Political parties and congressional processes in Spain. An approach from participant observation and political communication to the Congresses of PSOE and Podemos.

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Abstract. Inner workings of political parties, assemblies and internal elections have been adapted to new forms of political communication and the establishment of the permanent campaign. Despite of being conceived as a formula to reflect on the internal operations of organizations, congressional processes are also designed as events to build loyalty and enable activists to meet each other. Thus, in terms of strategy, affiliate mobilization and internal communication bear similarities with the electoral periods in terms of media visibility and organizational importance partly because of their capacity to condition the functioning of organisations between elections. The following article presents the results of participant observation in national congresses for the election of leaders and programs in two of the main political parties in Spain: PSOE and Podemos. The aim is to understand and identify the motivations of the participants by sharing their natural environment as well as the development of these events from a political communication perspective. As a conclusion, the article discusses the difficulties encountered in the application of this type of methodology, as well as the identification of these congresses as cultural, "political leisure" and media events.

Key Words: Congresses; Political parties; Political communication; Participant observation.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Political parties, participation and political comunication

Research on political participation has focused in recent years on declining levels of civic engagement, low voter turnout, erosion of trust in institutions or membership in political parties (Amnå and Ekman, 2014: 2). Formal membership in these organisations has declined sharply. As a result, political party members are a relatively unrepresentative group of citizens from a social, professional, and ideological perspective (Van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012: 39). As Donatella Della Porta (2009: 803) points out, the decline of party membership is one of the tangible signs of the transformation of the implements of democracy.

In the case of Spain, in recent years there has been a steady erosion of the different indicators of political support, especially in terms of approval of public office, trust in institutions and evaluation of the functioning of democracy (Lobera, 2015: 99). This trend is compounded by low levels of political participation (in comparison with other European countries) (Ramiro and Morales, 2014), with a very low overall involvement in political parties (Torcal, Montero and Teorell, 2006).

The inability of these organisations to attract sympathisers could be explained by diverse reasons. The first is the fact that, since the late 1990s, electoral campaigns have relied on technology and the work of professional consultants to attract an increasingly professional consultants to appeal to an increasingly unpredictable electorate (Gibson, 2013: 2). Similarly, the shift from participation to sub-political forms of action allows individual participation in political decisions, bypassing the institutions of representative opinion formation (political parties, parliaments) (Beck, 2002) whose origin would be linked to broader social and technological changes (Whiteley, 2011: 22). As an example, in Spain, certain forms of protest (signing petitions, demonstrations, strikes...) have increased and are conceived as modes of participation with a significant impact (Ganuza and Francés, 2013: 30) by channelling citizens' interest on public issues based on a unconventional movementist logic with few institutional contact, a discourse with a strong ethical content and a notable identity load, but without a rigid organisation (Subirats, 2015: 125).

Finally, political parties have progressively lost their capacity to connect citizens' demands and have become part of the state structure. For these organisations, militants become important in the legitimisation of their practices rather than in the day-to-day functioning of the party (Katz and Mair, 1995: 15; Sánchez-Duarte, 2015) and their economic maintenance. Thus, parties focus on attracting voters (not on satisfying the grassroots) with a functioning oriented towards winning elections and whose survival is linked to the possibility of governing (Politikon, 2014: 37).

1.2. Political party congresses from a media perspective

In light of this situation, political parties are trying to design organisational strategies with which to attract a less intensive, punctual and more distanced from the party structure militant profile (Pudal, 2011: 29); adopting, for example, systems of primaries open to citizens for the selection of their leaders (Van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012: 39) or assuming repertoires of action typical of social movements (Chadwick, 2007: 286).

Similarly, they try to create and strengthen rituals with which to attach the most active militants to their electoral machinery, beyond the electoral processes (Bimber, 2000: 332; Sánchez-Duarte, 2016). It is in

this context that activities such as party congresses and assemblies help to develop actions aligned with the organisation's ideology, properly evaluate the activity of previous years and consolidate typical values such as motivation and pride in belonging (Rubio, 2017: 25).

They also function as deterrent mechanisms to the crisis of political legitimacy and the loss of public trust in the parties as the main axis of the democratic process due to their progressive transition towards increasingly bureaucratic internal forms and mechanisms (Blanco Valdés, 1998). In short, the design of these events is conceived as the ultimate expression of the democratic functioning of an organisation, in which not only the structure is opened up to militants, but also a cover letter to society is made (Presno Linera, 2000: 109).

It is precisely this openness to society that makes it necessary to construct congresses as media events. José Luis Dader (1999) interprets this activity as an element in the process of the Americanisation of European political communication, in which the relationship between parties and their political bases has been carried out mainly through the media. The process of mediatisation of this type of event, as well as of its actors and discourses, has been a tendency in political systems since the 1990s (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999).

In this sense, citizens' voting decisions are little influenced by electoral programmes. Credibility and trust in a specific political option depends on the mediatisation of messages, thus causing parties to link their appearances and language to the dynamics of journalism (Castells, 2008). Thus, congresses have been considered beneficial for the improvement of communication with the mass media thanks to its provision of qualified personnel (Ansolabehere, et al., 2007).

The need to adapt to the media logic means that the communicative strategies of the parties and their representatives constitute the appropriation of strategies such as personalisation or conflict in political discourse, as well as in the construction of the events that include them (Strömbäck, 2008). Considering that relevant political events nowadays only acquire their full significance if they appear on screens, the design of these conclaves responds more to a communicative than to an organisational staging creating a new dramaturgy (Abèlés, 2013: 62) more for external (media, digital networks) than for internal (militancy-oriented) consumption.

Therefore, Schulz (2004) elevates the symbolic relevance of these activities to the level of ceremonies, where entertainment elements prevail to make them more accessible, diverse, and dynamic. It should be borne in mind that the mediatisation of politics has led to an adaptation of political parties' strategies to mass communication, in such a way that these internal processes satisfy the norms that journalistically will position them as interesting (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999). Although with variations depending on the electoral and political system of each country, organisational conventions are conceived as "telegenic events" designed to capture as much media attention as possible (Meyen, et al., 2014).

For Strömbäck (2008), however, the biggest change in political communication in recent decades is the increase in the number of experiences, processes and institutions that can be mediatised. Thus, the advent of new information and communication technologies increases these tendencies, in a context where the continuous flow of news calls for an incessant number of news events (Castells, 2008).

2. Methodology

2.1. Case studies and methodology: relevance and limitations of participant observation

At first, to analyse this type of process, the congresses of the four political parties with the largest parliamentary representation in Spain were selected: Partido Popular, PSOE, Podemos and Ciudadanos[1] [2]. The political context of the four meetings was the two General Elections held in December 2015 and June 2016 and the proclamation of Mariano Rajoy (PP) as President of the Government in October of the same year.

To analyse these case studies, it was decided to use participant observation. According to Barbara Kawulich, this method enables researchers to study people in their natural setting (2005: 2), integrating themselves into the space of the observed community (Callejo, 2002: 413) to describe their actions and understand, through a process of identification, their motivations (Corbetta, 2010: 305). The relevance of this research method lies in the need to carry out a first exploratory study of a type of event that is usually accessed from a simplified media representation, as well as from the interpretation of party elites. The fact that the researcher has the possibility of becoming a *native* through immersion in the social reality analysed (Guasch, 1997: 35) conforms a more complete and integrated type of analysis in the everyday life of the organisations.

However, this type of research method posed certain limits. The first of these limits is the short time frame in which the study was carried out. Several authors point out the relevance of conducting participant observation over long periods of time in order to share a symbolic universe with the informants and to bring out what Taylor and Bogdan call "rapport": to get people to "open up" and to show their feelings about the setting and other people (1986: 55). However, due to the conditions of the event: physical (ample spaces), organisational (shared with many participants), ideological (homogeneity of ideas) and temporal (reduced to a weekend), it was possible to establish an immediate relationship with the informants, obtaining valuable information without provoking their reactivity.

The other major limitation of the research had to do with the difficulty of access. For this purpose, informal contacts were made with people in the four parties. This was due to previous experiences in which public and institutional forms of contact with party structures (email accounts, social networks, etc.) were unsuccessful.

Although the four parties initially agreed to observe their congresses, Ciudadanos prevented researchers from accessing the doors of its conclave[3]. On the other hand, and in the case of the Partido Popular, access was treated as a media access under the conditions stipulated by this party, which made it difficult for researchers to move around the congress and prevented a more extensive observation[4].In

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[1] All the congresses were held in February 2017: Ciudadanos (4 and 5), Partido Popular (10, 11 and 12) and PODEMOS (11 and 12) and in June of the same year: PSOE (16, 17 and 18).

[2] As will be indicated below, it was only possible to observe the PSOE and Podemos congresses.

[3] This access had been previously agreed on similar terms to those of the journalists (access to the site and the possibility of interacting with leaders and militants, as well as attending plenary events, but not the sectoral presentations, which were held behind closed doors). Once at the door of the venue, Ciudadanos informed that they had decided to unilaterally change the conditions and that access was only guaranteed to listen to the closing speech on the second day of the congress. This prevented the planned research from taking place.

[4] Access was limited to the press room, where all journalists watched the congress on a series of television screens broadcasting via an internal circuit, without the possibility of interacting with militants and management positions.

the case of the PSOE, access to the congress was restricted to the media. In the case of PSOE and Podemos, observation could be carried out without any inconvenience.

These limitations of access, total in the case of Ciudadanos and partial in the case of PP, make it necessary to focus the analysis on the PSOE and Podemos conclaves. Although it is not possible to complete the initial objective of the study to analyse and establish a typology of congresses as communicative events, the data obtained allow us to approach two of these events which, due to their nature, meet the objectives of our research.

2.2. Observation objects and collection process at the PSOE and Podemos congresses

The set-up of the PSOE and Podemos congresses made possible allowed for a type of undeclared observation, as they were held in large venues where a significant part of the events took place in an open and public manner.

Five objects of observation were selected for the analysis, as proposed by Piergiorgio Corbetta (2010: 319) and presented in Table 1. In a preliminary descriptive phase, attention was paid to the physical context, understood as the space in which the social action under study takes place, and to the social context, describing the predominant human environment. After this phase, the analysis focused on the interactions of and with the protagonists, looking at formal interactions (those that took place within the organisation's proposals), informal interactions (proposed by the protagonists and within the day-to-day running of the congresses and less rigid environments) and the interpretations of the actors involved in the different events through verbal interactions. Similarly, in the 5 observation objects, the communicative practices were examined more intensively to strengthen the analysis from the perspective of political communication.

Table 1. Observation objects.

Preliminary descriptive phase	Physical context	Congress Venues
	Social Context	Participants
Interaction phase	Formal interactions	Links arranged by the parties
	Informal interaction	Links not arranged by the parties
	Interpretations	Verbal interactions with Congress participants

Source: Own elaboration based on Corbetta, 2010: 319.

All the objects of observation were recorded in field notebooks. As Javier Callejo points out, the type of data that makes up participant observation is given by what can be considered its basic implement: the fieldwork notes. These notes have the function of recording what is significant among what is observed (2002: 414). In the case of the two congresses, and due to the size of the space, two researchers were present in different spaces. Similarly, and to support and strengthen the handwritten notes, photographs and various audios were taken to complement the analysis.

2.3. The XXXIX Congress of the PSOE and the II Citizens' Assembly of PODEMOS

The holding of the XXXIX PSOE Congress on 16th, 17th and 18th June 2017 marked the end of the leadership crisis that had begun almost a year earlier. Following the results of the last General Elections in 2016 and the attempt by the party's leader, Pedro Sánchez, to form an alternative government and oppose the election of the PP candidate to the presidency of the Government, 17 members of its Federal Executive resigned, forcing the convening of a Federal Committee[5]. This meeting, held on 1st October 2016, led to the resignation of the PSOE leader and the ceding of power to a management commission, which ruled that the party would abstain in the election of Rajoy as President and that primary elections would be called for May 2017. These elections, which were contested by Pedro Sánchez, Susana Díaz and Patxi López, were won by the former General Secretary by a large majority.

After this period, the XXXIX Congress envisaged two priorities. The first was the recovery of unity to rebuild a strong and cohesive party. Likewise, in the words of Cristina Narbona (elected President of the party at the conclave), its convening "marked a milestone in the history of the PSOE to reconnect with citizens and deserve the trust that has been largely lost in recent years, setting out once again on the road to La Moncloa"[6].

On the other hand, the Second State Assembly of PODEMOS was held at the Palacio de Vistalegre in Madrid on 11th and 12th February 2017. As indicated by its organisers, the aim of the conclave was "to adapt our political orientation and our organisational model to the new situation, to better defend the interests of the social majority, to advance towards equality, to provide a channel for the active participation of the people in public affairs, to put an end to austerity policies, to achieve political democratisation, to oust the PP from the Moncloa and to build an alternative government at the service of our people"[7].

The party, created in 2014, had focused its efforts during its first years on the different electoral cycles (European, municipal, regional, and general), delaying decisions on political and organisational lines. The II Assembly was a turning point in terms of how to run the party from that moment onwards, and two opposing lines were identified, led by the Secretary General, Pablo Iglesias, and his Secretary for Politics, Íñigo Errejón[8]. Although the latter did not present a candidacy for the party leadership, he supported alternative political, organisational, and ethical documents to those of the ruling party. The results gave an advantage to Iglesias' proposals (more than 13% in all cases) over Errejón's.

3. Analysis

3.1. Physical and social contexts: communicative scenarios for "political leisure".

As Henri Lefebvre points out, spaces are never neutral, but political, cultural, economic, with signs and meanings (1969). Both the PSOE Congress and the Podemos Assembly took place in spaces with a communicative and symbolic purpose. In the case of the Socialist Party, the Palacio Municipal de

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[5] PSOE's highest body between party congresses
[6] At: http://www.psoe.es/actualidad/noticias-actualidad/cristina-narbona-somos-la-izquierda-y-queremos-que-se-nos-vea-asi/ [Consultado el 05/07/17]
[7] At: https://vistalegre2.podemos.info/la-asamblea/ [Consultado el 12/05/17]
[8] There was an "Anticapitalist" third way led by Teresa Rodríguez and Miguel Urban, which obtained 13% of the votes in the election of the Citizens' Council.

Congresos de Madrid was chosen, a venue for events that corresponded to the format of its conclave. In addition to the central structure, dominated by a large amphitheatre, there were more than 10 rooms with different capacities for holding meetings. For its part, Podemos held its assembly in the Palacio de Vistalegre, also in Madrid. The site, originally intended as a bullring, has been redefining its functions to become a multi-purpose space in which to hold sporting and leisure events (Image 1).

Image 1. General view of the Palacio Municipal de Congresos de Madrid and Palacio de Vistalegre during the PSOE and Podemos congresses.

Source: PSOE and Podemos flickr.com profiles: https://www.flickr.com/photos/psoe/ and https://www.flickr.com/photos/podemos [Accessed 15/05/17].

Both places project two different models of congress, endowing the selected spaces with symbolism. This feature can be defined as something inherent to the perception of spaces, where meaning can derive from physical-structural characteristics and functionality linked to social practices (Vidal and Pol, 2005: 286).

In the case of the PSOE, the Palacio de Congresos allowed for an event that mixed internal and external communication. Thus, the initial amphitheatre was used almost exclusively for the inauguration and the staging for the media. The rest of the Congress took place in the parallel rooms (and behind closed doors) where programmatic proposals and documents related to the party model were discussed by the delegates. The closing ceremony was held in a different but nearby venue (Feria de muestras de Madrid (IFEMA)), more favourable in terms of brand building for the new PSOE, surrounded by the militancy and not only by the delegates, and more effective in terms of television.

In the case of Podemos, the choice of Palacio de Vistalegre had two implications. The first of these had to do with the symbolic significance of the space. In 2014, the party's First Assembly was held in the same place after its emergence in the European Parliament elections with 7.98 % of the votes and 5 MEPs. Vistalegre I (the "Sí se puede" assembly) remained in the collective imagination of supporters as the party's constituent event, the formalisation of the illusion and the channelling of the movement's strength into a party. As a second consequence of the election of Vistalegre, the space forced a congress to be designed more as a mass spectacle, a "political leisure" event, than as a conventional assembly. Although the vote on the political documents had taken place in the previous weeks, which reduced the need for interaction, Vistalegre did not set aside any space (rooms, reserved areas...) to deliberate on the different

proposals or to encourage discussion among sympathisers. Everything was public, visible, and with a high degree of media coverage[9].

The two spaces, conceived as symbolic territories, in turn conditioned the social space. In the case of the PSOE, a large majority of the predominant human environment corresponded to the congress delegates who had been previously elected in different internal processes by the militancy and in each of the federations that make up the party. Alongside them were guests and observers who, although they could not take part in the binding debates behind closed doors, could remain in the congress space. This favoured a certain homogeneity of audiences.

In relation to Podemos, participants had gained access through an event ticketing website. Although Podemos voters are mostly in the 18-34 age bracket[10] , those attending the assembly stood out for being older (a trait shared with the Socialist Party).

One of the most relevant distinctions between the participants of both formations was their staging. In the case of Podemos activists, the use of resources in forms of protest (banners, T-shirts with party slogans) could be appreciated. This representative construction of the collective highlighted the party's close links with social movements, as well as the hybridisation of extra-parliamentary forms of action with more institutional modes.

3.2. Formal and informal interactions

The configuration of the physical space and the format of the two events determined the formal interactions that took place at both congresses. The functions pre-established by the organisers responded to the role of the delegates (in the case of the PSOE) and the attendees (in the case of Podemos). In the Socialist Party, the approval of its policy lines was settled through a commission format and the discussion of amendments to programmatic documents. The pre-established functions of the delegates included the possibility of arguing for the defence of the party's policy. The functions of the delegates included the possibility of arguing for the defence of the positions of the territories they represented, as well as the ability to vote on the documents.

In the case of Podemos, the formal interactions of the attendees were very limited. Although the event's programme advertised these acts as "advocacy", they were nothing more than a presentation on the stage of the auditorium without the possibility of replying or arguing, especially when a very high percentage of Podemos members had already voted for one of the options through the web page set up for this purpose (participa.podemos.info). In addition, the capacity to develop the argument was temporarily limited not only at the organisational level, but also through the staging itself, as a pianist located in the stage space itself interrupted the interventions by playing this instrument when they exceeded the 10-minute limit.

In a scenario of limited interaction, the stands became a space for action where, through expressiveness, the supporters of each of the different currents presenting proposals identified

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[9] An example of these two models of congresses was the election (and subsequent communication of the winners) of the General Secretaries. If in the case of the PSOE there had been a previous primary process and the conclave was conceived as an event for programmatic and political discussion and the ratification of the winner of the internal elections, Podemos decided to communicate the winners (of the political and organisational documents and of the General Secretariat) as the last activity of the congress. In this way it maintained the tension of the outcome until the end of the event, as well as the attention of attendees and the media.
[10] Source: Sociological Research Centre. Post-election survey January-March 2016.

themselves. As Marc Abèlés (2013) points out, in this type of political event everything revolves around the relationship established between the collective (whose task is to applaud, to shout names and slogans) and the officiants (whose duty is to constantly encourage popular enthusiasm). Thus, applause and interruptions with chanting were the only breaks that militants could make in the few possibilities of intervention that were contemplated. In this sense, the intervention of Miguel Urbán in the presentation of his candidacy "Podemos en Movimiento" deserves special attention. The speech of the representative of the anti-capitalist sector received one of the most vehement and prolonged ovations, even though his candidacy obtained 13.11 % of the points compared to 50.78 % for "Podemos Para Todas" (Pablo Iglesias) and 33.68 % for "Recuperar la Ilusión" (Íñigo Errejón). This shows that the political spectrum of those who attend the party's offline meetings does not necessarily correspond to the party's sympathisers or formation's electorate.

Beyond the formal interactions conditioned by the physical space and the official programmes of both congresses, both PSOE and Podemos attendees interacted informally, and without the restrictions of the organisation, in different spaces (stands and stalls from which they attended the speeches on stage, corridors, stairs, entrance hall, cafeterias...). In the case of Podemos, the site also had a picnic area where snacks and drinks (including alcoholic beverages) were sold, and where conversations were generated between groups of people who had come together to the meeting or who knew each other from previous events, especially from Vistalegre I. In the case of the PSOE, and favoured by the good weather, the bars around the congress venue were used as socialising and meeting points for delegates and congress attendees.

In these spaces, the conversations dealt with internal political issues, such as those related to the preferred candidacy, the development of the primaries, the perception of the interventions heard or the party's own situation in the general electoral context. They were not, however, confined to the political field, but also dealt with family, leisure, sporting, and other matters. This shows, therefore, the importance of socialising with other people who share the same ideology and political sympathies.

Corbetta (2010, p. 321) points out that these types of interactions are the most difficult to observe, but also the ones that provide the most information about the social reality under study. In addition to the formal deliberation agora and the staging (set up by the organisation around the stage and discussion rooms), areas of exchange and dialogue emerged with more participants as the events progressed. In relation to the informal conversations between the attendees, the common vocabulary used at both events to refer to the attendees was noteworthy: "*compañeros*" and "*compañeras*" was a recurrent appellative in both the PSOE and Podemos contexts, a sign of the ideological sphere and collective culture shared by both organisations.

As Barbara Kawulich points out, observation is conceived as a beneficial tool for producing studies that provide an accurate representation of a culture (Kawulich, 2005, p. 2). The informal interactions observed in these spaces described a more affective and festive culture of militancy than was evident in the formal events of the congresses. As opposed to disagreements, translated into applause and expressions of public support for one of the options presented or the speakers on stage, the informal spaces of interaction described a more open and reciprocal type of exchange.

3.3 Verbal interactions with participants

The projection of internal conflicts in both organisations was reflected in the evaluation of the participants at the congresses. On the first day of both conclaves, discussions focused almost exclusively on the difficulties and internal struggles of the previous months. While the tone of the arguments in the case of Podemos was much softer and personalised in the figure of the two opposing leaders (Pablo Iglesias and Íñigo Errejón), in the case of the PSOE the speeches were framed with warlike adjectives of conflict (fight, battle, struggle) and related to differentiated ideological and organisational approaches.

This feature, the internal confrontation as a preliminary step to the congresses, marked the staging and the profile of the participants. As one of the delegates from the Socialist Party Socialist Party delegate admitted: "here we are all those who won" or, in other words, this type of event gives visibility to internal majorities and serves to strengthen feelings of belonging and triumph. Collective identity in a political organisation is associated with symbolic and cultural issues that fix affiliation to a differentiated social group (Johnston, Laraña and Gusfield, 1997: 11). The PSOE and Podemos congresses were based on these notions, revitalising the commitment of the most active militants and strengthening the set of ideas on which the strategy was based through a communicative staging that was also projected outward (especially on television).

In this way two aspects were linked. Firstly, the participants felt that their leaders were giving back to them for their work as grassroots activists: "thanks to what we have done in the neighbourhoods and on the streets, they can speak there". On the other hand, this broad visibility of the majority favoured a very specific type of militant, polarised and clearly linked to the winning positions in the electoral processes of their parties. This militant-fan was in line with the staging of the congresses. The drama, on stages, with grandstands and large seating capacity, atmospheric music and careful lighting placed this type of event in line with the Americanisation of political communication in Spain. As some of the participants pointed out: "we had a great time", "I really enjoyed it". In short, the context of the mediatisation of politics implies its hybridisation with leisure and entertainment practices.

4. Conclusions

The main purpose of political party congresses is to define the functioning of the organisation (strategy, leaders...) in a given period. However, the process of framing ideas, discussing programmatic proposals, or electing organic positions in this type of event is also linked to the new dynamics of political communication: Americanisation, personalisation, staging and narratives of conflict, and practices linked to leisure and entertainment.

The choice of venues for the XXXIX Congress of the PSOE and the II Assembly of Podemos had a symbolic implication and a practical consequence. In the field of memory, both spaces represented an appeal to the history of the organisation (as important events for the party had taken place there) and at the same time a continuity. In the same way, both spaces forced the congresses to be designed as communicative and mass consumption events. Although there were differences in the role of the participants (more active and decisive in the case of the PSOE and more passive and testimonial in the case of Podemos), the staging of the event was more outwardly visible than the role of spectators behind closed doors.

In this way, the expressiveness of the sympathisers was limited to the rules of a spectacle in which the interactions between the participants were established through the staging and the political dramaturgy designed by the leadership. As a counterpoint, the transit areas, staircases, and entrances to the two venues, as well as the different cafeterias, were set-up as informal environments for contact between the attendees. These interactions, which were less emotionally-filled and less intense than those that took place in the main spaces of the assemblies, showed features of broader deliberation and dialogue. The discursive exchange between participants in these spaces, despite their different profiles, backgrounds and positions, was based on sharing experiences of militancy and memories of belonging to the organisation.

In short, the congressional processes of PSOE and Podemos developed a staging that was more communicative than internally organised, following the dramaturgy of the mediatisation of politics.

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