

Change of the balance of power in the Spanish politics after 2011. Theory and politics

The main aim of the dissertation is to analyze the changes taking place in the Spanish political space after 2011 in the perspective of the impact of theoretical content. In this approach, theory is treated not only as a research tool, but above all as an instrument used for creation of changes. First of all the research path is concentrated at the analysis of the conceptions applied at a specific historical moment, not at simple marketing solutions implemented during election campaigns. The aim of this activity was not only to transform the structure of the party system, but to modify and reinterpret the role of the citizen in political life of Spain. The time range adopted in this work is related to the two basic entities for the whole process, which are Inidgnados Movement and the Podemos party. The initiation in 2011 of the first of them is the starting point for the analysis. The changes in the functioning of the second entity, which took a place at the beginning of 2017, constitute the final element of the study.

As part of the work, five unit claims are verified.

- Unit claim number 1 – The specificity of the new balance of power in Spanish politics is a consequence of the formation and construction of the Podemos party. Its form and manner of interaction are strongly correlated with theoretical perspectives and practical experience of the creators of the party. On the basis of the knowledge accumulated during the research, a strategy of action was constructed, while political theories were transformed into tools of political influence. Pablo Iglesias, Íñigo Errejón and Juan Carlos Monedero are considered to be the main initiators and creators of the project, with the first two having the greatest impact on its shape.
- Unit claim number 2 – The economic situation of the Spaniards was not the key factor determining the mass political mobilization of citizens in 2011, but at the time it was the most convenient unifying element. The economic element was strongly exposed in the initial phase, and in the later period was treated as one of many factors.
- Unit claim number 3 – Creation of the division into left and right by the creators of Podemos by introducing categories of caste and citizens takes place only at the level of discourse. This is mainly due to the leftist character of the founders of the party, who strive to modify and change the specificity of the contemporary Spanish left. One of the elements of

this process is the adaptation of the organizational solutions developed during the operation of Los Indignados, enabling them to increase the participation of citizens in power.

- Unit claim number 4 – The existence of Podemos in Spanish politics can be treated both as a result and the cause of changes, which gives this party the character of the main impulse for the whole process.
- Unit claim number 5 – The new balance of power in Spanish politics is characterized mainly by the division on the Spanish left, so far dominated by the PSOE, while the only representative of the right is PP. The consequence of changing the hegemonic balance of power is the internal stalemate in the state.

The thesis consists of four chapters. The first one includes the basic methodological and theoretical assumptions, such as concepts of cratocentrism and sociocentrism, populism and populist leadership, political mobilization, virtual communities, antagonism in politics and political thought of Antonio Gramsci. The second chapter focuses on the specificity of the balance of political forces in Spain and its sources, which is the basis for the analysis of the causes and characteristics of the activity of the Indignados Movement. The main subject of the study of the third chapter is the influence of the theoretical and methodological awareness of the creators of Podemos on the construction of the party, its organization and the political strategy. The final part of the work is an analysis of the adaptation of these instruments to the political reality, including the activity of Podemos during election campaigns and after the announcement of the results of regional and parliamentary elections.