# Political Efficacy, Voting Behavior and Partisanship among University Students

Dr. Ahmed M. Helal Dr. Eid G. Abo Hamza Department of Mental Health Faculty of Education Tanta University Egypt

#### Abstract

The study aimed to investigate the relationship between political efficacy, voting behavior and partisanship among university students. 255 post graduate students answered self-report scales which assessed political efficacy, voting behavior and partisanship. The results of study showed that there is no correlation between political efficacy, voting behavior, and a correlation between partisanship and voting behavior. The results also showed that political efficacy and partisanship is a strong predict of voting behavior. Finally, there are no gender differences in political efficacy, voting behavior and partisanship.

Keywords: Political Behavior, Political efficacy, Voting Behavior, Partisanship, Egyptian Revolution.

## 1.Introduction

Egypt has changed dramatically after Egyptian revolution on January 25<sup>th</sup> 2011; everyone in Egypt either politically educated or not is talking about politics. In the last couple of years, Egyptians voted five times. This research examined the role of political efficacy and partisanship and how it impact on voting behaviors. The purpose of the research is to assess the extent to which the logic of strain theory can (a) explain the role of perceived political efficacy and (b) be integrated with existing theories to provide a more comprehensive understanding of political efficacy, partisanship and their relationship to voting behaviors. This inquiry was guided by four hypotheses that will enable the researcher to assess whether perceived political efficacy should be given more consideration by social scientists who are studying political psychology, partisanship, and its relationship to voting behavior. Participants of the study will be college students who are enrolled in Faculty of Education, Tanta University in Egypt. The researchers use about 500 students' males and females using three assessments which will be designed for the research to assess political efficacy, partisanship and voting behaviors.

Political behavior is that activity and effectiveness practiced by individuals who occupy a certain social role in order to contribute to life regulation and demarcation of the centers of power in the society. There are many indicators that can help us to evaluate the individual's political behavior. Those indicators are connected with the extent of the individual's political participation to share in the social alteration and organizational processes. The most salient indicators of political behavior include the voting behavior and partisanship. They are considered central elements in the individuals' political behavior wherefrom diagnosing the features of political behavior is feasible. Observing those behaviors helps to realize the fact that psychological differences between individuals constitute a focal role in their political behavior diversities. Various psychological approaches study the voting behavior and partisanship. One of the most important psychological approaches is political efficacy approach. Political efficacy is a process that includes all beliefs adopted by an individual about his potential abilities and attitudes related to political work or political system and the individuals' beliefs about changing society.

Studies handling political efficacy, voting behavior and partisanship varied as the following: Zimmerman(1989) examined the relationship between political efficacy and political participation, Wollman and Stouder (2001) acknowledged the convictions of political efficacy and political activity, Schoen and Schuman(2007) examined the personality traits, the partisan attitudes and voting behavior, Vecchione and Caprara (2009) studies the convictions of political efficacy in terms of political participation and personality traits, Rosco and Christiansen(2010) asserted that the role of political attitudes in constituting partisanship

Blais, Labbé, and Vincent (2011) studied personality traits, political attitudes and voting behavior, Serek, Lacinova, and Macek (2012) tested the relationship between political efficacy, family conflicts` realization, and political convictions, Che-Ming and Jing (2013) studies political efficacy and political identity.

According to the above-mentioned data, the study importance can be localized in the following:

- 1- The significance of studying political behavior determinants on the individual and society in such radical transformation periods in Egypt and the Arab region due to the so-called Arab Spring. Those transformations emphasize the importance of studying political behavior and the related factors.
- 2- The scarcity of Arab studies about psychological factors in relation to political behavior, and the affecting factors such as: political efficacy, voting behavior, and partisanship.
- 3- The significance of studying the previous variants in education, especially political education that represent one of the influencing factors in upbringing generally.
- 4- The significance of studying political participation predicting factors in constructing democratic society. Understanding democracy mechanisms helps in building democratic system. Understanding political participation mechanisms also accomplish some kind of psychological and emotional satisfaction for the individuals.

## 2. Political Efficacy

What is political efficacy? Efficacy, more generally, can be thought of as a key link between knowledge and action. Efficacy determines coping efforts in any given domain of behavior. That is, individuals who perceive themselves as efficacious are much more likely to act when confronted with a challenge within their environment; they are also less likely to be discouraged by obstacles than those who are not efficacious (Bandura 1977; 1986, Madsen 1987). Renshon's (1974) study of psychological needs and political behavior defines political efficacy as "the belief that one has sufficient personal control over political processes to satisfy the need for personal control." (p.7). in different words, it is a simple extension of the individual's basic psychological drive to achieve and maintain some semblance of control over the forces and experiences that shape our lives. When the political sphere becomes salient to the individual's daily life, political participation and a resulting sense of political efficacy is the natural response. This salience stems from several sources: reward, where the political system is seen as the only source of certain goods or services; punishment, where the political system interferes with the individual's pursuits; and political obligation, where the individual experiences a sense of civic obligation to fulfill participatory responsibilities. Under any of these circumstances, according to Renshon (1974), the citizen develops the need for a degree of control over the political environment. Renshon (1974) argues that citizens who are able to exercise this control are happier, more stable, and more content citizens. A political system that allows for this kind of control will, it follows, enjoy a happier and less alienated citizenry (Renshon, 1974). If the need for political control is continually thwarted, however, the citizen becomes first frustrated, and then deeply alienated. It is at this point that she turns to more extremist political action.

Since the 1970s, researchers have made a distinction between "internal" and "external" political efficacy that is relevant for this study (Niemi, Mattei & Craig, 1991). "Internal" efficacy relates to the degree to which the individual believes that reward follows from, or is contingent on, one's own behavioral attributes (Renshon, 1974). In political terms, internal efficacy is determined by the individual's belief that participating in politics – for example, by voting, financially supporting a candidate, or talking to friends about politics – could have some desirable outcome, such as the successful election of a preferred candidate. It refers to the individual's belief in her own competence to understand and to participate effectively in politics (Niemi et al., 1991). Of course, one might believe oneself to be personally efficacious, while concurrently believing that the environmental obstacles to effective action are overwhelming.

"External" efficacy refers to the degree to which the individual perceives government officials and institutions to be responsive to citizen demands, i.e., the extent to which government actually fulfills its side of the democratic bargain (Renshon 1974, Niemi et al. 1991). We must ask ourselves whether a reduction in political efficacy has any concrete results on political behavior, in addition to attitudes. That is, do citizens who have found that the electoral process thwarts their political efforts, while failing to respond to the demands of the public, behave differently as a result? Extant research suggests that a sense of external efficacy promotes political participation in individuals; those who believe that the government is responsive to the citizenry are more likely to involve themselves in the political process (Abramson & Aldrich, 1982).

## 2.1 Political Efficacy and Socio-Cognitive Theory

The researchers are going to explain and present the most important theories that explained efficacy, voting behavior, and partisanship as well. The basic premise of efficacy theory is that people's beliefs in their capabilities to produce desired effects by their own actions are the most important determinants of the behaviors people choose to engage in and how much they persevere in their efforts in the face of obstacles and challenges (Bandura, 1997). Efficacy theory also maintains that these efficacy beliefs play a crucial role in psychological adjustment, psychological problems, physical health, as well as professionally guided and self-guided behavioral change strategies. Efficacy beliefs are not outcome expectancies (Bandura, 1997) or behavior-outcome expectancies (Maddux, 1995). Behavior outcome expectancy is individual belief that a specific behavior may lead to a specific outcome in a specific situation. An efficacy belief, simply put, is the belief that I can perform the behavior that produces the outcome. Efficacy is not a personality trait. Most conceptions of competence and control including self-esteem, locus of control, optimism, hope, hardiness, learned resourcefulness (Rosenbaum, 1990) are conceived as traits or trait-like. Efficacy is defined and measured not as a trait but as beliefs about the ability to coordinate skills and abilities to attain desired goals in particular domains and circumstances. Measures of "general" efficacy have been developed (e.g., Sherer at al., 1982; Tipton & Worthington, 1984) and are used frequently in research, but they have not been as useful as more specific efficacy measures in predicting what people will do under more specific circumstances (Bandura, 1997; Maddux, 1995).

In contrast to Skinner, Bandura (1) recognizes that chance encounters and fortuitous events often shape one's behavior; (2) places more emphasis on observational learning; (3) stresses the importance of cognitive factors in learning; (4) suggests that human activity is a function of behavior and person variables, as well as the environment; and (5) believes that reinforcement is mediated by cognition. Although Bandura's social cognitive theory (1986; 1997) emerged after the concept of political efficacy was first coined, it can provide the theoretical foundation for understanding how the concept of efficacy functions and operates in the political realm. According to Bandura's definition, individual perceptions of efficacy refer to "... beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura, 1997, p. 3). Therefore, efficacy refers not to the skills individuals have or believe they have, but rather it pertains to what individuals believe they can do with what they have in any realm of functioning (Bandura, 1997, p. 37), such as the political domain. Therefore, from a social cognitive theory perspective internal political efficacy beliefs should influence participation. Political efficacy is, at its most basic level, how much a person believes he or she can, if desired, "influence governmental decisions" (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 83). To that end there are two different types of political efficacy: internal and external. Internal efficacy refers to a person's self-determined competence and knowledge of politics, and the person's perceived political influence. External efficacy refers to a person's confidence that the government, political system, and regime are responsive to the person and his or her associated demographic; be it race, religion, class, gender, etc. (Valentino, Gregorwicz, & Groenendyk, 2009, p. 308). The relationship between political efficacy and citizens' participation in government has been a subject of study for decades. External efficacy is related to a citizen's decision to vote, and tends to increase when one's own party is in power, especially at the presidential level.

Bandura (1997) has distinguished between individual and collective efficacy, which reflected on the distinct between inner and outer political efficacy. Positive psychology and social cognitive theory both emphasize the social embeddedness of the individual Accomplishing importance goals in groups, organizations, and societies always has depended on the ability of individuals to identify the abilities of other individuals and to harness these abilities to accomplish common goals. Thus, a concept of perceived mastery limited to individuals will have limited utility. Thus, in efficacy theory it is recognized that no man or woman is an island and that there are limits to what individuals can accomplish alone.

This idea is captured in the notion of collective efficacy, "a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required producing given levels of attainments (Bandura, 1997, p. 477). Simply stated, collective efficacy is the extent to which we believe that we can work together effectively to accomplish our shared goals (Harder & krosink,, 2008, Zaccaro, Blair, Peterson, & Zazanis, 1995).Harder and Krosnick (2008) illustrated that the interaction between individual and group is a logic and acceptable process because of the group power is essential to determine the individuals' feelings of theirs political efficiency. However, being a member in variant and different groups and social classifications, it includes different experience and so will impact on the individuals' political efficacy.

For instance, individual from low social levels have low feeling of their political efficacy due to their feeling of social impacts on the society (Harder & krosink, 2008). On the other hand, individuals with high educational level are more realization of their political efficacy because of the variety of social, economic, cognitive resources which enables them to face political challenges. From the side of social learning, Beaumont (2011) illustrated that there are four dimensions impact on the social learning and effect on political efficacy (p.213). Beaumont (2011) defined social learning as any learning happens in the social context and depends on observation and social interactions. The way that individual interpret their behaviors relies on what is going on around them. Individuals trend to develop their political skills when their environments required them to play political behaviors or have any political roles. Therefore, this kind of environments helps individuals to have high political roles in their society. Beaumont (2011) reported that there are four indicators to determine that:

- 1. Experience related to participation in political activities.
- 2. Acquiring political activity skills.
- 3. Participating in political debates.
- 4. Interacting in a cooperative behavior which relates to politics.

#### 3. Voting Behavior

#### 3.1 The Rational Choice Theory

Harder and Krosink (2008), and Downs (1957) answered the fundamental question facing social psychologists: why people participate in elections in democratic societies by voting? They answered the question by the following equation:

 $\mathbf{R} = (\mathbf{B}) (\mathbf{P}) - \mathbf{C} + \mathbf{D}$ 

Where: R = Total rewards obtained by the individual from elections.

- B =**Benefits** that the individual believes that he will get the support of a particular candidate
- P = Individual's **perception** for the possibility that is/her voting will change the outcome of the election.
- C = Costs that would be borne by the individual as a result of his/her going to vote such as: time, money, and other sources.
- D = The psychological satisfaction which individual would gain from voting.

If R is positive, the citizen is assumed to gain a reward from voting that outweighs the costs and consequently participate in the election. The more positive R is, the more likely an individual is to vote. Therefore, the sense of satisfaction gained from voting (D) must make up any deficit caused by the cost and provide sufficient incentive for a citizen to participate (Harder & Krosink, 2008).Harder and Krosink (2008) drafting other formula that is different from what Downs (1957) indicated that citizen's voting behavior is a function of voting motivation, ability to vote, and the difficulty of voting, as the following equation .The possibility (difficulty of voting (voting behavior) = (voting motivation vote X voting ability) / of voting)Harder and Krosink (2008) said that "the more motivation or ability a person has to vote, the more likely he or she is to turn out on a given election day. And the more difficult voting is for him or her, the less likely the person is to vote" (527). Harder and Krosink (2008) pointed out motivation comes from the strong preference for a particular candidate on his/her opponent. But motivation can also come from the belief (e.g., self-efficacy) that being a responsible citizen requires that a person vote, from pressure from one's friends or family to vote, or from or from external sources to go to a vote. The ability to vote refers to people's capacity to make sense of information about political events and candidates in order to form a candidate preference and the capacity to understand and meet requirements for eligibility to vote legally and to implement the required behavior to cast a ballot.

Difficulty refers to aspects of conditions outside the voter's mind (e.g., the strictness of procedures regulating registration, the convenience of registration procedures, the degree to which polling locations are publicized, the physical closeness of a person's polling location to his or her home, the availability of information about the candidates). Downs' (1957) (B) (P) term and D term are components of motivation, and his C term is a part of difficulty. (527).

## 3.2 Newman and Sheth Model

Newman and Sheth (1985) developed a model of voter behavior in a primary election. The model integrates several schools of thought that have tried to explain voter behavior. Newman and Sheth (1985) reported that the individuals join certain groups is essential determinant for their voting behavior.

Knowledge and beliefs which come from multiple sources form a good behavior predictor. Newman and Sheth's model is a fundamental axiom of the primary voter behavior model is that there are seven distinct and separate cognitive domains that drive the voter's behavior. The model is depicted in the next figure. It includes the following seven components:

- 1. **Issues and Policies:** Refers to a list of salient issues and policies along four dimensions: economic policy, foreign policy, social policy, and leadership characteristics; represents the perceived value a candidate possesses in these salient criteria that represent the rational or functional purposes of the candidate's platform.
- 2. **Social Imagery:** Refers to primary and secondary reference groups that support certain candidate. Candidates acquire positive or negative pattern depending on their association with several demographic factors: age, sex, religion, and occupation, ethnic origin, and lifestyle, or their political/ideological orientation.
- 3. Emotional Feelings: Refers to the emotional component of voting process that voters have toward certain candidate such as such as: empathy, hope and responsibility...etc.
- 4. **Candidate Image:** Refers to the way that voter perceive a candidate depending on candidate characteristic and candidate's salient personality.
- 5. **Current Events:** Refers to policies that appear during the course of a campaign such as: domestic and international situations, which creates voters' opinion about their candidates.
- 6. **Personal Events**: Refers to personal or family life of the candidate, which may cause the voter to change his/her vote to another candidate.
- 7. **Epistemic Issues**: Refers to knowledge and information which needs to be offered by the candidate as a change of pace (something new, different), (Newman & Sheth, 1985).



Figure 1: Model of Primary Voter Behavior

Newman and Sheth (1985) clarified that some demographic factors affecting the electoral behavior such as: level of education, income level, occupation, age, gender, type of housing, social situation, participation in the non-governmental organization, customs, and traditions. Furthermore, Newman and Sheth (1985) explained that the voting behavior is affected by characteristics of the process of elections (task characteristics) such as: the preference for the candidate or the party, similarities in political preferences, and equal opportunities for candidates. Voting behavior is a function of the social environment in which the individual is located.

## 3.3 Learning Theories

The loss \_\_\_\_\_\_the transformation (Kanazawa, 2000, p. 435).

The second: the individual may learn from the others' behaviors through the observation of the others' strategies and imitating it in case of success. So, the main difference between Downs model that stipulates that R = (B)(P) -C + D, and the other learning models lies in the relative correlation between the action and the effect of the action in the future (the election's results specifically). From one hand, the correlation between the action and the result in the learning models focuses on the past. On the other hand, Downs Model's main focus is the future. In addition, the learning effect is similar to that of (D) in Downs Model as the individuals may be rewarded as a result of their voting (the candidate's success) or punished for their non-voting (the candidate's loss) (Gerber, Shachar, 2003). Although the logic of the electoral behavior has been taken for granted in terms of the learning view, these theories had neglected seminal intermediate variables such as: the feedback, the effect of reward/ punishment concepts on the individuals' tendency of voting in the upcoming elections, (Kanazawa, 1998).

The Cognitive processes: A considerable number of studies have investigated the intellectual mechanisms and the potential cognitive processors beyond the involvement within a political behavior. These studies suggested the following:

- Some individuals do not think on their actions and political decisions rationally.
- Some individuals possess knowledge or motivation and ability to constitute the political knowledge and how to process it.
- Some individuals depend on easy and simple rules for making decisions related to the political participation and behavior (Prior & Lupia, 2008).

The Cognitive analysis of the political behavior classified the cognitive processors into three types as the following:

#### 3.4 Memory Based VS Online Based Processing

Memory based processing focuses mainly on the way that we acquire information and concepts and how to organize the memory and recalling which effective factors are in the political behavior, particularly the electoral behavior through evaluating the candidates and factions. While making a decision in relation to the electoral behavior, we resort to the long -term memory for acquiring the information. Then, we employ such recalled information in making the electoral decision. On the other hand, the online based processing focuses on the new information that plays the seminal role in the electoral decision-making through the updating mechanism as if we keep a judgment tally that includes our impressions of either a candidate or a party. This tally is updated through new information. Moreover, Zaller (1992) shows that the conscious recollections mediate the political judgments and the political behavior. The individual's ability to recall what he likes or does not like about the candidates and the political factions affects his electoral behavior.

#### 3.5 Dual Processing Based

Recently, studies reveal that there are two potential separate cognitive systems that lie behind the decision-making and the political judgments. There are dual processing of individuals, beliefs, self-organizing, and emotions (Baragh, 1997).

The Dual Processing models concluded the following:

- The individual involves in an effective emotional processing for information in case of obtaining sufficient motivation and available cognitive resources.
- The individual possesses different standards of cognitive fusion with the received information. Hence, the \_ behavioral political differences exist.
- The cognitive fusion with the received information adopts the influence in relation to the political behavior to make it more potent since the highly-motivated individuals usually make their decisions seriously through greater effort and peculiar responsibility in terms of their political behavior (Kuklinski, 2001).

## 3.6 Automatic Processing and the Planned Processing

According to the social sciences' researchers, many individuals issue their judgments unintentionally as many processes of information processing are performed automatically through external stimuli. This leads to emotional judgments and negative behaviors (Baragh, 1997) that include the automatic non-intentional acts and the synchronous activation of the responses. This occurs either when the information related to the task is insufficient or such information is newly accessed. (Baragh, 1997) Conversely, the planned processing acts are intent-centered processing that entail the activation of attention for the new information.

The planned processing mediates the absolute judgments and includes the conscious choice which is the outcome of the individual's inner values. The start of the planned processing hinders the effect of the automatic processing.

## 3.6 The Cognitive Processes and the Electoral Behavior

In principle, The Michigan School- whose psychological attitude includes the study of the political behavior- tops those who study the vitality of the cognitive processes in constructing the attitudes and the political judgments as Bianco (1998) shows that the rational accounts that constitute the base of our general judgments are similar to the cognitive abilities used in making an electoral decision. The cognitive approach presents a vision of the situational and individual differences and their variables influencing on acquiring, interpreting and understanding certain information peculiar to a certain political candidate or reaching an electoral preference. Accordingly, the study pinpoints a set of cognitive elements that relates directly to the electoral decision-making as follows:

- Attention and how it relates to the objective information about the candidate.
- Understanding
- The coding, encoding and distributing the new information according to the information stored in the memory in the shape of knowledge or concepts.
- Organizing information in the memory.
- Hence the studies that handle these cognitive processes conclude that such processes are affected by:
- The individual's characteristics (for instance his/her political party)
- The situation's characteristics (the voting features)

## 3.7.1 Attention

Primarily, Riggle and Johnson (1996) illustrated that there is political information more outstanding than others. As a result, it bears a greater effect on the political judgments such as the electoral behavior. Moreover, Iyengar and Simon (2000) show that the individual is subjected to political information either intentionally or unintentionally: the unintentional part occurs when the individual is subjected to the media covering a certain political subject, while the intentional part occurs when the individual attempts to find information or avoid it in the different political means. In addition, Sweeney and Gruber (1984) stress that individuals' attention to the political information supports their attitude towards a certain political faction or candidate and helps them at avoiding the confusing information about a certain candidate or party. Moreover, Iyenger and Ottati (1994) emphasize that the influence of the electors' background on their political preference may mediate their selective attention of the information.

## 3.7.2 Understanding

In this regard, Lau & Erber (1985) emphasize that the amount and speed of understanding constitute significance or a function of the individuals' differences for the political experience or the other features of the candidate in relation to individuals' qualitative abilities (like the standard of their intelligence and learning). There are numerous political messages that befall under various interpretations. Therefore, the easiness of the message publicizes its understanding among a greater number of voters.

## **3.7.3 Interpretation/ Coding/ Distribution:**

- **Interpretation:** As a result of the politicians' resistance of the electors' disinterest, they usually involve in mysterious affairs. Page and Robert (1992) shows that the absurdity surrounding the peculiar information of a certain candidate promotes his opportunities of success since such absurdity is possibly interpreted in many ways. When the information is mysterious, each elector will handle it according to his special perspective.
- **Coding:** Lodge, Taber (2000) illustrate that the person is highly inclined to the selective coding of subjects consistent with the candidate's faction rather than subjects that are inconsistent with another faction.
- **Distribution:** Chen and Chaiken (1999) stressed that if the candidate talks convincingly, this supports the elector's capability of the information distribution. In turn, the less-convincing talks lead to constituting a negative attitude about this candidate.

## 4. Partisanship

The concept of partisanship is considered a central one in the analysis of the political behavior which has been dealt from various perspectives. For instance, the socio-political Approach illustrates that the concept of partisanship can be viewed in two different ways: partisanship as an equal process of the psychological attitudes and partisanship as a social identity towards individuals or items.

### 4.1 Partisanship and the Psychological Attitudes

Attitude means the positive or negative response towards items or individuals. From this perspective, partisanship is considered inner output of evaluating factions or emotional attitude or complex cognitive plan in terms of the political attitudes. Accordingly, this way focuses on the cognitive and emotional elements of the attitude that had been previously explained in Fishbein Model (1967) about (Expectations-Values-Norms) that stresses mainly on dismantling the relations between attitudes and the political behavior. Via this model, individuals are to be asked about their attitudes towards different behavioral types rather than their political attitudes only. There are three variables that work as functional determinants of the behavior as follows:

- Attitudes towards behavior.
- The normative beliefs (personal and social).
- The motivation of normative compliance (Fishbein, 1967, p. 190).

Moreover, Fishbein (1967) stresses that the Model of (Expectations-Values-Norms) interprets behavior through two main factors:

#### 4.2 The Expected Benefit of the Social Norms

From one hand, we view the individuals through accounting the benefits they attain as an outcome of their actions (though the model does not differentiate between the public and personal benefits of the political behavior). On the other hand, the model sees that the individual is deeply involved in a net of norms and social beliefs to isolate the inner and outer motives of the behavior on various levels. Accordingly, the model specifies two kinds of the social norms: internal (peculiar) which are the values that the individuals invoke to participate politically since people will participate politically if they felt that their political behavior is normatively satisfactory. For example, if they feel injustice, they will participate for changing the current status. This norm is highly influenced by the social upbringing that affects the earlier experiences of the individual, whereas the external (public) norms are determined via the others' attitudes. If the person sees others as important people who help him the political participation, this will lead to aggrandizing his motivation of political participation. The primary feature of the public norms is that they are supported through who express their acceptance or refusal of the individual's behavior (Elster, 1989). As a result, the motivation of the individuals belonging to political factions is constituted through the social norms during their responses towards the views of the highly-evaluated persons or those whom values and opinions are highly esteemed. Consequently, Finkel (1985, p. 900) elaborates the idea of ' unity Principle' that we can pinpoint the collective behavior of a certain group.

#### 4.3 Partisanship and the Group's Identity

In principle, the social identity theories attempt to explain self-realization of the social groups' membership. Such theories define the social identity as a part of the internal concept for the individual from whom we can derive his knowledge related to a group, or groups, value and the emotional significance of his membership in a certain group. In this plane, Tajefel and Turner (1986) illustrate that the individual's attempt to gratify the differences between the group he belongs to it psychologically and the other groups affects his preferences on favor of his group. The most seminal, here, is the social identity cannot be determined only through the membership of a certain formal group but also through the self-realization of being a member in a certain group. As such in this way, Stanly & Niemi (1995) explore a relationship between the different social groups and the partisanship based on the concept of reference group. In addition, Antunes (2010) shows that partisanship can be obtained through the social upbringing.

It is also influenced by the values and attitudes of the family and the friendships in a process similar to that of specifying the religious identity (Miller & Shanks, 1996: 120). Consequently, the emotional bond between the individual and his political faction can be accomplished through dissimilar ways of fusion such as what happens with religion either the individuals were believers or atheists. In addition, Greene (2002) put that partisanship is a photocopy of the social identity as the individual experiences different sensations from others whom belong to parties. Moreover, Greene (2002) illustrate that partisanship is a social identity that is related to the individual's knowledge about the group which allows him to differentiate between US and THEM. Furthermore, Campball, Angus, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes (1960) reveal this relation as: when we define the individuals` relationship with their parties as a psychological identity, we have used the most seminal term that plays numerous roles in the psychological theories that describe the individual/ individual relationship and the individual/ group relationship. Thus we have used the term to describe the guided relationship of the individuals towards a specific environmental group. Both theories- the basic group theory and the minor- influencing groups` theory- depend basically on the group attractiveness. Partisanship describes the situations that the individuals choose a standard group as a norm for the way they follow or to make their actions adapt their realizations about such group. (Burdan, Klofstad; 2005). Campball et al. (1960) added that partisanship is a highly consistent process and hardly changing one. Hence it represents a perceptual filter of the political information through the individuals' tendency to visualize their preferences in the shape of political factional attitudes. The interactive models of the relationship between the electoral behavior and partisanship:

#### 4.3 The Sincere & Non Sincere Voter

Through this approach, the model prioritizes the evaluation processes in the interpretation of the relation between partisanship and the electoral behavior. Evaluation is a continuous processing of the data through updating the elector's knowledge and information. This model functions the electoral behavior as a dependent variable whereas the faction's evaluation as an independent variable. The party's evaluation connects positively with the factional preferences that specify the voting result as a result of such preference. The factional preference is the moment when a certain elector prefers party (X) rather than party (Z). In accordance, the elector during the poll specifies his intent according to his preference of a certain party. Here the intent means planning for voting a certain candidate or party in a specific elections. There is discrimination between the factional preference and the intent of voting through the emotion system and the motivational system (Rosema, 2006). The moment of choosing who to vote for is dissimilar among the voters: some voters decide whom to vote for; others do not know whom to vote for only at the poll station and look at the poll card. The elector summons his information from the intent stage to the actual performance stage. The expected result is that the elector will choose the candidate or the party that has been evaluated positively (Rosema, 2006). On the other hand, the external variables is affecting the electoral behavior through its effect on the party's evaluation. In some cases, the effect of these variables may surpass the effect of the party itself. Consequently, it is likely to affect the intent of voting or the electoral behavior directly. The model shows that the party's evaluation, the party's preference and the intent of voting are changing over time.



Figure 2: The sincere vote Model. (Rosema, 2006, p. 472)

The non-sincere approach excludes all the included elements. In turn, it depends on behavioral heuristics. There four heuristics that may affect the electoral decision as follows:

- a. The governmental official satisfaction heuristic: it evaluates the governmental officials through the mechanism of reward and punishment. That is to say the elector votes for a certain official or candidate if he feels satisfaction of his performance and the vice versa if not.
- b. The party's preference heuristic: it is a set of evaluations of the competing parties or candidates which means that the elector does not look at the matter in terms of reward/ punishment, but he votes simply for the party he prefers.
- c. The candidate's evaluation heuristic: which affects the electoral behavior in two ways: either directly through the evaluation which the elector chooses his candidate or party accordingly or indirectly through the elector's satisfaction of the officials and his sensations of choice.
- d. Evaluation depending the elector's particular or personal interest (Rosema, 2006, p. 475).

## 5. The Research Hypotheses

- I. The First Hypothesis: There is a relationship between political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior among Egyptian students.
- II. The second hypothesis: Voting behavior can be predicted using partisanship and political efficacy among Egyptian students.
- III. The Third hypothesis: Political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior does not differ depending on gender in college Egyptian students.

## 6. Methodology

This study used a survey research design for examine the relationship between voting behavior from one side and political efficacy and partisanship. Moreover, the study aims to explorer the effect of gender on voting behavior, political efficacy and partisanship. Additionally, the study aims to find out how to predict voting behaviors using both political efficacy and partisanship. Three questionnaires are a formalized set of questions for obtaining information from respondents. It is the main means of collecting quantitative primary data and it enables quantitative data to be collected in a standardized way so that the data are internally consistent and coherent for analysis. Nowadays, in several social science disciplines, the use of survey studies has emerged as the method of choice for collecting data on both attitudes and behaviors, with surveys constituting the primary method for collecting self-report data (Hutchinson & Lovell, 2004). The attractiveness of survey research is due in large part to its utility in countless research situations. Surveys are used for such purposes as needs assessment, programmer evaluation, attitude assessment, political opinion polling, and policy analysis, as well as for simple descriptions of behaviors, activities, and population characteristics (Hutchinson & Lovell, 2004). The extent of surveys ranges from large-scale national surveys such as the country census or ministry surveys to smaller surveys limited to a classroom, type of school, or certain institution. In some cases, surveys are used just to evaluate the status quo; in others, they are used to test complicated theoretical relationships amongst various variables.

## 7. Participants

The study sample consisted of graduate students at the University of Tanta, Egypt (N= 255). Participants are not restricted to particular majors, or grade. Participants are doing vocational diploma in special education and special diploma on mental health at faculty of education, University of Tanta. Participants age ranged from 23.6 to 28.13 (M=25.3, D=3.58) and 115 are males and 140 are females.

## 8. Instruments

In order to collect data for this study, the researchers designed three questionnaires to assess the dependents variables based on the literature about political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior. The first questionnaire is designed by researchers to assess political efficacy. Most of the studies (study (Niemi, Craig &Mattei 1991; Renshon, 1974; Abramson & Aldrich, 1982) reported that political efficacy have internal and external aspects. There are 9 items asses internal efficacy; these items are numbers 1, 2, 6,7,8,9,12,14,16. Additionally, there are 8 items that can assess external efficacy, these items are numbers 3,4,5,10,11,13,15,17. The questionnaire is designed in a Likert format, using the scale 1= strongly agree, 2= somewhat agree, 3= neutral/no option, 4= somewhat disagree, and 5= strongly disagree.

Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which each of the statements on the scale applied to them. The instrument included 17 items both internal and external efficacy, on a 1-5 scale (1= strongly agree, 5= strongly disagree). The higher score means the higher feeling of political efficacy. This meant that the maximum political efficacy score was 85 and score above 43 points was considered high. The internal validity has been assessed for the questionnaire; the correlation between items was between 0.73 and 0.86 (n = 105). The correlation among items was between 0.75 to 0.86. The correlation between that items that asses either internal external political efficacy and total score of the questionnaire was between 0.72 to 0.91. Furthermore, the researcher asses reliability using test-retest with time interval 4 weeks; the correlation between the two times is 0.84 (n = 105). Accordingly, the previous results indicate that the questionnaire is reliable and valid to assess political efficacy.

The second assessment is partisanship questionnaire. Partisanship has been assessed using self-report question about the party identification. Several researchers agreed that party identification similar to religious identity (I am a Muslim) (I am a Christian). Burden and Klofstad (2005) defined partisanship as a psychological attachment to a particular political party-influences voters' policy stances, their evaluation of the economy, attitudes toward democracy, and electoral behavior. Burden and Klofstad (2005) reported that neither behaviors' indicators nor cognitive tasks are suitable to assess the political identification. The best way to assess political identification is the self-report assessment to identify individuals' feeling toward their political identification. The researchers build an assessment to assess party identification; the assessment consisted of 12 items. The questionnaire is designed in a Likert format, using the scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral/no option, 4 = somewhat agree, and 5 = strongly agree. The higher score means participant has a high score of feeling of party identification, and the lower scores indicate that low feeling of party identification and political identification. The researchers assess the reliability and validity of the research using different types of assessment. Validity refers to whether a measurement instrument measures what it aims to measure (Tharenou, Saks & Moore, 2007). The main types of validity test are content, construct, and criterion and face validity. Content and face validity were used to ensure the validity of the questionnaire in the current research. Content validity refers to whether the items designed for the measure adequately cover the area of interest (Tharenou et al., 2007). Content validity ensures that the instrument sufficiently represents the items under study, while face validity refers to the extent to which the measurement appears to measure what it should measure (Burns &Bush, 2002). These types of validity are determined by expert judgment (Burns & Bush, 2002). However, to reduce subjectivity, the researchers should carefully define the research topic using a comprehensive review of the relevant literature. Moreover, all of the items were constructed based on the relevant literature.

The assessment was judged by professional in the field of mental health and psychology and items have been agreed by about 85%. The internal validity has been assessed for the questionnaire; the correlation between each item and the total score was between 0.73 and 0.86 (n = 105). The correlation among items was between 0.75 to 0.83. Moreover, the researcher asses reliability using test-retest with time interval 4 weeks; the correlation between the two times is 0.75 (n = 105). Additionally, the reliability of the composite items was determined based on the Cronbach Alpha values 0.73 (n = 105) and Guttmann values 0.76 (n=105). The third assessment is a voting behaviors questionnaire. It is a self-report to assess the voting process. The assessment constructed from 8 items to assess individuals' participations not only voting behaviors but also comprehensive way of election process such as camping participation, election propaganda, individuals' beliefs about election in general and parties programs. The questionnaire is designed in a Likert format, using the scale 1= strongly disagree, 2= somewhat disagree, 3=neutral/no option, 4=somewhat agree, and 5= strongly agree. There are several types of validity and reliability have been used before using the assessment. The assessment was judged by professional in the field of mental health and psychology and items have been agreed by about 81%. Some items have been modified according to professionals' advices. The internal validity has been assessed for the questionnaire; the correlation between each item and the total score was between 0.74 and 0.86 (n = 105). The correlation among items was between 0.72 to 0.73. Moreover, the researcher asses reliability using test-retest with time interval 4 weeks; the correlation between the two times is 0.79 (n = 105).

## 9. Data Analysis

The data were analyzed utilizing descriptive statistic. Bivariate correlation and multiple regressions to test the three following hypotheses:

The First Hypothesis: There is a relationship between political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior among Egyptian students.

The second hypothesis: Voting behavior can be predicted using partisanship and political efficacy among Egyptian students.

The Third hypothesis: Political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior does not differ depending on gender in college Egyptian students.

## 10. Results and Discussion

#### **10.1 Demographic Information:**

Demographic information was compiled into a table that included sample size, means, and standard deviation (see Table 1).

Variable	Ν	М	SD
Political efficacy	255	52.19	8.89
Partisanship	255	27.13	6.57
Voting Behavior	255	29.22	7.33

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for study variables** 

#### **10.2** The First Hypothesis

There is a relationship between political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior among Egyptian students. Results were analyzed by computing a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. This analysis revealed a significant positive correlation between political efficacy and partial points point r (255) = 0.15, p < .05. Furthermore, results revealed a significant positive correlation between voting behavior and partisanship, r (255) = 0.57, p < .001. On the other side, result revealed a no significant correlation between political efficacy and voting behavior. These results led to accepting the null hypothesis. The researchers attributed this result to that party identification is a psychological concept which supports our choices in the election. As we explained in the literature review, it is as a cognitive screening process for political candidates and political events in general. Consequently, this leads to positive correlation with the political efficiency and voting behavior. Several researches (Fishbein, Ajzen, 1975; Finkel, 1985; Riggle & Johnson, 1996, Harder & krosink, 2008) agreed that party affiliation is a form of psychological identity characterized by strength and the difficulty of change; individuals tend to perceive this identity as a form of political attitude. Voting behavior is appropriate opportunity in which the individuals express their affiliation to a political party ideology which consistent with the intellectual and political ideology.

This result agreed with what Tajefel and Turner (1986) mentioned in their study. They reported that individuals' attempts to amplify the differences between the group (the party) to which they belong psychologically and groups (other parties) effect on their preferences toward their groups in the form of voting behaviors. This is clear in the reflected clearly in the positive correlation between the two variables (voting behavior, and party identification) in result this study. Political efficacy is, as mentioned earlier, "an individual's belief in the value of political action and the probability of success in this action" (Weissberg, 1975, p. 470). Furthermore, political efficacy can be separated into two categories: internal efficacy and external efficacy. Internal efficacy refers to a person's self-appraised competence and knowledge of politics, and the person's perceived political influence. External efficacy refers to a person's confidence that the government, political system, and regime are responsive to the person and his or her associated demographic; be it race, religion, class, sex, etc. (Valentino, Gregorwicz, &Groenendyk, 2009, p. 308). According to the hypotheses' result, there is a positive correlation between political efficacy and voting behavior which is considered a cognitive behavior side of Political behavior in general. Accordingly, this is a form of correspondence between voting behavior and the internal political efficiency because both are beliefs about the individuals' abilities to influence in the political context; the higher the internal political efficiency, the more likely accepting to join political party or political group supporting individuals' abilities to this effect.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that there is no relationship between the political efficacy and voting behavior. Researchers may interpret this finding as a cultural factor, a lack of individual trust in the elections results and process in Egypt. For the more than forty years, and since the re-establishment of political parties in the midseventies in Egypt, there were semi-doubts uncertain about the results any political election. One of the most famous of these experiments is what happened in Egyptian's parliament elections in 2010 that led to ignite a revolution.

Consequently, even with the awareness of individuals and political efficacy, individuals may not go to elections because they are sure that election will be faked. Therefore, there was no correlation between the perception of political efficacy and voting behavior. Researchers perceive this result as an exclusive result for Egyptian culture which contradict with what we mentioned in literature review about political efficacy and its' role in voting behaviors.

Moreover, the researchers also believe that the Egyptian culture and group identity have the biggest impact on the voting behaviors of Egyptians. Group identity for people starts grow inside the Egyptian culture (tribe - village - religious identity) are collective effects appear permanently in Egyptian elections. Election bias to the son of the family or tribe candidate or bias to the son of the village or town candidate or bias according to religious ideology that matches with voter's ideology voter.

## **10.3 The Second Hypothesis**

Voting behavior can be predicted using partisanship and political efficacy among Egyptian students. Multiple regression analysis was used to test if partisanship and political efficacy significantly predicted voting behavior. The results of the regression indicated the both predictors explained about 64% of the variance ( $R^2$ = .64, F (2, 255) =59.81, p <.00. Table 2 includes sum squares, degrees of freedom, the average sum of squares shows, and the (p) value for the variables of partisanship, political self-efficacy and voting behavior.

Table 2: Sum of squares, degrees of freedom, mean squares shows, and the (p) value for the variables of partisanship, political self-efficacy and voting behavior (N = 255).

Variable	Sum of	df	Mean squares	F	Sig.
	squares				
Total	3526.076	2	1763.038	59.81	0.000
Political Self-Efficacy	7427.910	255	29.476		
Partisanship	10953.986	254			

To better understanding the next table (3) reports the multiple liner regression is conducted to predict voting behavior using political self-efficacy or partisanship or both together. According to the below table F (2, 255) = 13.45, t = 5.85, p >.00. Additionally, it was found that participants' political self-efficacy is not be able to predict voting behavior, Beta = -0.024, P >.05.

Table 3: Summary of Multi Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting voting behaviors (N = 255)

Variable	В	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
Total	13.45	2.297	-	5.85	0.000
Political Self-Efficacy	- 0.024	0.039	- 0.033	0.63	P >.05
Partisanship	0.51	047	0.57	10.896	0.000

On the main time, partisanship was found has a strong significance in predicting people's voting behavior, Beta = 0.57, t = 10.896, p < .001. Accordingly, the research results confirm on the following:

- Party identification contributes effectively and efficiently in predicting individuals' voting behavior.
- Political efficacy does not contribute actively in predicting individuals' voting behavior. Therefore, these results led to accepting the hypothesis.

## **10.4The Third Hypothesis**

Political efficacy, partisanship and voting behavior does not differ depending on gender in college Egyptian students. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare between males and females in the three variables political efficacy, partisanship, and voting behavior. Table 4 presents results of t-test and descriptive statistic for voting behavior by gender.

#### Table 4: Results of t-test and Descriptive Statistics for voting behavior by gender

Gender								
	Male			Female				
	М	SD	n	М	SD	n	t	df
Voting Behavior	26.78	6.83	115	27.41	6.36	140	0.76	253

There is a statistically a non-significant mean difference in voting behaviors between males and females. Table (5) presents the t-test and descriptive statistic for political efficacy.

			Gender					
	Male			Female				
	М	SD	n	М	SD	n	t	df
Political Efficacy	52.11	8.78	115	52.26	9.02	140	0.13	253

#### Table 5: Results of t-test and Descriptive Statistics for political efficacy by gender

The t-test results reported that there is no significant difference between males and females in the political efficacy. The next table (table 6) presents the t-test and descriptive statistic for partisanship.

Table 6: Results	of t-test and ]	Descriptive	Statistics for	r partisanship	by gender
					~ , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

			Gender					
	Male			Female				
	М	SD	n	М	SD	n	t	df
Partisanship	28.4	7.67	115	29.89	6.99	140	0.59	253

The t-test results reported that there is no significant difference between males and females in the partisanship. According to these results suggested that there is non-significance difference between males and females in voting behavior, political efficacy and partisanship. These results led to accept the hypothesis. The researchers attributed this result to the political behavior, which includes the three variables of the study which are voting behavior, political efficacy, and the partisanship are behaviors such as any human behaviors subject to the same general principles of cognitive and emotional process. These mentioned processors are mainly in all normal human beings with no distinction between male and female or gender, but because of the fundamental difference in the diversity of these political changes to the culture, which affect an individual's relationship with this behavior and social nurturing and the nature of political practices within the culture. In the Egyptian context, there are some factors that play a vital role in forming individual political orientation such as social impacts and religious orientations either radically or library.

The proof of this is the rapid development of the state of political parties in Egypt after January 2011, and was spotted momentum among young people regarding these political processes that gender- related little effect in political participation.

#### References

- Abramson, P., R. & Aldrich., J. H. (1982). The decline of electoral participation in America. The American Political Science Review, 76, 3:502-521.
- Antunes, R. (2010). Theoretical models of voting behaviour. Exedra, 4, 145-170.
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. Psychological Review, 84, 191-215.
- Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1997). Self-Efficacy: The exercise of control. New York: Freeman.
- Beaumont, E. (2011). Promoting political agency, addressing political inequality: A multilevel model of internal political efficacy. Journal of Politics, 73 (1): 216-231.
- Bianco, W. T. (1998). Different paths to the same result: Rational choice, political psychology, and impression formation in campaigns. American Journal of Political Science, 42, 1061-1081
- Blais, A., Labbé, S., &Vincent, S. (2011). Personality traits, political attitudes and the propensity to vote. European Journal of Political Research. 50, (395-417).
- Baragh, J. A. (1997). The automaticity of everyday life. In R. S. Wyer (Ed.), Advances in social cognition (Vol 10), (1-61). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Burden, B. C., & Klofstad, C.A. (2005). Affect and cognition in party identification. Political Psychology. 26, 869 - 886. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00448.x
- Burns, A. C., & Bush, R. F. (2002). Marketing research: Online research applications. New Jersey: Pearson Education.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, & Donald Stokes (1960). The American Voter. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

- Che-ming, M. & Jing, G. (2013).Impact of political identity, efficacy and selective media exposure on political participation: A comparative study of young adults in the United State and Hong Kong. Centre for Chines Media and Comparative Communication Research. The Chines University of Hong Kong.
- Chen, S., & Chaiken, S. (1999). The heuristic–systematic model in its broader context. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), Dual-process theories in social psychology (pp. 73–96). New York: Guilford Press.
- Finkel, S. (1985). Reciprocal effects of participation and political efficacy: A panel analysis. American Journal of Political Science, 29 (4), 891-913.
- Fishbein, M. A. (1967). Readings in attitude theory and measurement. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Greene, S. (2002). The Social-Psychological Measurement of Partisanship. Political Behavior, 24(3):171-197.
- Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P. & Shachar, R. (2003).Voting may be Habit-forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment. American Journal of Political Science, 47 (3), 540–50
- Harder, J. & Krosink, J. A. (2008). Why do people vote? A psychological analysis of the causes of voter turnout. Journal of Social Issues, 64 (3), (525- 549).doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2008.00576.x.
- Hutchinson, S. R., & Lovell, C. D. (2004). A review of methodological characteristics of research published in key journals in higher education: Implications for graduate research training. Research in Higher Education, 45, 383-403.
- Iyengar, S., &Ottati, V. (1994).Cognitive perspective in political psychology. In R.S. Wyer & T.K. Srull (Eds.), Handbook of Social Cognition, Second Edition, Vol. 2 (pp.143-188), Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum
- Iyengar, S. & Simon, A. F. (2000). New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects. Annu. Rev. Psychol, 51, 149-169.
- Kanazawa, S. (2000). A new solution to the collective action problem: The paradox of voter turnout. American Sociological Review, 65, 433-442.
- Kuklinski, J. (2001). Citizens and political: Perspectives from political psychology. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lau, R., & Erber, R. (1985). Political Sophistication: An Information Processing Perspective. Mass Media and Political Thought. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lodge, M., & Taber, C. (2000).Motivated skepticism in the evaluation of political beliefs. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Washington, DC
- Maddux, J. E. (1995). Self-efficacy, adaptation, and adjustment: Theory, research, and application. In C. R., Snyder, & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), Handbook of positive psychology (pp. 305-330). New York: Oxford University Press Plenum.
- Miller, W. E., & Shanks. J. M. (1996). The New American Voter. Harvard University Press Cambridge, MA.
- Niemi, R. G., Craig, C.S & Mattei, F. (1991). Measuring Internal Political Efficacy in the 1988 National Election Study. The American Political Science Review, 85(4), 1407-1413.
- Page, B. I., & Robert Y. S. (1992). The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Prior M., & Lupia. A. (2008). Money, time, and political knowledge: Distinguishing quick recall and political skills. American Journal of Political Science 52: 169-83.
- Renshon, Stanley A. (1974). Psychological needs and political behavior: A theory of personality and political efficacy. New York: The Free Press.
- Riggle, E. D.B. & Mitzi S. J. (1996). Age differences in political decision making: Strategies for evaluating political candidates. Political Behavior 18, 99–118.
- Rosco, D. & Christiansen. N. D. (2010). Exploring the attitudinal structure of partisanship. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40(9):2232 2266. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00657.x
- Schoen, H. & Schumann, S. (2007). Personality traits, partisan Attitudes, and voting behavior. Evidence from Germany. Political Psychology 28, 471-498.
- Serek, J.; Lacinova, L.; Macek, P. (2012). Does family experience influence political Beliefs? Relation between interpersonal conflict perceptions and political efficacy in late adolescence. Journal of adolescence, 35, (577-586).
- Sherer, M., Maddux, J. E., Mercandante, B., Prentice-Dunn, S., Jacobs, B., & Rogers, R. W. (1982). The selfefficacy scale: Construction and validation. Psychological Reports, 51, 633-671.

- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin, (Eds.), Psychology of Intergroup Relations (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Stanley, H. W., & Niemi, R. G. (1995). The Demise of the New Deal Coalition: Partisanship and Group Support, 1952-1992. In H. F. Weisberg (Ed.), Democracy's Feast: Elections in America (pp. 220-40). Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Stanley, H. W., & Niemi, R. G. (2006). Partisanship, Party Coalitions, and Group Support, 1952-2004. Presidential Studies Quarterly. 36, 172-188.
- Sweeney, P. D. & Gruber, K. L. (1984). Selective exposure: Voter information preferences and the Watergate affair. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46 (6), 1208-1221. doi.10.1037/0022-3514.46.6.1208.
- Rosema, M. (2006). Partisanship, candidate evaluations, and prospective voting. Electoral Studies 25, 467-488. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2005.06.017.
- Rosenbaum, M. (Ed.). (1990). Learned resourcefulness: On coping skills, self-control, and adaptive behavior. New York: Springer.
- Stanley, H. W., Niemi, R. G. (1995). The Demise of the new deal coalition: Partisanship and group support, 1952-1992. In H. Weisberg (Ed.), Democracy's Fears (220 -240). Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (eds.), Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Chicago: Nelson-Hal.
- Tharenou P., Saks A.M., & Moore C. (2007). A review and critique of research on training and organizationallevel outcomes. Hum. Res. Manage. Rev., 17, 251-273.
- Tipton, R. M., & Worthington, E. L. (1984). The measurement of generalized self-efficacy: A study of construct validity. Journal of Personality Assessment, 48, 545-548.
- Valentino, N. A., Gregorwicz, K., & Groenendyk, E. W. (2009). Efficacy, emotions and the habit of participation. Political Behavior, 31(3), 307-330.
- Vecchione, M.; Caprara, G. (2009). Personality determinants of political participation: The contribution of traits and self-efficacy beliefs. Personality and individual differences, 46, (487-492).
- Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972).Participation in America Political Democracy and Social Equality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weissberg, R. (1975). Political efficacy and political illusion. The Journal of Politics, 37(2), 469-487.
- Wollman, N. & Stouder, R. (2001). Believed efficacy and political activity: A test of specificity hypothesis. The journal of social psychology, 131, (557-566).
- Zaccaro, S., Blair, V., Peterson, C., & Zananis, M. (1995).Collective efficacy. In J. E. Maddux (Ed.), Selfefficacy, adaptation, and adjustment: Theory, research, and application (305-330). New York: Plenum.
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). The nature and origins of mass opinion. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zimmerman, M. (1989). The relationship between political efficacy and citizen participation: Construct validation study. Journal of personality assessment, 53, (554-566).