

Podemos 2.0: Towards a Party Movement?

Pablo Castaño Tierno (pcast001@gold.ac.uk)

PhD candidate, Sociology Department, Goldsmiths (University of London)

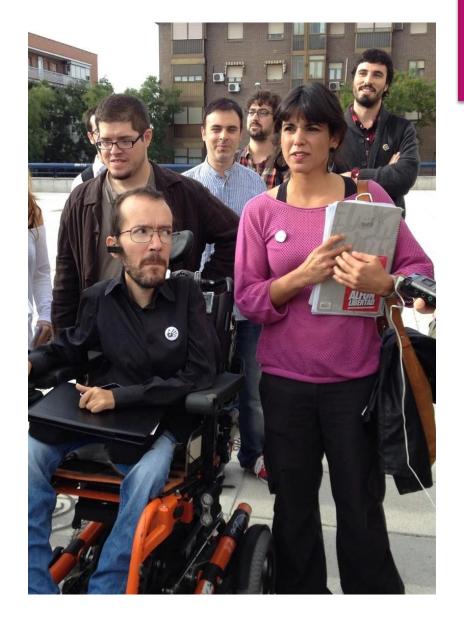
The author of this paper/presentation has given IIPPE the permission to upload this paper on IIPPE's website. The work presented in this paper is entirely my own except where other authors have been referred to and acknowledged in the text. It is not in the process of being peer review at any academic journal. The views expressed in the paper/presentation is my own, and IIPPE or any member of IIPPE cannot be hold responsible for any statements made in this paper/presentation, whatsoever.

Introduction: The current political impasse in Spain

- ▶ December 2015 general election: Podemos obtains 20% of the vote and 69 MPs out of 350
- Lack of agreement between PSOE and Podemos to form a progressive government
- New elections in December 2016: Unidos Podemos (Podemos+Izquierda Unida)
- Disappointing results and opening of the debate about the future of Podemos

1. The organisational debate

2. The political-discursive debate



Pablo Echenique and Teresa Rodríguez, leaders of the critical sector at Vistalegre Congress

The organisational debate (1): 2014 Vistalegre congress

The centralist model

- Proposed by the de facto direction, leaded by Pablo Iglesias and Íñigo Errejón
- Centralised and powerful direction
- Revocability of positions and primary elections with majority electoral system (plebiscitary effects)

The all-power-to-the-circles model

- Proposed by Pablo Echenique and the anticapitalist current, leaded by Teresa Rodríguez
- Federation of circles
- Revocability of positions and primary elections with a proportional system

The organisational debate (2): the triumph of the centralist model

- Iglesias' proposal obtains 80% of the vote (112000 people take part)
- He is elected secretary general and his candidates win in the overwhelming majority of regions and cities
- ► Echenique is elected secretary general in Aragón región and Rodríguez is elected secretary general in Andalusia
- ▶ The "electoral war machine" (Errejón) obtains globally impressive results in the 2015 electoral cycle (local, regional and national elections).



Celebration of the result obtained in the December 2015 general election (20% of the vote, 69/350 MPs)

The discursive-political debate (1): The populist strategy

- Diagnosis:
 - ▶ 15-M and other social movements aticulate new democratic and social demands
 - ▶ IU is unable to express them in the political arena
 - ▶ The new demands are transversal from the (1) class and (2) ideological viewpoints
- Podemos' populism:
 - ► Elite-people instead of right-left divide
 - ▶ Use and resignification of terms such as motherland and people
 - Centrality of Pablo Iglesias' figure, the symbol who unifies a high diversity of demands

The political-discursive debate (2): The closing up to IU

- ▶ Alberto Garzón (IU) obtains a good result in the December 2015 election
- ► IU-Podemos-regional parties coalition for the June 2016 election: Unidos Podemos
- ► Two positions:
 - Unidos Podemos should be only a electoral coalition aiming the overcoming of the negative effects of the electoral system (Errejón)
 - Unidos Podemos should be a new political bloc, more clearly left-wing (Iglesias, Echenique and the anticapitalists)

Some discussions for Vistalegre II...

Towards a partymovement?

- Between the all-power-tothe-circles-model and the electoral war machine
- How to revitalize the circles and the links with social movements?
- Building a new political culture: the Moradas

Back to the left margin?

- The end of the populist strategy?
- The relations with IU and the regional allies

Other controversial issues

- The autonomy of the regional federations
- The militants' rights boards

...while the political impasse goes on.



