"I'M WITH HER" OR "WE'RE WITH HER"? PERSONAL VERSUS GROUP LEADER-BASED IDENTITIES AND TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

¿"Estoy con ella" o "estamos con ella"? Identidad personal o colectiva en torno a líderes y tipos de participación política

"Estou com ela" ou "estamos com ela"? Identidade pessoal ou coletiva em torno de líderes e tipos de participação política

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Abstract

In a region where personalistic politics and charismatic leaders have long been a characteristic of the political landscape, there has been little research exploring the relationship between individuals' identification with leaders and its relationship with political participation. Using original survey data from Argentina in 2016, the findings from this study demonstrate a few key points. Firstly, that identities form around political leaders and that identification plays an important role in political participation. Secondly, while personal identification with a leader is related with atomized and collective participation, the relationship between collective identification that is shared with other supporters of the political leader and both types of participation is even stronger. Additionally, these identification measures are more strongly associated with political action in support of a leader than frequently used variables such as partisan identification and ideology. This suggests that the study of political participation, especially in those contexts with more personalized political systems such as are often found in Latin America, should not ignore the role of personal and especially group leader-based identity.

Palabras clave:
participación política; identidad de grupo; identidad personal; personalismo; Argentina

Resumen

En una región donde la política personalista y los líderes carismáticos han sido durante mucho tiempo una característica del panorama político, ha habido poca investigación que explore la relación entre la identificación de los individuos con los líderes y su relación con la participación política. Utilizando datos de encuestas originales de Argentina en 2016, los hallazgos de este estudio demuestran algunos puntos clave. En primer lugar, que hay identidades que se forman y se comparten con otros ciudadanos alrededor de los líderes políticos y que las mismas juegan un papel importante en la participación política. En segundo lugar, si bien la identificación personal con un líder se relaciona con la participación atomizada y colectiva, la relación entre la identificación colectiva en torno a los líderes y ambos tipos de participación es aún más fuerte. Además, estas medidas de identificación están más fuertemente asociadas con la acción política en apoyo de un líder que otras variables frecuentemente utilizadas en la literatura, como la identificación partidista y la ideología. Esto sugiere que el estudio de la participación política, especialmente en aquellos contextos con sistemas políticos más personalizados como los que se encuentran a menudo en América Latina, no debe ignorar el papel de la identidad personal y especialmente colectiva que se forman en torno a los líderes.

Palavras-chave:
participação política; identidade de grupo; identidade pessoal; personalismo; Argentina

Resumo

Em uma região onde a política personalista e os líderes carismáticos são há muito uma característica do cenário político, existem poucas pesquisas explorando a relação entre a identificação dos indivíduos com os líderes e sua relação com a participação política. Usando dados de pesquisa originais da Argentina em 2016, os resultados deste estudo demonstram alguns pontos chave. Primeiro, que existem identidades que são formadas e compartilhadas com outros cidadãos em torno de líderes políticos e que eles desempenham um papel importante na participação política. Em segundo lugar, enquanto a identificação pessoal com um líder está relacionada à participação atomizada e coletiva, a relação entre a identificação coletiva em torno dos líderes e os dois tipos de participação é ainda mais forte. Além disso, essas medidas de identificação estão mais fortemente associadas à ação política de apoio a um líder do que outras variáveis frequentemente utilizadas na literatura, como identificação partidária e ideologia. Isso sugere que o estudo da participação política, especialmente naqueles contextos com sistemas políticos mais personalizados, como os frequentemente encontrados na América Latina, não deve ignorar o papel da identidade pessoal e especialmente coletiva que se forma em torno dos líderes.

INTRODUCTION

in recent decades, scholars have identified the «personalization» of politics in democratic systems, or a change in how politics is organized away from collectivities and towards individual candidates and leaders (Karvonen 2010; van Aelst *et al.* 2012). Others describe it as the relative increase in visibility and power of individual leaders (Garzia 2011; McAllister 2007; Rahat & Sheafer 2007).

This is generally seen to be the result of various interconnected processes: the changing nature of political parties (Carty 2013; Garzia 2011; Ignazi 2020) and the weakening of traditional linkages between voters and parties (Dalton & Wattenberg 2000; Mair 2005), and changes in the media, beginning first with the rise of television as an important source of political information (Garzia *et al.* 2018; Mazzoleni 2000; Meyrowitz 1985) and followed by the widespread use of social media as a means for politicians to communicate directly with voters (Grant *et al.* 2010; Gulati & Williams 2010; Larsson, 2014). The concurrent trends of decreasing partisan identification and the erosion of cleavage voting (Chiaramonte & Emanuele 2017; van der Eijk & Franklin 2009) together with technological development, opens up more space for short-term factors, namely, the evaluation of leaders, to influence vote choice (Garzia *et al.* 2018). Additionally, recent literature has noted that societal transformations have created a trend of «individualization» in collective action, marked by a decline in the relevance of group identity in mobilization (Bennett 2012). These changing dynamics have renewed dialogue in political science regarding how individuals think about and engage in politics. Do the identities that have traditionally served as mobilizing factors, such as partisan identification, still have the same relationship with political participation as they once did? Or should we be looking to new type of identification – one based around political leaders?

Especially in the Latin American context where charismatic, personalistic leadership and populism are common, we argue that leader-based identification, both personal and group, may be extremely important in our examination of citizen political engagement. This paper will show that group leader-based identity not only matters, but is more strongly related with some types of political participation than partisanship or ideology. This suggests that for those politicians that are successful in cultivating a sense of leader-based identity amongst their supporters that sense of shared identity may be an important factor in individual's likelihood to mobilize in support of that leader and engage in a variety of political actions, both collective and atomized.

Through a systematic analysis of original survey data from Argentina in 2016, this article will demonstrate three key points. Firstly, that identities do form around political leaders and that identification is strongly related with political participation. Secondly, while there is a relationship between personal identification with a leader and forms of atomized and collective participation, group identification that is shared with other supporters of the political leader is even more strongly related to both types of political action. Thirdly, that leader-based identification is even more strongly associated with political participation than other forms of political identification, such as partisanship and ideology. This suggests that, especially in those contexts with more personalized political systems such as are often found in Latin America, the attachment individuals can feel towards political leaders and

other supporters may be extremely relevant in understanding whether people participate in politics and in what forms.

The Argentine case provides an excellent context in which to study the effects of leader identification, as it is emblematic of a context of personalized politics. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner had been the President of Argentina for the eight years prior to the implementation of this survey. Her policies were often seen as a continuation of her husband's, Nestor Kirchner, who was President before her from 2003 to 2007. The Kirchner brand, therefore, developed over more than a decade, beginning in 2003, and consolidated in the personalistic Front for Victory (*Frente para la Victoria*) party. Their group of followers became known as the «Kirchneristas», further demonstrating the personalized relationship between the leaders and their supporters.

LEADER-BASED PERSONAL AND GROUP IDENTITIES

Much attention has been given in recent decades to the role that identity plays in political behavior. While a wealth of studies exist on the political consequences of identities based around gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or partisanship, little explores the effects of leader-based identities on political behavior. With the increased personalization of politics, political leaders can play a particularly important role in mobilizing citizens and garnering support (Garzia 2013). In some cases, this can even lead to the formation of identities around a particular leader. Given that people readily form identities around political parties and ideologies (Green, Palmquist & Schickler 2002; Huddy *et al.* 2015), it is likely that they also develop group identities as supporters of certain political leaders, attachments which can even be stronger and have greater behavioral and attitudinal consequences than partisan identities (Druckman & Levendusky 2019; Garzia 2017).

In Latin America, there is a wealth of literature on different factors that help to explain political participation including those on the structural conditions, individual-level factors, and the combination of the two (for example: Booth & Seligson 2009; Collier & Handlin 2009; Dunning 2009; Hawkins 2010; Moseley 2015; Moseley 2018; Piñeiro *et al.* 2016; Valenzuela *et al.* 2016), but we argue that leader-based identification is one individual-level factor that has largely been omitted from this conversation or conflated with other factors.

Given that charismatic leadership and populism are relatively commonplace in many political systems in Latin America, the connection between leaders and their followers may be extremely important in our examination of political participation in the region, particularly in the countries with more personalistic leaders. While the presence of personalistic leaders has long been an important characteristic of politics in many Latin American countries, in recent decades political leaders,

particularly presidents, have been at the forefront of the political arena and even threatened the integrity of checks and balances in democratic systems. These leaders rely on extremely durable bonds between themselves and their followers, resulting in a strong base of supporters that engage in political action to defend the leader.

Although there are many explanations, both structural and behavioral that can help us to understand the durability of these leader-follower relationships, there is one that has been underexplored – the psychological attachment individuals have with leaders and with other followers of that leader. We argue that these identities should be considered separate from partisan identification and, as our findings will demonstrate, are likely more useful in understanding participation in support of leaders. The party systems in various Latin American countries are fragmented and characterized by instability; parties appear one election and may disappear by the next (Coppedge 1998; Kitschelt *et al.* 2010; Mainwaring & Torcal 2006; Torcal 2015). Additionally, some of these parties are personalistic parties which may be primarily characterized by their affiliation with a specific political leader (Rhodes-Purdy & Madrid 2020; West 2020).

It is first helpful to outline what is meant by personal and group identity. Simon's classic definition describes identity as a place in society (1998). Often, those that come to mind first are related to sociodemographic or occupational roles such as being a woman, a farmer, a parent, or belonging to a racial or ethnic group, or socioeconomic class. All these roles and places to which a person categorizes him or herself form that individual's personal identity. Personal identities are psychological attachments to a group that become part of one's self-concept (Tajfel 1981); they play a key role in political behavior, affecting attitudes and mobilizing people to participate (Conover 1984, 1988; Hetherington 2009; Hetherington *et al.* 2016; Huddy 2003; Iyengar *et al.* 2019; McCoy *et al.* 2018; Tate 1993). When one of those personal categorizations is shared with other individuals, it becomes a shared space and thus a group identity (Klandermans 2003, 682). Group identity is distinct from personal identity, but rather than acting in isolation two rather mutually reinforcing (Poletta & Jasper 2001).

When thinking about leader-based identification, it is therefore possible to imagine two types of identity. The first is that of personal identity, which is the self-categorization into certain groups. When the individual perceives of that identity as shared with others, it becomes a collective or group identity (Abrams & Hogg 1990; Abrams & Hogg 2001; Hogg *et al.* 2004; Klandermans 2003). Identifying as a member of the group of the leader's supporters causes individuals to form attitudes that promote a positive image of their in-group of fellow identifiers (Conover 1988; Huddy 2003; Iyengar *et al.* 2012; Iyengar and Westwood 2015; Iyengar *et al.* 2019). The 'us' versus 'them' distinction strengthens an individual's evaluations and emotions toward the group and its members, resulting in a higher willingness

and likelihood to defend the group (McCoy *et al*. 2018). Those that share the identification are more likely to actively support the group through various forms of political participation (Berry *et al*. 2019; Klandermans & De Weerd 2000; Ocampo *et al*. 2018; Sanchez & Vargas 2016; Tajfel 1978; Turner 1999). Thus, two types of connections develop and fuel identification with a leader: a personal identification an individual feels toward the leader, and a social connection with others, where the common bond of supporting a leader gives them the basis for a shared group identity.

LEADER-BASED IDENTITIES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

While personal and group identities are indisputably linked and reinforce one another, they can influence behavior in different ways. Self-categorization theory maintains that a person may act individually in line with their personal identity or may act as a member of a group, corresponding to one of their various group identities (Abrams & Hogg 1990; Abrams & Hogg 2006; Trepte & Loy 2017; Turner *et al*. 1987; Turner 1999). Whether an individual's group identity is triggered and becomes salient depends on a variety of contextual and individual factors, as well as the strength of the identity itself (Huddy 2001). While acknowledging that participation and identity are very likely mutually reinforcing, this paper seeks to assess whether the strength of leader-based identities, both personal and group, correspond with a greater likelihood to participate in different types of political action and how that relationship compares to that of participation and other mobilizing factors, such as partisanship and ideology.

There are many ways to categorize political participation based on the target, strategy, cost, and other characteristics. The typology we adopt here distinguishes between collective and atomized participation. Collective modes of participation are enacted with multiple individuals, therefore requiring more coordination, such as attending a protest, demonstration, or rally. Social movement scholars have often pointed to identity as a means of off-setting some of the costs of participation, noting that although both personal and group identity positively correlate with willingness to participate in various political actions, group identity is particularly important for collective actions such as protest and strikes (de Weerd & Klandermans 1999; della Porta & Diani 2006; Turner 1999; van Zomeren *et al*. 2008). More specifically, identification with fellow participants and the group they represent has been shown to increase the cost of defection and the benefits of cooperation as well as to increase likelihood of participation (Ferrer *et al*. 2006; Teorell *et al*. 2007). Group identity depends on identification with other group members, not just on self-categorization. It involves solidarity and commitment to the group, which has different implications on its effects on collective political participation.

Other modes of political participation, however, are atomized, or enacted individually as opposed to with others, making them theoretically more dependent on a solitary individual's decisions and resources (Ferrer *et al.* 2006; Teorell *et al.* 2007). Thus, atomized participation does not rely so heavily on coordination and cooperation, as they are actions taken individually rather than collectively and should therefore not be dependent on group identification. In the context of this paper, if an individual identifies with Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, they should be more likely to engage in solitary political actions that would help to support her, but we have no reason to believe that those atomized actions would be dependent on group identification. The hypotheses we will test in regard to the relationship between leader-based identification on atomized participation are:

H_{1a}: *Personal leader-based identification is positively related with atomized participation.*
H_{1b}: *Group leader-based identification is not related with atomized participation.*

As one of the primary ways leaders increasingly form direct ties with citizens is through online platforms (Grant *et al.* 2010; Gulati & Williams 2010; Larsson 2014), we choose to use online participation in the form of commenting, liking, or searching for information on the Internet as one of the atomized forms of political participation we examine.[1] We also look at individuals' propensity to listen to a speech by Kirchner as an additional form of atomized participation.

There is reason to believe that group identity does not have the same relationship to participation as personal identification, as recent developments in society may have brought about changes to identities and their relationship to the political arena. In previous decades, group identities formed around traditional cleavages constituted a prime factor for explaining political mobilization (Lipset & Rokkan 1967; Bartolini & Mair 1990). Recently, however, some scholars have identified a decline in the relevance of group identity for certain types of political participation, identifying a trend that «individuals are isolated... in a fashion that inhibits their ability to act in common with each other» (Carty 2013, p. 19). In his examination of the role of political parties in these changes, Ignazi argued that «reforms introduced by many political parties have produced more atomization rather than sociability, more verticalization and concentration of power rather than participation and involvement» (2020: 12-13). From this literature, we should expect group identification to matter less in all types of participation than more individualistic

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1. While it is possible to conceive of online participation as a collective action if these actions lead to interactions with other individuals online, the actions we include are limited to those done with no face-to-face contact and that require little to no coordination between individuals, making it much more in line with an atomized form of participation.

personal identity. In regard to leader-based identities, this would suggest that the personal identification an individual feels toward the leader would be positively related with both atomized and collective participation, but that such as relationship between group identification with other supporters of the leader and participation would be minimal at best.

We believe, however, that group identification is likely still strongly linked with collective participation. Especially in the Latin American context, we have seen groups of people that seem to share a common identity as leaders' supporters, such as the 'Chavistas' in Venezuela (García-Guadilla & Mallen 2019; Ramírez 2005). We argue that group leader-based identification, or in this case identifying as a member of the group of supporters known as 'Kirchneristas', should be positively related with an individual's likelihood to engage in collective political behavior. By identifying as a member of this group that supports the leader, it creates group consciousness, a shared conception of shared fate, and greater in-group evaluation that minimizes the costs associated with higher-cost collective participation (Hirsch 1990; Huddy 2001; Klandermans 2000; Simon *et al.* 1998), such as attending a political rally or mobilization in support of the leader. We therefore put forth the following two hypotheses on the relationship between identity and collective participation:

H_{2a}: *Personal leader-based identification is positively related with collective participation.*
H_{2b}: *Group leader-based identification is positively related with collective participation.*

DATA AND VARIABLE OPERATIONALIZATION

The data used are from an original online survey of respondents in Argentina and was conducted in September of 2016.[2] Through the use of quotas the survey sample is an accurate representation of the general population on relevant socioeconomic variables, such as income, education, locality, age, and gender.[3] In no other dataset, to our knowledge, does such an extensive battery of different questions on the identification with a specific political leader exist, providing us with unique data to assess the role of both types of leader-based identification on political participation.

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2. Data obtained from a survey was administered by Netquest, and designed by Dr. Mariano Torcal of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Emily Carty of the University of Salamanca.
3. Some summary statistics on the characteristics of respondents in the sample can be found in Appendix tables 1 and 2.

The dependent variables to be examined are participation in rallies, protests or manifestations, listening to a speech, and online participation, all in support of a leader–in this case, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. We consider participation that is specifically in support of a particular leader an important variable to examine, especially in a case with greater personalization of politics. In highly personalized political contexts, participation is often in support of a leader as opposed to their political party. By limiting our examination to leader-based participation, we can help to answer the question – are individuals actively supporting that politician because they are the leader of the party with which they identify, or is it more associated with leader-based identification?[4] Participation in manifestations or rallies is a relatively high-cost political action, requiring a significant amount of time and effort on behalf of the participant. More importantly for this study, it is a collective activity in which one participates alongside other individuals. Online participation and listening to speeches by the leader, on the other hand, are forms of atomized participation that are done alone and anonymously. They are also lower cost, as the participant can engage in these types of behaviors anytime and anywhere, including from home.

To measure an individual's participation in collective participation, we use responses to the question «*In the last 12 months, have you attended a meeting, rally, or protest in support of or in opposition to Cristina Fernández de Kirchner*» and then recoded those that engaged in these actions in opposition to Kirchner as a '0'. The atomized participation items were measured using similarly worded questions: «*In the last 12 months, have you followed, searched for, 'liked' or otherwise interacted with online information about Cristina Fernández de Kirchner?*» and «*In the last 12 months, have you listened to a speech by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner on the television, radio, or internet?*».[5] Because we are interested in pro-leader behaviors, as with the collective participation coding, for the online participation item those who indicated that the majority of the sites or users they engaged with were opposed to Kirchner were recoded as a '0'.[6] The frequency distributions in percentage of respondents for each of these participation variables are displayed below in Table 1.

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4.   While we believe this approach is theoretically advantageous, we are unable to extend the analysis to include participation in support of other entities such as political parties due to data availability limitations. As this was a rather short survey, it only included questions on leader-based participation and not participation in reference to other entities or more generally.

5.   As this survey was conducted using an online panel, all respondents had at least some access to internet.

6.   In the survey, the question regarding the frequency of online and collective activities were followed by a question asking the respondent if those actions were generally in favor of or against Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Those who responded that their actions were generally against Kirchner were recoded as not having participated in the pro-leader behavior.

Table 1. Frequency with which respondents participated in various political actions (in percent of respondents)

	Online Actions	Listened to a Speech	Attended a Meeting or Rally
Not in the last 12 months	63.31	38.55	93.98
Once every couple of months	2.85	20.04	2.63
Once a month	3.72	16.98	1.75
Two or more times per month	7.12	9.75	0.55
Once a week	8.65	7.56	0.77
Two or more times per week	14.35	7.12	0.33

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Because of the different distributions these variables take on, we have to adjust our modeling strategy for each. The distribution for participation in a rally or protest most closely resembles a zero-inflated Poisson distribution, where a large number of responses are '0's, indicating they have not participated in a protest or rally in the last 12 months, followed by a decreasing percentage of respondents in each subsequent response category. As such, we employ a zero-inflated Poisson model for our statistical analysis, where the '0' responses are predicted by a set of variables using a logit model and the remaining responses (1-4) are predicted by a different set of variables with a Poisson model.[7] Our other dependent variables, the frequency of online participation and listening to a speech, display a different distribution, with a high proportion of '0's and with the non-zero responses more common as the value increases. This distribution is therefore not a normal distribution, nor is it a Poisson; we therefore recoded these variables as dichotomous where '1' included any non-zero frequency of participation and employed a logit model, as it does not oblige us to make false assumptions as to the distribution of the data.

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7.   In the inflated Poisson analysis, the independent variables are divided between the inflated or binomial model and the Poisson portion of the model. As the inflated model predicts the 0's, we include most of the control variables including an additional partisanship variable. While in the Poisson portion we include a dummy variable measuring whether or not the respondent identifies with the Peronist party to measure the partisan identification, in the binomial portion we include a dummy that is coded '1' if the respondent identifies with any political party. We include this second partisanship variable in order to account for the effect that any party may have in mobilizing an individual to participate in collective action in the inflated portion of the analysis. We ran the models with the general partisanship dummy removed from the binomial inflated model and the results did not change in a significant way.

Our key independent variables of interest are personal and group leader-based identification. *Personal leader-based identification* is measured as an additive index of agreement with two statements that tap into the individual's connection with the leader: «*I identify with Cristina Fernández de Kirchner*» and «*Cristina Fernández de Kirchner shares my beliefs and convictions*».[8] *Group leader-based identification* is measured as an additive index of agreement with three statements: «*Being a supporter of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner says a lot about me to other people*», «*I generally use 'us' instead of 'they' when I talk about the Kirchneristas*», and «*I prefer to be around Kirchneristas*».[9] All questions used to compose these measures ask explicitly about the leader and make no reference to the political party of ideological group with which she is affiliated nor any other contextual information besides the leader's first and last names.[10]

Other variables are included in the models to control for other potential sources of identification. Variables controlling for gender (*female*), *age*, level of *education*, *income*, *political interest*, and *internal* and *external efficacy* are also included (see appendix for full question wording). To test the relationship with partisanship we include dummy variables for identification with the traditional Peronist or 'Justicialista' Party, for which both Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and her husband were affiliated.[11] There is much debate as to whether or not ideological self-placement is well-distinguished among average citizens in Latin America (see, for example, Kitschelt *et al.* 2010; Zechmeister & Corral 2013).[12] However, as Kirchner has been identified by many as a more leftist President, we include *ideology* in both of the models to control for the relationship between ideological identification and political participation. All variables have been standardized to 0-1 to faciliatate the comparison of coefficients.

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8.   α = 0.950.

9.   α = 0.803.

10.   Although the two measures of personal and group identification are rather highly correlated, factor analysis confirms a two-factor solution. In order to minimize multicollinearity in the models to the greatest extent possible, the respondent's evaluation of government performance was omitted from the models, as it is also highly correlated with these measures. Further details and results of the factor analysis can be found in the appendix.

11.   We did not include a dummy for identification with the smaller, personalistic *Frente para la Victoria* party, as it was created by the Kirchners and as such is also very highly correlated with the leader identification variables. Both Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and her husband were consistently the official presidential candidates the Peronist party which predates the Kirchners time in office.

12.   Indeed, over 10% of respondents in our sample said they did not know or chose not to answer the standard self-placement ideology question in our survey.

RESULTS

Atomized Participation

To examine atomized participation, we ran three logit models for each of the two dependent variables. In addition to the control variables, the first model includes only personal leader-based identity, the second contains only group leader-based identity, and the third includes both identity measures. The results of these models are displayed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Comparing the Relationship between Personal and Group Leader-Based Identities with Atomized Participation

	Online Participation			Listen to a Speech		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Personal leader-based identification	2.035***		0.806+	1.700***		0.673
	(0.279)		(0.413)	(0.318)		(0.429)
Group leader-based identification		2.984***	2.213***		2.801***	2.149**
		(0.405)	(0.558)		(0.530)	(0.668)
Ideology	-0.042	-0.137	0.005	-0.103	-0.208	-0.090
	(0.393)	(0.391)	(0.398)	(0.392)	(0.386)	(0.394)
Political interest	1.968***	1.721***	1.781***	1.395***	1.219***	1.262***
	(0.381)	(0.382)	(0.385)	(0.363)	(0.363)	(0.365)
Internal efficacy	0.388	0.400	0.353	-0.158	-0.127	-0.168
	(0.394)	(0.392)	(0.395)	(0.376)	(0.374)	(0.376)
External efficacy	-0.540	-0.513	-0.519	-0.177	-0.127	-0.144
	(0.346)	(0.348)	(0.349)	(0.343)	(0.343)	(0.344)
Age	-0.694+	-0.792*	-0.766*	-0.849*	-0.913**	-0.893*
	(0.355)	(0.360)	(0.360)	(0.351)	(0.352)	(0.353)

	Online Participation			Listen to a Speech		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Income	0.057	0.027	0.026	0.372	0.377	0.372
	(0.327)	(0.330)	(0.331)	(0.322)	(0.324)	(0.324)
Education	0.070	0.260	0.216	1.346**	1.469***	1.446***
	(0.442)	(0.446)	(0.447)	(0.426)	(0.428)	(0.428)
Peronist partisanship	-0.192	-0.094	-0.183	-0.363	-0.299	-0.376
	(0.288)	(0.294)	(0.298)	(0.301)	(0.303)	(0.308)
Female	0.080	0.078	0.080	0.392*	0.394*	0.394*
	(0.172)	(0.173)	(0.174)	(0.169)	(0.170)	(0.170)
Constant	-2.030***	-1.787***	-1.930***	-1.127*	-0.969*	-1.079*
	(0.472)	(0.468)	(0.476)	(0.443)	(0.437)	(0.444)
N	790	790	790	790	790	790
McFadden's Pseudo R^2	0.132	0.145	0.149	0.090	0.099	0.102

Logit models with standard errors in parentheses.
*+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001*
Source: Author's own elaboration.

The two variables that appear important across all models are identity (either personal or group, depending on the model) and political interest. Education is positively related with listening to a speech, but not online participation and Peronist partisan identification is not statistically significant in any of the models. When we compare across models for both online participation and listening to a speech by the leader, we can see that the coefficients for both personal and group identity are statistically significant, but group identification is both more statistically significant and the coefficient is greater. For both dependent variables, the Pseudo R^2 is highest in the model that includes both identity measures, followed by the model with only group identification, demonstrating that group identification has at least a slightly stronger relationship with atomized participation. We therefore find support for hypothesis H_{1a} that personal leader-based identity is positively related with atomized participation, but we do not find support for hypothesis H_{1b}, as

the results show that there is a positive relationship between group identity and both forms of atomized participation as well.

In order to more closely explore the relationship between group identity and atomized participation, Figures 1 and 2 below display the probability of engaging in one or more of the atomized participatory actions across values of group identity. A clear pattern emerges that is similar in both figures. The probability of engaging in online participation and listening to one of Kirchner's speeches increases as group identification increases. Those at the highest level of group identification having a probability of 0.924 of listening to one or more speeches by Kirchner, compared to those with no collective identification at 0.613. The difference is even more striking for online participation, where the probability for the highest identifiers is 0.801, compared to 0.341 for the non-identifiers.

Figure 1. Probability of Internet Participation across Personal and Group Identity
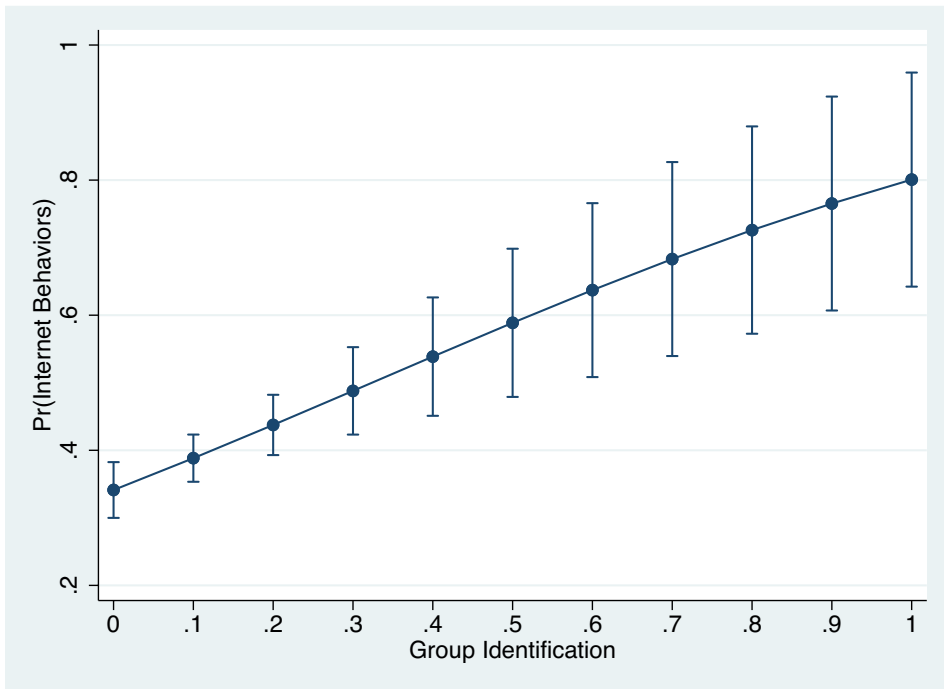
Source: Author's own elaboration.

**Figure 2. Probability of Listening to a Speech across Personal
and Group Identity**
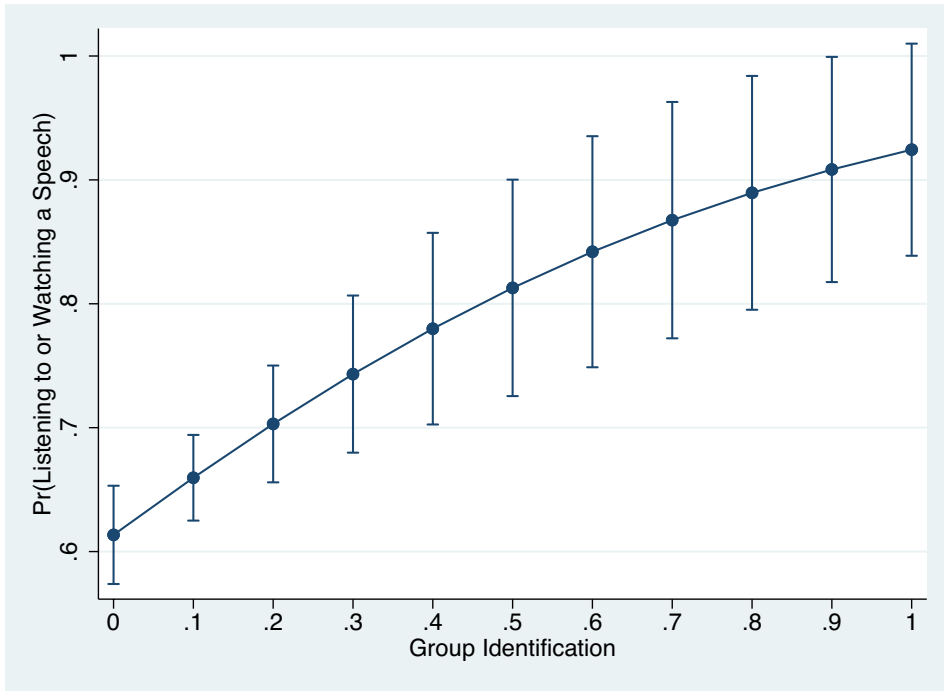
Source: Author's own elaboration.

Collective participation

We turn now to the relationship between leader-based identity and collective behavior. As mentioned above, due to the distribution of the dependent variable, in order to test how personal and group identification are related to the probability of collective participation in the form of attending rallies or mobilizations in favor of a leader, we first employed a zero-inflated Poisson model, the results of which are displayed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Comparing the Relationship between Personal and Group Leader-Based Identities with Collective Participation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Poisson Model			
Personal leader-based identification	0.944**		-0.410
	(0.349)		(0.701)
Group leader-based identification		1.224***	1.601*
		(0.368)	(0.742)
Peronist partisanship	0.537*	0.393	0.360
	(0.252)	(0.256)	(0.259)
Ideology	0.978+	1.182*	1.165*
	(0.552)	(0.560)	(0.563)
Constant	-0.594	-0.818*	-0.779+
	(0.403)	(0.401)	(0.407)
Inflate (negative binomial) Model			
Political interest	-2.196**	-2.233**	-2.233**
	(0.830)	(0.845)	(0.846)
Internal efficacy	-1.309	-1.337	-1.359
	(0.925)	(0.941)	(0.943)
External efficacy	-0.607	-0.566	-0.544
	(0.631)	(0.651)	(0.655)
Age	0.436	0.492	0.522
	(0.696)	(0.711)	(0.716)
Income	0.913	0.956	0.952
	(0.647)	(0.659)	(0.659)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Education	-2.381*	-2.534*	-2.568**
	(0.960)	(0.991)	(0.997)
Party identification (general)	-0.795*	-0.796*	-0.810*
	(0.383)	(0.389)	(0.390)
Female	0.446	0.479	0.491
	(0.343)	(0.352)	(0.354)
Constant	6.501***	6.469***	6.479***
	(1.017)	(1.035)	(1.038)
N	790	790	790
Non-zero N	54	54	54
Deviance R^2	0.160	0.170	0.171
AIC	508.971	504.909	506.575

Zero-inflated Poisson model with standard errors in parentheses.
*+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001*
Source: Author's own elaboration.

As one might expect, level of political interest seems very important, both in regard to the size and statistical significance of the coefficient, in explaining the '0' responses, with education having a significant relationship as well. For the purposes of this paper, however, the results of the Poisson model to see the factors related to different non-zero responses are of particular interest. As with the previous analyses, we ran three separate models to obtain the coefficients for personal and group identity without the other, as well as the two identity measures together. Here we can see that our expectations have been met in the sense that identifying as part of the «Kirchnerista» group is strongly related with attending a mobilization or rally in support of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Model 1 shows that when group identity is omitted from the model, personal identity is weakly significant at the $p<0.01$ level and the coefficient is only slightly larger than that of Peronist partisan identification. In comparison, when group identification is included in Models

2 and 3, the size of the coefficient and its statistical significance is greater than that of partisanship and comparable to that of ideology.

When we examine the pseudo R^2 across the three models, Model 3 with both identity measures performs the best, followed by Model 2 with only group identity. We can tentatively say, therefore, that group identity is strongly related to collective participation, while the results for personal identity are somewhat weaker. To get a deeper look into the relationship between group identity and collective action, we conducted an analysis of the predicted probabilities. Because it is difficult to interpret the marginal effects produced by the zero-inflated models, we recoded the collective participation variable to dichotomous in which the respondent either participated in collective action or did not, and ran the analysis again as a logit model (the results of which are available in the Appendix) and calculated the predicted probabilities and the results are displayed in Figure 3 below. As can be seen in the figure, the increase in the predicted probability of attending one or more collective participation events increases across levels of group identification.

Figure 3. Predicted Probability of Attending One or More Rally or Mobilization
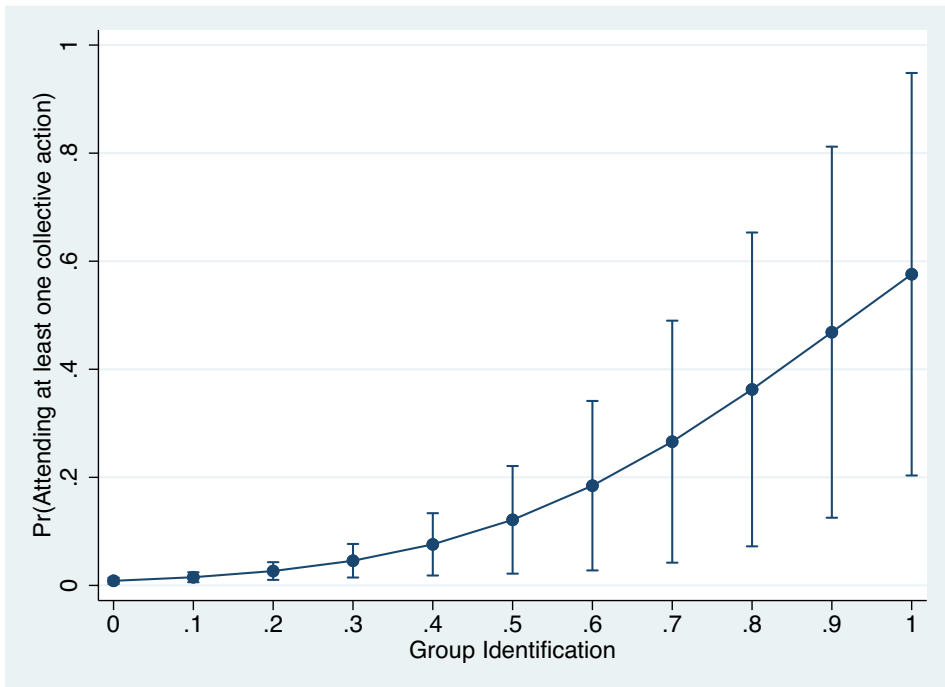
Source: Author's own elaboration.

From this figure, it is clear that we find support for hypothesis H_{2b} and somewhat for H_{2a}. As this type of political participation is rather rare, the predicted probabilities are low in general, but we can see, however, a very slight increase in the predicted probability across levels of personal identity and a very marked increase across levels of group identification. An individual with high levels of group identity reaches the highest predicted probability regardless of their levels of personal identification. An individual with high levels of personal identification but does not identify with other Kirchneristas is very unlikely to participate in one of the collective behavioral actions. Group identity, therefore plays a particularly important role in collective participation, more so than personal identification—a pattern that diverges from atomized participation where we saw that both personal and group identity both played significant roles.

CONCLUSION

Latin American politics has long been punctuated by the presence of personalistic leaders who seem to attract large followings who participate in politics to support them. The findings from these two analyses demonstrate that leader-based identities do have an important impact on political participation. While we found evidence that both personal and group leader-based identities are positively related with engaging in political participation, group identification appears to have a stronger relationship than personal identification or partisan identification. Contrary to our expectations, this is true not only for collective participation, but for atomized participation as well. This suggests that personalistic leaders benefit from not only connecting with voters more personally in a one-on-one type of relationship, but also by creating a community of individuals who form a group identity around their shared support for that leader. In Latin America we see this quite often, with historical examples such as Chávez or Perón, and more recent examples like Morales or Kirchner. Because group identity tends to divide people into 'us' vs. 'them', this tendency for group identity to influence political participation is important, especially in a region where political figures have polarized society and, in some cases, undermined the safeguards of the democratic system.

We see time and time again in politics where a leader has a group of followers that is so loyal it seems their attachment to the leader will never fade. While the importance of leaders' personal traits would seem obvious in cases with long histories of pervasive personalization of the political system like the one examined in this study, we believe these findings are likely generalizable, even if not to the extreme seen here, to less personalistic cases. While in well-established, more party-centric democracies particular leaders may have emerged in times of crisis and gained personalistic notoriety, such as Mitterrand or Churchill, leaders in today's

world have more tools at their disposal through modern technology such as television, internet, and social media, to broadcast their brand and make more personal connections with voters. Leaders like Matteo Salvini or Donald Trump, for example, through their use of social media and television, were able to connect with people in a way that has kept their core supporters loyal despite widespread criticism and multiple gaffs, missteps, and indiscretions that came to light throughout their campaigns and mandates. In the face of domestic turmoil and mounting opposition, Teresa May and Emmanuel Macron used Twitter to reach citizens in an attempt to promote their agendas. With an ever-increasing number of politicians using social media to communicate directly with citizens, we are experiencing a new age where it is possible that partisanship and ideology may become overshadowed by leaders and voters' perceived closeness to them. Especially in today's political context in which concerns about populism and personalism in mobilizing citizens to action extend beyond the historically personalistic cases, the identification that individuals have with leaders and other supporters may be more important than ever.

The findings of this study raise various questions to address in future research. The analyses above are based upon data on an established politician in a case study with a long history of personalistic politics. Whether or not the conclusions drawn from this study will hold in other contexts and over time. Particularly, how personalistic does a leader need to be in order for group identity to form? Can politicians with a shorter track record achieve this or does it require being in office? Does this happen primarily with presidents, or does this happen at more local-level politics as well? These questions extend beyond the scope of the current paper, but hold particular relevance for the Latin American region. We also recognize that the data used in this study do not allow us to disentangle the endogeneity that undoubtedly exist in the relationship between participation and leader-based identification. To do so would require a different type of data and design, such as with an experiment or a longitudinal panel. While we were unable to address this in the analyses above, we believe that this is an important next step in the study of leader-based identities and its behavioral consequences.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: General Sample Design of the Survey

Universe: General population over 18 years of age.

Size: 900 interviews

Field work: Conducted through the Netquest online panel. The panelist receives an invitation via email and responds to the survey in a self-manages way, without an interviewer to guide them. We ensure the quality of the responses with two mechanisms:
– A «trick» question that allows checking that the respondent is paying attention
– Those participants who answer the survey in too short a time in relation to the duration of the survey end as «complete ISO» (invalid).
– Those participants who give sex or age information different from the one we have in their registration end as «filter out ISO» (not valid)

Table A1. Structure of the Sample

	Date sent	Invitations	Participants	% part
S1	29-08-2016 08:35 GMT+1	196	141	72%
S2	30-08-2016 08:45 GMT+1	488	347	71%
S3	31-08-2016 09:06 GMT+1	440	308	70%
S4	31-08-2016 13:40 GMT+1	194	139	72%
S5	01-09-2016 11:33 GMT+1	123	88	72%
S6	02-09-2016 13:30 GMT+1	246	154	63%
S7	02-09-2016 13:33 GMT+1	33	19	58%
S8	05-09-2016 11:33 GMT+1	63	42	67%
S9	06-09-2016 08:56 GMT+1	20	11	55%
S10	07-09-2016 08:46 GMT+1	6	3	50%
S11	12-09-2016 08:32 GMT+1	24	15	63%
S12	13-09-2016 13:10 GMT+1	9	3	33%

	Date sent	Invitations	Participants	% part
S13	13-09-2016 14:18 GMT+1	112	75	67%
S14	14-09-2016 13:47 GMT+1	33	19	58%
S15	15-09-2016 14:00 GMT+1	43	22	51%
S16	15-09-2016 14:03 GMT+1	45	20	44%
S17	21-09-2016 13:33 GMT+1	50	19	38%
	TOTAL	2,125	1,425	67%

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Table A2. Details of the 1,425 contacted participants

Completed	913
Filtered	14
By ISO (1)	14
Quota full	469
Security Question Failed	15
Drop offs	31

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Table A3. Sample demographic characteristics

Gender		
Male	460	50.4%
Female	453	49.6%
Age		
18-24	112	12%
25-34	222	24%
35-44	177	19%
45-54	149	16%
≥55	253	28%

Zona		
NOA-Noroeste Argentino	91	10%
Cuyo	130	14%
Pampa Húmeda	584	64%
NEA – Noroeste Argentino	81	9%
Patagonia	14	2%
Cuidad Autónoma de Buenos Aires	13	1%
Provincia		
Buenos Aires	390	42.7%
Catamarca	2	0.2%
Chaco	25	2.7%
Chubut	5	0.5%
Cuidad Autónoma de Buenos Aires	15	1.6%
Córdoba	78	8.5%
Corrientes	31	3.4%
Entre Ríos	27	3.0%
Formosa	6	0.7%
Jujuy	13	1.4%
La Pampa	4	0.4%
La Rioja	5	0.5%
Mendoza	112	12.3%
Misiones	19	2.1%
Neuquén	5	0.5%
Río Negro	3	0.3%
Salta	37	4.1%
San Juan	9	1.0%

San Luis	8	0.9%
Santa Cruz	1	0.1%
Santa Fe	83	9.1%
Santiago del Estero	5	0.5%
Tucumán	30	3.3%

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Table A4. Summary Statistics of Sample Population

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Age	41.96	13.85	18	75	913
Education	0.64	0.19	0	1	913
Income	0.30	0.27	0	1	913
External efficacy	3.37	2.56	0	10	913
Internal efficacy	4.91	2.16	0	10	913
Political interest	2.15	0.81	1	4	913
Ideology	5.31	2.28	0	10	790

Source: Author's own elaboration.

76 percent of respondents say they live in a large town or city. 12 percent live in a suburb of a large town or city and 11 percent live in a small town or rural area. The remaining 1 percent said they were unsure how to classify where they live.

Appendix B. Question wording for control variables

Political interest
«To begin, how much are you interested in politics?»
4- a lot
3- somewhat
2- a little
1- not at all

External efficacy
«To what degree do you believe that politicians in Argentina care what people like you have to say?»
Responses on a scale from 0-10 where 0=»Not at all» and 10=»Completely»

Internal efficacy
«To what degree do you have confidence in your abilities to participate in politics?»
Responses on a scale from 0-10 where 0=»Not at all» and 10=»Completely»

Ideology
«When people talk about politics, they often talk of 'left' and 'right'. Could you please indicate where you would place yourself on the following scale from 0 to 10 where 0 indicates 'left' and 10 indicates 'right'? You may use any number between 0 and 10 to express your opinion.
Responses on a scale from 0-10 where 0=»Not at all» and 10=»Completely»

Partisanship
«Do you consider yourself close to a particular political party?»
1- yes
2- no

To which one?
01-Peronist/Justicialista
02- Cambiemos
03-UCR
04-PRO
05-Unidos por una Nueva Alternativa
06- Frente para la Victoria
07- Compromiso Federal
08- Frente de Izquierda y de los trabajadores
09- Progresistas
10- Other (specify):_____

Government evaluation
«How would you rate how well the current government is doing its job?»
5- very good
4- good
3- neither good nor bad
2- bad
1- very bad

Income, age, gender, and education included in panel's information obtained by Netquest prior to this survey's administration.

Appendix C: Construction of identification variables

In order to create the two identity measures used in this paper, we took five identity questions from the survey and conducted an exploratory factor analysis which revealed a 3-factor solution, but with very little utility gained between the two- and three-factor solutions. We therefore used a principle factors analysis with a two-factor solution and promax rotation.

Table C1. Factor Analysis Results

Survey Question	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
«I identify with Cristina Fernández de Kirchner»	0.72	0.22	0.20
«Cristina Fernández de Kirchner shares my beliefs and convictions»	0.76	0.12	0.26
«Being a supporter of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner says a lot about me to other people»	0.23	0.59	0.38
«I generally use 'us' instead of 'they' when I talk about the Kirchneristas»	0.15	0.60	0.47
«I prefer to be around Kirchneristas»	0.37	0.49	0.35

Source: Author's own elaboration.

The original distribution of those five questions are as follows, where 1 = «strongly agree» and 5 = «strongly disagree».

Table C2. Summary statistics of identity measures

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
«I identify with Cristina Fernández de Kirchner»	4.24	1.30	1	5	893
«Cristina Fernández de Kirchner shares my beliefs and convictions»	4.11	1.36	1	5	893
«Being a supporter of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner says a lot about me to other people»	4.53	1.14	1	5	893
«I generally use 'us' instead of 'they' when I talk about the Kirchneristas»	4.60	1.04	1	5	893
«I prefer to be around Kirchneristas»	4.54	1.12	1	5	893

Source: Author's own elaboration.

For those who did not know who Cristina Fernández de Kirchner is (N=20), the identity questions were recoded as '0'. For those who claimed they are an opponent of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, their group identity responses were recoded as '0'.