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**POWER, ELITES, STATE
AND POLITICS. THE
NEW POLITICIAN ON
THE SCENE**

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Abstract: Within the transformation of the State into a Neoliberal aspect, the changes have affected the political scene and its actors, especially the politician. Due to the above, the notion of a new politician was proposed in this study, described as not very attached to political parties, with little labor identity understood as the new management of work and its time management, the above under the current labor flexibility. In this regard, the results of the investigation are presented, where the contemporary political dynamics were analyzed, reflected in the performances, the scenarios and in the actor himself, under the argument that power relations and roles are manifested within the guidelines cultural structures that manage the hierarchical organization of society. The place of study was the municipality of Tlaxcala, understood as the setting in which some of these characters are identified and how they join the new State dynamic; likewise, the relationship of these representatives with the elites and their contribution to the monopolization of power. To meet the proposed objective, a qualitative methodology was developed: with the use of three data collection techniques: documentary review, interview with key informants and direct observation; discovering the new ways of doing politics, in new spaces such as commercial or cyberspace, with discourses anchored to the academic, among other characteristics, whose purpose is to legitimize the Neoliberal State whose characteristics of efficiency, effectiveness and flexibility; same that bet on an increase in freedom of consumption, to the detriment of equality as a condition of democracy.

Keywords: Power, State, politician, politics.

INTRODUCTION

The transformations of the political scenario understood from the organization of the transnational State (Cárdenas, 2017), of its

actors and particularly of the politician, was the central foundation of this research. In it, at the same time, the transformations of the state institution and of the power relations between the groups, specifically the elites and the political parties with the rest of the social body, were distinguished. In order to understand how social transformation is taking place in regard to the exercise of state power within a globalized world.

Starting from the affirmation that power relations are relations of conflict, which in turn, is the guiding axis of social change; The performance of the politician as a character and representative of the State has varied over time according to the different modalities of the modern State and its exercise of governmental power (Foucault, 2008), within the democratic regime in which the passage to neoliberalism has not been an exception within politics and its actors.

Due to the above, this article begins with a brief theoretical exposition that was the axis of the investigation, in which the relationship between the social actor that is the politician with the notion of power, particularly the State to which Foucault refers (2012), which exercises the work of government through the management of the population (Foucault, 2008).

The relationship between the politician and the elites is explained by the monopolization of the exercise of power through the control of material and symbolic resources. It is the State who, through normalizing institutions, legitimizes said control since its objective is the formation of productive subjects (Foucault, 2012).

The elements that sustain the legitimacy of this order within democracy are the political parties, the character of the politician emanates from them, and it is nothing more than a reflection of said oligarchic organization (Michels, 1996), as indicated by

Duverger (2012: 378). “Before being chosen by his voters, the deputy is chosen by the party: the voters do nothing more than ratify this choice.” The theoretical exposition ends by showing how the politician’s performance is a manifestation of the management of symbolic resources within power relations and in which the theater is shown as the “mediatization of the political sphere” to which Balandier alludes (1994: 13).

In a second section, the results obtained through the methodology designed in order to achieve the objective of outlining the characteristics of the new politician, his relationship with the elites and his monopolization of power and how he represents the new State through of image and practices (Migdal, 2011). Through the use of documentary review techniques, interviews six key informants from the place of study and direct observation.

The data collection was carried out in 2018, the year of elections in Mexico and at the local level in the place of study, as a sample place of the conflict between the old scheme of centralization of power and the new dynamic of flexibility of spaces. The documentary review was constant during said period, meanwhile, the six key informants of the interviews were a political analyst and columnist in a newspaper with regional circulation, a former deputy in the Local Congress on two occasions, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper of largest circulation in the place of study, a columnist in an electronic news outlet, a public official for almost three decades and an active militant and former member of the state committee of the National Regeneration Movement (MORENA), the party in power at the national level, who will be referred to as: *Ernesto, Álvaro, Eva, Irma, Luis, Beatriz y José*. The technique of direct observation to three politicians who were chosen from the documentary review.

Finally, some of the conclusions of the research are shown, in which this new character is distinguished not only from the point of view of his actions, but as part of a transformation process, especially of the institution of the State and its instead of the society itself in which the conflict becomes the main axis, within the political scene and its power relations.

THE POLITICAL CHARACTER WITHIN THE WORK OF STATE POWER

The notion of power implies its understanding as a relationship beyond possession, basically it is about influencing the actions of others (Aguilar, 2014), therefore, the search for the monopolization of its exercise is the basis of the affirmation that conflict is a basic condition for any social relationship, this is because the exercise of power necessarily requires the capacity of agency of the other, therefore, these conducts of direction and others of resistance are displayed daily, in a kind of endless war in whose manifestations change over time.

As Foucault (1988) indicated, power is a practice based on domination, which will determine our experience and daily life. It is from modernity that the exercise of state power is focused on the formation of productive subjects (Foucault, 2008), and manifests itself with the exercise of different means of control.

The exercise of power is one of the main axes of social organization. The monopolization of material, symbolic and institutional resources reflects said organization as hierarchical, within the dynamics of the State that exercises the type of governmental power (Foucault, 2008) from the establishment of modernity (Botticelli, 2016) to end of the objectification of the subjects through control devices or

machinery, which are the product of the development of knowledge and modern technologies that have been at the service of said control.

The objectivation is the elaboration of productive bodies, it is about the search of the increase of the economic sense of the individuals in detriment of their political sense (García, 2005), which lands in the manufacture of homogenized bodies, functioning as elements of the process of production and accumulation.

Authors such as Machiavelli (2014), Marx and Engels (2011) and others have recognized that society is divided into two large sectors; a governing minority and a mass that is governed. Although it is Gaetano Mosca who founded a perspective that constituted one of the first attempts to develop a modern theory of political science (Osorio, 2015); which made him the founder of modern political science (Leoni, 1991).

State power is also a manifestation of this division of classes and their conflict, the purpose of generating productive bodies in the modern era is due to a social division of labor, for which said asymmetric relationship is sustained and legitimized through the State.

So it could be said that the monopolization of power by the elites implies the control of both the material means, specifically in the exploitation of resources (Adams, 2007) and their transformation into merchandise; likewise to the control of symbolic means such as the ideology called by Weber (2002) as domination, such as the domain by institutions, legal codes and what could be included the management of cultural guidelines as Elías referred (1996), in addition to the spatio-temporal notion of subjects (Foucault, 2006). The foregoing, in order to maintain the status quo in which the ruling class stands out, due to this disposition to control the resources that legitimizes the

State now also in its neoliberal aspect.

The extension and manifestation of the State order of the bureaucratic type, according to Inda (2012) is through two actors: the official and the politician, both necessary for its persistence and legitimacy; emanating from political associations, which within democracy receive the formal name of political parties, which despite the regime's discourse of equality, the truth is that these political groups are controlled by the ruling class and that they are a sign of the restriction entry into the government structure and their respective monopolization of power.

The members of these associations have been trained and possess formal knowledge, but especially, informal knowledge typical of each rank, which is very difficult to access, given the restrictions both of relationships with other members, and of that same knowledge. Therefore, as Michels (1996) indicated, the passage from aristocracy to democracy did not represent the end of the oligarchic tendencies of absolutism, but they find in the legal discourse of the modern State apparatus the support of their legitimacy.

Then, the politician as an actor could be defined in formal terms from the social division of labor using Durkheim's notion (2016), and is understood as one who is specialized in political activity, in relation to the notion of state power and its bureaucratic organization. It is a specialization of knowledge that is rather limited to the spaces and subjects involved in political associations that are presented according to the form of government, thus "Whoever does politics aspires to power as a means to achieve other ends (idealistic or selfish) or to power for power's sake, to enjoy the feeling of prestige that it confers" (Weber, 2007:57)

In the same way, to maintain this social order, the renewal of the elites referred to by Mosca (1984) is necessary, it is based on

the recruitment of the members of the mass, particularly of the politicians or leaders who have the knowledge to maintain the oligarchic structure of modern political associations, which gives it an important role in maintaining the control exercised by the elites, especially of the three main social orders indicated by Mills (1987): the political, the economic and the military.

Then, the politician is a direct representative of the interests of the parties themselves and therefore of the ruling class they represent “[...] the selection of the rulers is made by a mixture of election and co-optation, but the proportions of the mix are different” (Duverger, 2012: 379). The co-optation of the members that represent said organizations in the electoral competition means, at the same time, how it is that the groups that make up said parties set the agenda in the government or, in other words, in the task of leading the populations (Rivera, 2009).

Finally, the function of the politician within democracy, as previously mentioned, is to fulfill the role of personifying the State and its form of power, the governmental (Botticelli, 2016), for which it is relevant to analyze it from the transnational aspect of the State, specifically in the different aspects as representative of a regime and product of its asymmetric power relations, whose legitimacy depends on the population itself, which is seen by them as simple voters, in a mass democratic system.

THE POLITICIAN AND THE NEOLIBERAL STATE WITHIN THE POLITICAL SCENARIO

The expression of a non-personalist dictatorial regime, but of the figure of a particular political party, is one of the peculiarities of the Mexican political system.

The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) maintained the leadership of the government for almost seven decades, interrupted by a period of 12 years (2000-2012) of a supposed partisan alternation with the National Action Party (PAN); also representative of the right. With a subsequent return of the PRI to the leadership of the Mexican State (2012-2018), this situation is an example of how the power relations between the State and the elites were consolidated under a democratic image, but which actually meant the development of cacique practices and political clientelism at the regional level (Middlebrook, 2009).

With the recent shift in 2018 towards a government identified with the left, prompted by the large-scale electoral victory of 53%¹ of a charismatic leader: Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who after breaking with the only leftist-inspired political institute in Mexico (Party of the Democratic Revolution or PRD), founded his own political association known as MORENA (National Regeneration Movement), which obtained registration as an official political party in 2014. And in a few years, positioning itself as a party with great influence at the national level.

The power relations that are established between the State apparatus, the elites and the politician within the political scene, without a doubt, mean moments of tension and negotiation, important for the representation of power in a world where the theaterocracy (Balandier, 1994) is equated to the current exercise of democracy, therefore, this transformation is part of a historical process in which the conflict between the different groups of society becomes evident.

Due to the above, it is considered here that this situation can be understood through the perspective of the notion of process of Elías (1987), in terms of the transformation of the State. Even contrary to what the supporters

1. According to figures obtained from the National Electoral Institute, available at: <https://computos2018.ine.mx/#/presidencia/nacional/1/1/1/1>

of MORENA themselves emphasize as a transformation of the neoliberal State towards a more social aspect and a historical break with the previous forms of government; In this analysis it is shown that the arrival of this political leader is part of a process of state transformation that began in the 1980s, and does not represent more than a continuity, in what refers to the consolidation of said state reform, only with new practices by the actors and therefore a new image of the social institution of the State.

Starting with the state reform in Mexico, where it went from a welfare state to a neoliberal one during the six-year term of Miguel de la Madrid in 1982 (Salazar, 2004), in which there is not only a change in state policy in matter of market regulation, but also in the entry of new actors in the political scene. Named by Camp (1983) as a new political class known as Mexican technocracy, according to the author, it distinguished itself by having specialized technical-academic training in Economics, and as a result, cadres were formed from a recruitment based on precisely in the academic degree: the political technician whom the researcher points out as the origin of Mexican neoliberalism.

Actually, from the perspective of this research, the practices (Migdal, 2008) of the actors were those that made up the technocracy group, what truly distinguished them in the renewal of the political class (Mosca, 1984). Within these practices, it is argued that one of the main ones is the passage from a subordination to the previous political leader, as the old elites did, to a true subordination to economic power, especially before the introduction of transnational groups; As Salazar (2004) indicates, at this time there was a rupture within the old PRI leadership.

This way, the practices of the technocracy are openly distinguished within the history of

the country, as mentioned by the informant Ernesto“ [...] *in this technocracy, there was a power; the powers that be took control of political power. In other words, if one reviews what happened in the last ten or fifteen years, the economic powers almost put the president in, they almost told him what to do, if they wanted to revile an official, they put him on television, with a scandal X they went down; those powers existed and that is part of what is proposed today; that the technocratic group, then, cease to be so strongly linked to power, and that the government is not subject to these powers that suddenly put the presidential power in this country or the different powers that exist in check.*

The foregoing does not imply a novelty, since this was a trend recognized in different latitudes of the world, however, it is noteworthy that in Mexico there was the peculiarity that the extensive cacique network, established by the old political elites, was not broken, but which was renewed through the implementation of social programs that little by little replaced cacique practices with patronage practices during the rise of Mexican technocratism (Dresser, 1991), for which it is concluded that the PRI became the image of the State, following the notion of Migdal (2011), along with the actors that represented it, specifically the politician, carried out the work of the practices.

It is possible to argue that the Mexican technocracy was a group that at the time served, at that time, for the consolidation and legitimization of the new neoliberal State, under a representation of the same for maintaining an image before the population of the search for a sanitation of the national finances, under the protection of a new idea of freedom, but which meant for the country an acceleration of the globalization process in economic, as well as political and cultural terms.

However, given the recent events in historical terms, with the emergence of an announced new political regime at the national level, as reflected in the documentary review of the investigation, the technocracy group represented only one step within the Mexican political system, since which, in recent years, has been presented to us as a discredited political class, representative of social inequality and corruption.

In the same vein as the search for said discredit focused on the bureaucratic organization of the State itself, under the program of seeking to make the State apparatus more efficient, even despite the importance of bureaucracy as a guarantee of egalitarian democracy (Du Gay, 2012), therefore, from the results of the research it is deduced that we are in a transformation of the image of the politician himself and along with the image and practices of the State, main elements of it according to Migdal (2008).

In addition to the use of mass media to discredit the image of technocrats has been a constant in the country's recent history, discredit through these media is also one of the manifestations within the practices of the contemporary Neoliberal State.

The establishment of the technocracy in Mexico was part of the process, however, given the situation that I mentioned at the beginning of this section, the image of the technocrat, despite initially being one that allowed the new State to be legitimized, has suffered a deterioration in Mexico. important, to such a degree that the recent triumph of the current Mexican president is attributed to him; understood as the search for a change.

Despite the above, there is an evident discrepancy between the image and the practices of López Obrador himself. While at his inauguration as President of the Republic in December 2018, he pronounced himself an enemy of Neoliberalism; On the contrary,

in his campaign he carried out practices typical of neoliberalism; For example, the informant Irma, who is a digital columnist, alluded to the fact that Obrador's campaign was distinguished by the sale of souvenirs of the party and of him as a character, something unprecedented in the history of Mexican political life that is similar to what a company does through marketing to gain brand loyalty. As one more measure to make public spending more efficient and to reform its relationship with electoral processes.

Within the line of managing the image of the politician, the political parties are being constituted under the same aspect. As all the informants pointed out from the first interview.

Therefore, at the local and regional level, the contradictions in the practices of the actors with respect to the image of the State they represent are evident; On the one hand, at the national level, an image of discrediting the Neoliberal State is maintained. On the other hand, locally, it is presented to consolidate a technocrat as politician and governor of the entity, which clearly implies a conflict and a moment not only of transition but of historical conjuncture in the political scene.

On the other hand, consumerism is an important feature of contemporary society that works as a peacemaker of it. In the current modality of the Neoliberal State, it works in two ways within the triad of basic controls proposed by Elías (1987), the first one where control of the social organization is sought by acting as a surveillance and control device; secondly, as self-control through the internalization of the values of the era of consumption and uncertainty that place the State as a company that appeals for the freedom of the individual (Du Gay, 2012), where the latter is understood as access and choice of merchandise. This can be seen in the speech given by the governor of Tlaxcala where he

highlights the importance of production and consumption, and it is not an exclusive case of the local.

“[...] The government has the task of caring for and generating the best conditions for the economy to grow and for there to be more private investment and more formal employment. Our economy continues to grow and the new investments are noticeable in the presence of new shops and businesses; I will give you some examples [...]” Fragment pronounced by the governor of Tlaxcala, December 2018.

Within the changes and new values promoted by the neoliberal State, the actors that personify it are a fundamental element in its transformation, through the representation of it through their behaviors, as Elías (1987) puts it. Thus, the image as an element of the state institution itself (Migdal, 2008), is promoted through the discredit of an archaic State, which lacks market business values (Du Gay, 2003), which generates a deficit by being highly corrupt, attributing to this to be the main cause of class segregation.

In the case of Mexico, the figure of the politician also works this way, at the same time, especially the one who belongs to the second category proposed by Weber (1991) within the work of the politician, as the one who lives solely from politics and not only the discrediting of the bureaucrat as Du Gay (2012) points out, something that Álvaro, editorial chief of the state newspaper, also highlights: *“We see it now, right? That the acting president has not yet entered and that we see some authorities and deputies who no longer know where to get money to give themselves their car bonuses and, and this... end-of-term farewells and things like that, right? In other words, it means that yes, yes they are seeing the possibility that there may be a real change, and then you have to take advantage of what you can” [...]*

It is evident then, the relationship that is made of the politician with corruption; to which it is visualized as the anti-value of the contemporary State, this is not due to a moral order, but within the representation it is the cause of a great deficit and hinders its attempt to function effectively and efficiently; the two main values of market business management; This relationship became evident from the first interview in which the informant Ernesto expressed the following: *“many people are disenchanted with what the politicians have done; Corruption cases have marked Peña Nieto’s six-year term, but it has not been the only one, let’s say that this has already been done historically, unfortunately for the country, but at this time it seems that they were too visible.*

And it is from the same perspective, in which he exposes in the investigation, that this corrupt actor is placed as an enemy to defeat, for being considered as an example of an old system, the representative of an ineffective and old State in which it is not implemented. in business management. Where the recent political situation is positioned as a reflection of the need for the expansion of these business values of a management aimed at efficiency, the latter, as the extension of a democracy, in which the elites renew themselves and invigorate relations through of the conflict they establish with the governed class.

The repeated image of corruption as a difficulty to overcome and the supposed cause of maintaining an unequal society is present even in the mass media: *“We already saw that traditional politicians, really in this country, yes? We don’t want them, yes? In other words, politicians who have spent thirty years of their lives jumping from Congress, from the Lower House to the Senate, from the Senate to the Lower House;[...] what benefit has it brought to the country that Emilio Gamboa Patron is changing every six years of office, personal*

benefit; I have not really seen that there is something beneficial for this country [...]”
Álvaro

At the same time, Eva mentioned it, who is a former local deputy: *“that is because they already have an interest, because they have aspirations for another position, that is, they see a position as a springboard to take on another position, that is why they are working on it, but yes, well, many say, <<no, well, I already have this position, well I’ll take it relax>>.”*

The acknowledgment by citizens that the social organization does not function democratically and that power is monopolized by certain groups is also part of an oligarchic political system (Michels, 1996), thus members of the media openly acknowledge: *“[...] One, I wouldn’t call it a hypocritical policy, right? Or a hypocritical democracy, everyone talks about democracy, but in fact you know that it doesn’t happen [...]*” as Irma pointed out. The foregoing supposes, at the same time, a change in the perception of the State and the government by the other actors involved in this power relationship; Thus, under the idea that we are facing a dysfunctional democracy, it is worth questioning what role citizens will assume in the face of a transformation that is already evident.

It is even recognized how it is that the political alternation in Tlaxcala, did not represent more than a political disguise, in which the process of renewal of the elites *“[...] It happened with Sánchez Anaya, who although he arrives via the PRD; Well, he was a very important member of the PRI: his political career was in the PRI, he is from the old guard of the PRI and broke with him in 1998; [...]. The one who succeeds to the position is Héctor Israel Ortiz Ortiz, and Héctor Israel Ortiz Ortiz, also comes from this same group that we had built many years ago, many linked to Beatriz Paredes [...] But again Héctor Ortiz is a representative of the old guard of this political*

class that was here in Tlaxcala [...]” asserted Ernesto.

Based on the foregoing, another aspect stands out within the representation of the image of an archaic State, the already generalized idea of an institution in which a political class exercises dominance and has constituted an elite, which has undermined the credibility of its members, as José commented, who is an active member of MORENA, when mentioning that in the construction of said party in the place of study, although it was largely due to one of the members of these elites: Alfonso Sánchez Anaya and despite that he had his private financial resources and influence for it, the militants themselves refused to keep him in power, as said by the informant who was part of the state committee:

“[...] it was the moment of conformation and I think that if there is that emergency and although I will tell you something... it was not easy, even that Andrés Manuel himself recognized it, it cost; because as if he was saying how is it that Alfonso is not the president, something happened, they pissed him off, they overwhelmed him, he was not very, very convinced, it was very difficult for us to convince him, his team, his close team, well, that it had been a legitimate, democratic process, and that we had not at any time conspired against Sánchez Anaya so that he would not go, right? If his annoyance with Anaya was great, to such an extent that, well, practically, I withdrew the support [...]”

Under the idea of promoting a business Neoliberal State, in which it is necessary that resources be made available to global capital, through the provision of state capital in infrastructure destined for the occupation of transnational entities, as the governor himself pointed out in his speech, quoted above *“[...] The government has the task of caring for and generating the best conditions for the economy to grow and for there to be more private*

investment and more formal employment. [...]”; so that spending is more efficient and is directed towards being a producer of profits; to finally consolidate the representation in which democracy works as a result of managerial measures to reduce the deficit.

An example of the aforementioned is Andrés Manuel’s measure of imposing a salary cap on officials at the beginning of 2019, in which the salary of the leader of the federal executive would set the standard for the maximum salary at the national level, contrary to the story in which the judiciary maintained this access to higher wages. This was pointed out by the informant Álvaro, in reference to the fact that authoritarian practices are justified if what is intended is to make public spending more efficient. *“[...] If you are authoritarian to tell me <<let’s see bastard you are going to lower your salary, I’d better be a minister>>, perfect!, apply your authoritarianism; if you are authoritarian just to say I want a public prosecutor, then this country is not going to work, those three qualities, which for many are defects, I would say that you have to mark them in two great ways, which is the one that is going to help you this country to get ahead or he takes us to hell, whatever he chooses[...]”.*

As for the politician, there is a very important tool that has helped to build his image, at the same time as the new State and that is the social networks, these have become an example of the panoptic society, functioning as a surveillance device par excellence of the business State, which has developed it as a device for control and promotion of representation of a libertarian but not egalitarian society (Du Gay, 2012); same that within the investigation is considered to have served for the construction of the politician in two aspects.

The first is towards its versatility and adaptability, in the same logic that Du Gay (1991) refers to with the business State, this

way, the politician has to be in accordance with trends, an inclination towards institutional flexibility as well. returning to Sennett (2000). The foregoing was evidenced during the documentary review of this investigation; As an example, were the constant participations with Youtubers, such as the one carried out by Enrique Peña Nieto who, still in office, said goodbye to his government through a sketch broadcast on a YouTube channel called “El Pulso de la República” on March 28. September 2018.

The second way in which social networks have shown an active role in the construction of transformation is through discrediting, as discussed above; the use of social networks in this sense, maintains at least two advantages to highlight, the first is the lack of legislation regarding its use and the other is its massive reach. However, despite the foregoing, at the local level the impact in terms of its use could still be conceived as minor in contradiction to the national scale, as Andrés Manuel López Obrador himself expressed in his electoral victory speech on July 2, 2018 at the express: “I also thank the blessed social networks”.

The foregoing stands out not only in terms of the image of the figure of the politician, but also in terms of the dimensions of the space of influence, the social networks, as they are not territorially delimited, open the way to the consolidation of surveillance at an unusual level, and the intervention of global organizations, so that political representation is within the reach of intervention for more business than government or democratic purposes.

CONCLUSIONS

The politician from the classical perspective is an important element for the legitimacy of the modern State that is defined from the principles of rationality and legality, in order not to make the exercise of violence

explicit, since this actor is one of the means to materialize the democratic discourse, despite the fact that it actually emanates from an oligarchic organization represented by the political parties, which are the true voters of these actors, which show the anti-democratic nature of the political reality.

The distinction of an old politician as a representative of the bureaucratization of the modern State in its most classic perspective, is the representative of a national character of the social institution and that today is constituted as a sign of inefficiency, inflexibility, as a generator deficit, tied to the old authoritarian practices of media control, especially communication, all of them disparate to the new order.

It is inescapable that the transformation of the State towards a neoliberal aspect has modified the entire political scene. As the analysis of this article showed, the changes are reflected in the political organizations and their actors, particularly in the politician both in their image and in their practices; through the speeches, new alliances and conflicts that became evident in the place of study.

Thus, the politician faces the construction of a work space that is also flexible. Subjected to stricter control, the politician who adapts to the current conditions must show flexibility as part of his character; with fragmentation tolerance. This way, there is a demand for detachment from the past and therefore a weak work identity (Sennett, 2000); The politician of the present is required to develop a job in which his work past, which includes his adherence to political parties with opposing ideologies, does not represent an important element in terms of the demands that will be imposed on him in his new position.

The fact of maintaining flexibility at work and a weak work identity is also caused by a lack of clarity of functions, so if the current politician maintains these two traits, this can

only represent that the control and distribution of power is becoming more dynamic.

The new politician in this study emerges as a character with the characteristics of management, as an administrator who seeks to reduce the deficit, goes according to marketing, is flexible in terms of his functions and work identity (Sennett, 2005) is not rooted in any party political party and its ideology, is adaptable, takes risks and goes against the bureaucratic state organization, to guarantee citizens freedom of consumption, to the detriment of equality. Contributing with these practices to the construction of an efficient, effective state image, which seeks to discredit the bureaucratic order.

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