of the UAEMéx has had its own logic and trying to stay out of the meetings with the person in charge of the rectory, with the counselors, they have only expressed their moral support for the student demands. Teachers have their own demands. Until June 27, they had not met with the person in charge of our university. In this case, his request document was addressed to the University Council like many others that the person in charge has received, which at some point had been listed in 30 request documents.¹¹

The teachers proposed the regularization of male and female professors' positions; prioritize finality based on job seniority; take care of the teaching load for teachers; decent payment for teaching; establish the figure of researcher and research assistantship; request from the government of the of Mexico State (GEM) five percent of the GEM budget to the university and complementary retirement from ISSEMyM. Which is indicative that it does not intersect with the request list of the student movement. As we have previously mentioned, professors recognized as having left-wing thought and philosophy also proposed a comprehensive reform of the university law and for the democratization of the UAEMéx.

Like the students, the teachers found themselves fragmented in their movement. Some supported continuity, others supported the organic system in force at the university. At the same time, we highlight that academics

¹¹ Jasso, Bernardo (2025, mayo, 27). UAEMéx ha recibido 30 pliegos petitorios; reporta avance en 6 planteles para el diálogo. <https://www.milenio.com/politica/comunidad/uaemex-recibo-30-pliegos-petitorios-avance-6-planteles-para-dialogo>

from our institution were not able to cast their vote, which suggested that there could be a bias in voting, including in-person and electronic voting.

The central administration and the rectory

The history of the election of the rector has been that of a single candidate and it was the exclusive decision of the governor of the entity in power. Here what Vargas Llosa once called “the perfect dictatorship” did apply. This has been an indication of a lack of democracy in our university, but at the same time, for more than 70 years, the institution experienced a process of commercialization of high school and higher education. As has been said in the political arena, the party that governed our country, as in the State of Mexico, politics and education as a commodity went hand in hand. Specifically, politics and business (corruption) were the perfect combination of those who managed the educational destiny of the UAEMéx (Paolino, 2009). We must not forget that our university has been marked by the famous master scam in the times of Jorge Olvera and the person in charge of Banobras was Alfredo del Mazo, who later became governor of the entity. This seal includes Enrique Peña Nieto, Eruviel Ávila, Hiram Piña, Eduardo Gasca Pliego and Alfredo Barrera Baca, that is, the seal of corruption, imposition and authoritarianism within the UAEMéx.¹² These characters remain in the organic structure of the institution, wanting to impose at will who will lead the destiny of our alma mater.

On May 12, 2025, one day after finishing his term, the rector of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEMéx) resigns. This is due to the action of the students who demanded an extraordinary session of the University Council to begin a process of dismissal of the rector Carlos Eduardo Barrera Díaz. That is to say, history repeats itself, after 40 years, when a predecessor named Jesús Barrera Legorreta resigns from the rectory in January 1977.¹³ It's just that the aforementioned Jesús Barrera was taken out by the students in his chair by a commission of students recognized as the “COCOLES” and he left through the back door without pain or glory.

The precedents abound regarding the missteps of the rectors, another example is that of Alfredo Barrera Baca who at the time (2019) proposed a reform to the UAEMéx Law and the first point was his re-election. To

¹² monitorfinanciero (2025, mayo, 2). La estafa maestra. <https://monitorfinanciero.com.mx/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Captura-de-pantalla-2023-05-02-a-las-18.50.18.png>

¹³ ADNoticias (2025, mayo, 13). La historia se repite 40 años después. https://adnoticias.mx/uae-x-rector-interino/?fbclid=IwY2xjawKR1bhleHRuA2FlbQIxMQBicmlkETFYMGhWWEps-NUVLc3ZEMnU5AR5SwLLA9t6IHntOICT-CqyifnS_MnuduYx7mutpH-1bOW09Zl1J-cX4-Cae8uw_aem_mIoNuPBdrZLaNL5ZXjloJQ#google_vignette

which professors and students opposed, a proposal was launched to reform the University Law headed by the Center for Research and Advanced Population Studies (CIEAP). This proposed law was delivered to the Local Chamber of Deputies and has recently been taken up again in the context of the 2025 student movement. This proposal rescues the main student demands: the democratization of the university, its Autonomy, free education, parity in the University Council, gender, among other points. In this proposal, in its review, the decade of the seventies, the decade of 1987, the decade of 2019 and the one that is in force at this time have been considered as historical demands (document under review by the Assembly of Academics of the UAEMéx).

This proposal rescues the main student demands: Returning to the issue of the rector's office, on May 12, 2025, the person in charge of the office of the rector's office of the UAEMéx was announced in the media, one of the unconditional supporters of the resigning rector and the official candidate Erendira Fierro, that is, Isidro Rogel Fajardo, who immediately the student movement of the Faculty of Urban and Regional Planning (FAPUR) did not know. With the phrase "out with the pseudo Dr. Rogel, we are all UAEMéx, we are all bats, sow resistance, reap rebellion, flourish revolution..."¹⁴

After the imposition, we say imposition because the academic and student community was not consulted, groups or people related to the ruling party emerged, thugs who sought to fragment the movement, who approached the students to offer them incentives. In addition to vilifying the movement, they had the clear instruction to sabotage the student movement.¹⁵ That is, they changed the narrative by pretending to resolve the students' requests, at the same time, having financial resources from the university that were intended for the first hundred days in the event of the victory of the official candidate, that is, that all of this was forged by the former rector Carlos Barrera and Erendira Fierro.¹⁶

In simple terms, the narrative of the person in charge of the rectory, Isidro Rogel Fajardo, has at bottom a conciliatory and respectful appearance, it is carefully designed to regain symbolic control of the narrative

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=fapur>

¹⁵ Casa del Estudiante (2025, mayo, 15). <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10238513033110980&set=a.3946449386063>

¹⁶ Flores Rosales, Tomás (2025, mayo, 21). Análisis. https://www.newsedomex.com/analisis-304/?fbclid=IwY2xjawKbGdVleHRuA2FlbQlXMAbicmlkETFOQ0J1dnJ0bWpZc-2Ny-MUdvAR6Zls3GyXxQY7UKWdej-HQw2jGavMep9h6rxfqoNrK8m3hpbz14MYve63Tfb-cQ_aem_RdX3gV2dG2RljaL3qcf7n

without ceding real power.¹⁷ He resorts to praise, emotional blackmail, vague promises and displacement of responsibilities to position himself as a legitimate mediator. But, in the eyes of the students, he is illegitimate like his predecessor who was illegitimately elected in times of the pandemic without students, without teachers and administrators. That is, only those on the academic and student council voted for him. That is to say, it was not a democratic election, they are usurpers of the rector position.

But the killing continued, that is, on May 28, 2025, it is reported that the UAEMéx made agreements behind closed doors this afternoon by the University Council with appointments similar to the former official candidate to work against the student movement.¹⁸ In this same order of ideas, institutions, faculties and university centers signed agreements acquiring commitments that they could not fulfill, we only cite the example of the Faculty of Economics.

On June 3, 2025, The H. University Council of the UAEMéx declared to attend to the general request list of the student movement that highlights the free education and the reform of the University Statute, particularly article 43. With all the attention paid to its reforms to the University Statute, there is no guarantee of its compliance.

Until June 9, 2025, the person in charge of the rector continued in permanent meetings with the representatives of the University Council, plotting how to break the work stoppage caused by the students. The student movement and the lack of political feeling of the university authorities is what has delayed the negotiation, because the person in charge is betting on the erosion of the student movement and the government institutions have been omissive with the argument of autonomy.

The UAEMéx spokesperson published data from the expanded consultation and reported 5,633 participants, 4,330 opinions and 42 documents received. Which some teachers described as little participation and that only serves to legitimize the illegitimate. Because the university has more than 100 thousand people including students, professors, administrators and support staff.¹⁹ That is to say, the limited consultation that is brief is called into question, it lacks methodological rigor in its application, which

¹⁷ UAEMéx (2025). Transformación Universitaria. Administración Universitaria 2025-2029. <https://www.facebook.com/UAEMex>

¹⁸ Todo en contra (2025, mayo, 28). Informa UAEMéx acuerdos tomados a puerta cerrada esta tarde por el Consejo Universitario https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbi-d=623661864060662&id=100092505619817&rdid=120sDGwturVxAGbb#

¹⁹ UAEMéx (2025). Tercer Informe Anual de Actividades. Anexo estadístico. Carlos Eduardo Barrera Díaz, Rector Administración Universitaria 2021-2025. https://www.uaemex.mx/images/informes/2021-2025/3erinforme2125/pdf/3IA_CEBD_Anexo.pdf

represents only 4.88 percent, that is, it does not even reach ten percent as a minimum criterion of statistical representation. This leaves a lot to be desired because, being a public university, it has sufficient human capital to raise a probabilistic consultation and it was not done.

The low participation of students, teachers and administrators due to a history of corruption, mismanagement of economic resources, for example, the master scam and the illicit enrichment of former rectors and above all the authoritarianism that has prevailed for years, as well as the lack of democracy in our university.

For the fourth dialogue table, in a tense meeting with the main actors, they reached agreement on the repeal of article 43 of the University Statute, the quantitative vote and the exclusion of academics and administrators from said process, as previously announced. At the same time, the spokesperson for the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEMéx) maintains that it will apply a 20 percent discount on re-enrollment tuition for the fall 2025 semester, which will begin next August (announcement published on July 4). But, this should not be understood as a favor or achievement of the person in charge of the UAEMéx, rather it is part of the national policy of free higher education in Mexico that began with President López Obrador. This purpose is expressed in the third article of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States (Deputies, sf; ANUIES, 2021).

The person in charge and the University Council are the ones who organized the electoral process, starting with disseminating microsites, which contained the proposals of the candidates, the formation of the Electoral Committee, election day, counting, dissemination of results, auscultation, receipt of appeals for non-conformity, until reaching the extraordinary session of the council and swearing-in of the elected rector. And that on July 16, the person in charge of the university announced that he had not received any minutes of disagreement from the participants in the electoral process for rector.

Of the candidates

On the topic of the candidates for the rectorship of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEMéx), in a work tour of the president Claudia Sheinbaum and the Governor of the entity Delfina Gómez outlined in their narrative that they suggested themselves as rector, enforcing their slogan that it is quot; “time for women”. For this purpose, on March 6, 2025, María José Bernáldez Aguilar, Martha Patricia Zarza Delgado, Eréndira Fierro Moreno, Maricruz Moreno Zagal, María Dolores Durán Gar-

cía registered as candidates for the rectorship of the UAEMex. These five women were confirmed as candidates for the rectorship of the UAEMéx. However, they left Alberto Saladino and Ramón Gutiérrez without registration, who appealed for protection before a Judicial Branch of the Federation and their complaint was declared inadmissible. This event marked a milestone of gender exclusion, because the gender issue is not only about women, but about both sexes. This is clear in article 4 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States. That is to say, the rector in turn ignored such principle of non-discrimination and equality.

Added to this issue is that the five candidates are part of the bureaucratic and administrative organic structure of the university. In their appearances they argued to transform the University and, however, none of them proposed a structural reform based on the reform of the University Law.²⁰ They forgot the issues demanded by the student movement such as the democratization of the university and its five points of request. Nor did they refer to the rights of teachers or administrators, the latter never spoke because they were threatened and coerced, but as Luis Donaldo Colosio argued, the university population was thirsty for justice.

And since the people are wise, as Andrés Manuel López Obrador argued, they read the lack of sincerity and corruption in the high bureaucracy of our University, which is why the students led to the indefinite strike. After the resignation of Erendira Fierro and the rector, it continues to operate, imposing people who coerce, beat and manipulate the student population. These have been responsible for the fact that some faculties such as Medicine, Nursing, and the Faculty of Geography have opened despite the fact that more than twenty faculties or university centers remain on strike (dated May 16, 2025). The rest of the candidates have remained silent, only Laura Benhumea (who, by the way, also had her registration rejected and had to go to court to have her candidacy recognized) made proposals to end the student strike. proposed to establish open parliament forums and a legal technical committee to reform the University Law in a participatory manner, guaranteeing the inclusion of all university voices.²¹ However, she is a candidate of the PRI system who did not generate trust among stu-

²⁰ López Vargas, Zuri Yaneli (2025, abril, 19). Rectoría de UAEMéx: checa las propuestas de las candidatas auriverdes. <https://www.posta.com.mx/edomex/propuestas-de-las-candidatas-a-la-rectoria-de-uaemex/v12027399>

²¹ El Universal (2025, mayo, 15). Laura Benhumea presenta plan para resolver el paro estudiantil en la UAEMéx. https://www.eluniversaledomex.com.mx/gobierno/laura-benhumea-presenta-plan-para-resolver-el-paro-estudiantil-en-la-uaemex/?fbclid=IwY2xjawKWQCJle-HRuA2F1-bQ1xMQBicmlkETFTSm5jbFdwWXprYVh4T2gwAR5lmgXWbTp6QJIEv0Xly-nO_FxfX6D-HqtSq7D_hZ2D7e3PA0rxDEbk3Nf0yVoQ_aem_AJz7DzdfROfsh1-e83cbGw

dents, professors and administrators, although she has put her experience for peace ahead.

In the context of the university strike, finally four female candidates for the rectorship of the UAEMéx recognized the legitimacy of the student movement and called not to cancel the appointment process for the period 2025-2029, appealing to legality and respect for their rights, these are María Dolores Durán García, Maricruz Moreno Zagal, María José Bernáldez and Martha Patricia Zarza Delgado. It is clear, nothing different was expected of them because they are part of the organic system that governs the university. So what happened to Dr. Saladino's human rights? Because gender is not about the feminine, it also includes the masculine. That is, "... not only from scientific work, in addition to making it transversal to its legal instruments, training processes, administrative aspects, its institutional culture in general and political positions" (Contreras, 2020, p. 233).

After some points of agreement, the candidates for the rectory made their appearance, signing a letter of commitment addressed to the Student Assembly of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences in which they undertake to respect the agreements acquired between the student movement and the person in charge of the rectory. This means that there is a lack of recognition of the Unified Student Movement (EEU) recognized as the hardliners and that in the context of the vote they took over the Uaemites building.

One day before the vote, María Dolores Durán García made the political decision to join forces with the Maricruz Moreno Zagal project and argued that she wanted to make a university project a reality with a promising future transformed from the community. On July 15, 2025, for the first time, academics, administrators and students elected Martha Patricia Zarza Delgado as rector with 118 of 213 votes, making her the first rector of the UAEMéx and the first to be elected by direct and secret vote of the university community, after two months of protests, takeovers of buildings and allegations of corruption. 88 percent of administrative staff participated in this electoral exercise; 54 percent academics and only 20 percent students.²²

²² González, Juan Gabriel (2025, julio, 15). Opinión de Juan Gabriel. https://www.lanoticias.com/post/opini%C3%B3n-letras-de-juan-gabriel-794?fbclid=IwY2xjawLIBsdleHRuA-2Flb-QIxMQABHr4Ec7BZmDn7Wmk3CRp8IfzEnN-YaSKI_BHv4R9dkk6Hll_qq26dWAV-ZPwO3_aem_u1hk0pP5t0zoKG5D373dJQ

Of the advisors

The University Council endorsed the election, the records and the president advisor was the resigning rector, whose election was not transparent because he was elected during the Covid-19 pandemic. But he had the audacity to be president of the electoral rabbit proposed at the time, however, it is highlighted that he could not be judge and party to elect rector or rector.

Apparently, the university counselors supported the student strike and demanded dialogue with the rector's office in the context of the student strike.²³ However, in the hallways it was said that some of them were seen in luxurious restaurants and beaches; For others, they paid for trips abroad and even gave them cars. There is no way to prove this, but if "the river sounds water carries". This is an indication that the old practice of buying votes and people is still in force at the university, and without it the corruption that prevails in this institution could not be understood.

On May 15, the student councilors proposed article 15 of the Regulations for the Integration and Functioning of the University Council with an open vote and session,²⁴ violating the University Law, which would have to be reformed beforehand. If this is carried out it would be an early rise for the student movement and the pending reform to the University Law would be. That is, it would be a patch that does not solve the structural problems of the institution.

The university advisors, students and professors, agreed to what they called permanent transfer to reform the University Statute.²⁵ But why was the statute reformed without first having reformed the UAEMéx law, which is supposed to have already been sent to the local chamber of deputies at that time? Even the governor had already received academics to deliver said bill. What can be deduced from the reform of the University Statute is an early warning to university students to give continuity to the illegitimate interests of the elitist political class of the university, the illegitimacy of the person in charge of the rectory, as well as of the university counselors who had previously been unknown by the student movement.

The counselors, students and professors were always on the side of the official apparatus that, for some actors, maintained that it was an entity

23 TresPM (2025, mayo, 10). Consejeros universitarios respaldan paro estudiantil y exigen diálogo con rectoría de la UAEMéx. <https://www.trespm.mx/edomex/consejeros-universitarios-res-paldan-paro-estudiantil-y-exigen-dialogo-con-rectoria-de-la-uaemex>

24 Vocería de la UAEMéx (2025, mayo, 15). Comunicado. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?f-bid=995640942784060&set=pcb.995641146117373>

25 Vocería de la UAEMéx (2025, mayo, 31). Comunicado. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?f-bid=122096097818899051&set=pcb.122096099192899051>

that validated the illegitimacy of the consultation with the university community that took place after June 16, 2025. However, the council played a fundamental role in the negotiation process; supported the logistical process of the election, among other tasks that are reflected in the reform of the University Statute.

Of the administrative

With a very limited display, they argued that the administrative, unionized and trusted workers of the UAEMéx demanded respect, justice and dignity. Likewise, they accused of institutional abandonment, job deterioration and lack of opportunities for two decades and that their activity was made invisible (May 27, 2025).²⁶ However, this display is very lukewarm and does not align with the student movement. Which seems to argue that “they are afraid” to take the position just like the teachers and students. But to an increasing extent they have denounced unfair conditions in their work, denouncing nepotism, corruption, lack of labor mobility, salary inequality, lack of recategorization, among other aspects.²⁷

These actors spoke very little, but their voice was made known in the voting process, they showed their muscle with 88 percent participation. In this sense, Max Weber’s argument would be valid, which maintains that the subtle power of bureaucracy was most likely derived from the persuasion or historical subordination of this actor who is part of our university.²⁸

External actors

The president of the republic and the governor of the State of Mexico intervened by suggesting that the rector be a woman. That is, they marked the political line of succession.²⁹ That means that they did intervene. However, through Horacio Duarte, Secretary of Government, at some point they argued that they would not intervene in the succession process of the rec-

²⁶ Ultranoticiasedomex (2025, mayo, 27). Personal administrativo de la UAEMéx alza la voz por sus derechos. <https://www.facebook.com/UltraNoticiasEdoMex/posts/pfbid036qnsbkEZ-J7Z3m-jWpfJDoRHamDpCzGSK2tBMfAcZHEq4pawtn5ixb8aCQ5XGgcXa5l>

²⁷ Todo en contra (2025, junio, 6). Cartas a la Redacción: Administrativos denuncian condiciones injustas en la UAEMéx. https://todoencontra.mx/2025/06/06/cartas-a-la-redaccion-administrati-vos-denuncian/?fbclid=IwY2xjawKxcW5leHRuA2FlbQ1xMQBicmlkETF0dlE3VU0zTIM-5Tk-9tUGg4AR7kGVwEYCV_QTtrrebQzFecwxfYJwN969VrvVEj8jYEkD1fvrBpCzP4qdglo0g_aem_eEEUa0lu4v9I7lLhhfjHA

²⁸ Moreira Juan, Manuel (2017): La burocracia como actor en el juego del poder burocracia, política y grupos de interés en el pensamiento de Terry Moe y Barbara Geddes. <https://www.desarrolloi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Ensayo-Burocracia.pdf>

²⁹ Blanco, Eduardo (2025, febrero, 11). UAEMéx rumbo a un nuevo rector o rectora Análisis en Blanco y Negro. <https://lajornadaestadodemexico.com/uaemex-rumbo-a-un-nuevo-rector-o-rectora/>

torship of the UAEMex.³⁰ But, it is known, that they have done so when receiving some professors, groups and even the candidates who registered to run for said position.

The student movement included actors such as professors, graduates,³¹ family members, and other university entities who fueled demands for greater democracy and respect for human rights such as non-harassment and non-criminalization of said movement. The deputies made an exit. Only two of them demonstrated for the current rector to resign and those from MORENA remained silent.

The municipal president of Toluca Ricardo Moreno sent police units to monitor the actions of the students and teachers, at the same time, he resorted to coercion as stated in a statement from the assembly of the Faculty of Geography.³² Of course, said municipal president had his interest and supported Erendira Fierro, who by the way is a relative of President Moreno. On May 27, 2025, the UAEMéx audit was disseminated in the media; however, different academic and social actors doubted the credibility of the OSFEM and the ASF, because it was argued that it was a formal audit.

On May 27, 2025, the UAEMéx audit was disseminated in the media; however, different academic and social actors doubted the credibility of the OSFEM and the ASF, because it was argued that it was a formal audit.

From June 16 to 27, the governor and the deputies left, pretending to respect autonomy, but it is known that the state government, the local chamber of deputies and even the municipal president of Toluca had their hands in them. This supposed non-interference leads to the deduction that they validated the lack of democracy in the university and with their double discourse of said authorities, such as that of the spurious manager of the UAEMéx.

Local journalism also took sides, supporting the head of the rectory and his coryphaes; Other journalists did support the student movement and even that of professors and administrators who at a certain point have expressed their affinity for the university students' demand. There were even those who disqualified the teachers' movement, arguing that academics wanted to appropriate the student movement. Even Dr. Alberto Saladino at some point had to issue a clarifying note on this matter dated June

³⁰ Mata, Monserrat (2025, abril, 17). Duarte: el gobierno estatal, con las manos fuera de los comicios. <https://www.milenio.com/politica/gobierno-edomex-intervendra-comicios-horacio-duarte>

³¹ Seunonoticias (2025, mayo, 11). Egresados de la UAEMex muestran apoyo a paro estudiantil. <https://seunonoticias.mx/2025/05/11/egresados-de-la-uaemex-muestran-apoyo-a-paro-estudiantil/>

³² AsambleaGEO (2025). <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61576059247245>

24. Stating that his expressions have been made within the framework of freedom of expression and in his future statements he will not refer to the University Swarm. Some journalists described the student movement as a pantomime, accusing it of being led by professional saboteurs, pointing out that those responsible are the former rectors, as well as their supporters for bringing Martha Patricia Zarza Delgado to the rectorate, which belongs to the same group in power. But above all endorsed by the government of the State of Mexico,³³ in addition, they link it with the former PRI governor Eruviel Ávila, which is natural and understandable given that the organic structure of the university is mostly PRI who governed our entity for more than ninety years.

CONSEQUENCES AND OPPORTUNITIES

After the vicissitudes of the student movement and the triumph of the rector, it seemed that the student strike would be resolved soon. However, strikes continued in the faculties and clashes between groups related to the rectorate, those of the University Assembly of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences and those of the Faculty of Engineering. To such an extent that on August 18, the parista students issued a statement blaming the governor and the municipal president for the harassment of the students by the municipal police. But at the same time, the students were encouraged, who argued that they wanted a class against the paristas. That is, more than a month after Patricia Zarza won the rectorship, the student strike had not been resolved and on August 18, some faculties began classes virtually. Until that moment, the students requested resignations from directors (res) and the resolution of pending requests to their petition.³⁴

Every student movement as a factor of change brings with it consequences and opportunities. For example, consequences of the student strike, the courage and initiative of their movement is applauded, the costs of which will be the possibility of losing the semester, but above all if the five points of their request are not achieved. Furthermore, if the reform of the University Law is not achieved, the vices of the dominant group in the institution will continue. But, above all, they will be singled out and criminalized as they have been until now by the university authority, the media and some sector of the population.

³³ La Mera Neta UAEMéx (2025, julio, 4). ¿Es una pantomima el movimiento estudiantil o es una estrategia de campaña calificarlo así? <https://lameranetauaemex.com/wp/elecciones-uae-mex-2025/es-una-pantomima-el-movimiento-estudiantil-o-es-una-estrategia-de-campana-califi-carlo-asi/>

³⁴ Asamblea Universitaria UAEMéx. <https://www.facebook.com/asamblea.universitaria.uaemex>

The academic and administrative consequences: the semester was lost and additionally the teachers could not comply with the program of their subjects. Refresher and intersemester courses were suspended. Advice on personalized thesis, degrees, field practices, application of exams, tutorials and many others that are substantive activities related to teaching.

In addition, there is a loss of consultations, downloaded files, and impact factor of the scientific journals published by our university due to the closure of social networks.³⁵ This situation has been exposed by the Permanent Seminar of Editors and those responsible for REDALYC, who expressed their concern about the instability of said showcase of scientific journals.

Political consequences: if the objectives of students and academics are not achieved, authoritarianism will continue, the imposition of the rector, directors, nepotism, lack of democracy and everything that the university has suffered during more than seventy years of (im)perfect dictatorship of our institution. The budget rigged to personal and group interests that very little will be allocated to meet the needs of university students. And, it will be a struggle in vain as the privileges for families that govern university spaces will continue. In addition, the organic structure of privileges will continue, there will be delays in educational programs, delays in the promotion of places, CAF contracts, delays in works and in different university administrative areas will continue.

OPPORTUNITIES

The areas of opportunity for the UAEMéx student movement can vary depending on the context: agreements such as free education, but that it is of quality and critical, that is not only for the neoliberal market; equal opportunities; access to higher education for both men and women, regardless of social class; and the defense of student rights (non-criminalization).

The opportunity to work on pending demands such as university cafeterias, the student house, direct access to the degree, among others. It is also the opportunity to continue democratizing different areas of the university, such as the election of directors, and insist on the reform of the university law, in such a way that it includes students, professors and administrators under the precept that education is not a commodity.

More than fifty years had to pass before a student movement could emerge again to demand the democratization of our university. Therefore,

³⁵ Seminario Permanente de Editores (2025, mayo, 13). Comunicado. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1005200805116900&set=a.588124546824530>

it is the opportunity for the student demands to be taken up by the university authority and the Government of the State of Mexico, because who is going to be the guarantor of the commitments of free education and the budget; In addition, the Chamber of Deputies must be involved to approve the budget and work on the reform of the University Law; Otherwise, the reforms to the University Statute will not have a legal umbrella that supports it, in addition to its regulatory laws.

The UAEMéx student movement has already gone down in history, because our university has joined eleven public universities with recognized autonomy; The university community can elect its rector. Thus, the student movement needs to feed a seedbed of new academic and political leadership that defends the university interests of the oligarchy, but also the non-commercialization of secondary and higher education.

CONCLUSIONS

After the election of the rector comes the distribution of the university pie, that is, to pay favors, to groups related to the rector, to relatives who have made their fiefdom in the UAEMéx. To characters who from the shadows want to continue manipulating, living off the university and even those of the master scam. To owners of political-academic placement agencies, those with dual institutional power with reserves of family power in the university, to political operators, academics and anyone who seeks to continue living off the university's budget, although with very low academic productivity. For some, it does not represent an alternative, it only embodies continuity disguised with rhetoric borrowed from the fourth transformation. It is surrounded by the patriarchy that has ruled the university for a long time, in such a way that it seeks to pay loyalties and it is more of the same.

For academics we can observe two positions: those who question their neoliberal ideology and those who applaud it. But the greatest challenge is to respond to the large number of demands from teachers, their facilities, their equipment, the reconstruction of damaged buildings, to academic units located in different parts of the Mexican entity that include labor issues and the reformulation of study plans. A second group, the majority who favored the rector Martha Patricia Zarza Delgado with their vote, many of them are related to neoliberalism and willing to subordinate themselves to the designs of the university authority.

In the case of the student movement, the most important changes negotiated were respecting the agreements reached by the person in charge of

the rectory on free education, the non-criminalization of said movement, which according to the rector he will respect from now on. The demand for the university cafeteria, student house and many others that it includes in its list of the request document agreed with the person in charge of the university

The demand for job security from the most senior administrators who in the end sneaked into their participation and those who mostly voted for the rector. In general, the elected rector faces great challenges in academics, in student demands, in those of administrative workers and in programs in line with current humanism as a general line of educational policy at the national and state level. And it is until September 4, 2025 that the students had not released educational spaces in Ciudad Universitaria located in Toluca and the negotiation continues.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

ANUIES (2021). *La gratuidad de la educación superior como derecho humano en el sistema mexicano. Anotaciones de la ANUIES sobre su interpretación y efectividad*. Disponible en <https://crss.anui.es.mx/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/La-gratuidad-en-la-educacio%CC%81n-superior-9junio2021.pdf> (29/09/2025).

Aranda Sánchez, José María (2000). *El movimiento estudiantil y la teoría de los movimientos sociales*. Disponible en https://www.ses.unam.mx/docencia/2014II/Aranda2000_ElMovimientoEstudiantil.pdf (15/08/2025).

Contreras Ramírez, Cecilia Paz (2020). *Transversalizando la perspectiva de género en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales: el proyecto de la Unidad de Género, la erradicación de la violencia de género y la ruta hacia la igualdad sustantiva*. Disponible en <https://www.redalyc.org/journal/421/42170570009/html/#:~:text=RESUMEN%3A%20Las%20universidades%20son%20espacios%20de%20producci%C3%B3n%20de,administrativos%20y%20a%20su%20cultura%20institucional%20en%20general>

Diputados (2002). *Los principios de igualdad y no discriminación en las constituciones locales*. Disponible en <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/documentos/CEA-MEG/4.%20igualdad.pdf> (05/09/2025).

Diputados (sf). *Evolución jurídica del artículo 3 constitucional en relación a la gratuidad de la educación superior*. Disponible en <https://www.diputados.gob.mx/bibliot/publica/inveyana/polint/cua2/evolucion.htm> (05/09/2025).

DOF (2025). *DECRETO por el que se aprueba el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2025-2030*. Disponible en <https://www.dof.gob.mx/2025/PRESREP/PND%202025-2030.pdf> (05/09/2025).

Donoso Romo, Andrés (2022). *Movimientos estudiantiles en América Latina: bases para una aproximación sociohistórica*. Disponible en <https://www.>

scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0188-76532022000200014 (15/08/2025).

Gómez, Luís (2015). 1968. *Demografía y movimientos estudiantiles*. https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1405-74252015000300009 (16/07/2025).

González Becerril, Juan Gabino (2024). *Oferta y demanda educativa en el Estado de México: transformación, cambio de paradigma y desafíos poscovid-19*. Disponible en <https://sociedadesydesigualdades.uaemex.mx/article/view/23568> (05/09/2025).

Hauser, Philip y Duncan, Otis (1975). *El estudio de la población*. Vol. 1, CEPAL-CELADE, Santiago de Chile.

Paolino, Philip (2009). *La posición del PRI en la política mexicana*. Disponible en https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-20372009000200003 (05/09/2025).

PRDI (2021). *Plan Rector de Desarrollo Institucional 2021-2025*, UAEMéx, Toluca.

Ramírez Sirgo, Luis Eduardo y Casas Cárdenas, Ernesto (2020). *La corrupción gubernamental y su percepción entre los universitarios tamaulipecos*. Disponible en https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-16162020000200101 (18/08/2025).

SEP (2019). *La Nueva Escuela Mexicana: principios y orientaciones pedagógicas*. Disponible en <https://dgb.sep.gob.mx/storage/recursos/marco-curricular-comun/YJkGKTHatN-NEMprincipiosyorientacionpedagogica.pdf> (05/09/2025).

Author's resume

Juan Gabino González Becerril

Master in Population Studies from El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. He is a full-time professor-researcher at the Center for Research and Advanced Population Studies of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (CIEAP/UAEM) and is director of the magazine Papeles de Población published by the same institution.

Email address: gonzalezg2012@hotmail.com

ORCID registration: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4274-4203>

Published on November 3, 2025