Gendered Political Socialization

Why Women and Men Still Differ in Political Interest

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Preface

1 Introduction: Theories and Explanations for the Gender Gap in Political Interest

Traditional political science studies suggest that men are generally more interested in politics than women (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; M. L. Inglehart 1981; R. Inglehart and Norris 2003; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). However, several recent studies (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020; Ferrín and García-Albacete 2023; Keeling 2023; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Tormos and Verge 2022) show that people do not think about the full range of political actions when they are asked questions about their political interest and that men are more interested than women in certain political topics — notably partisan politics — but less interested in others — like health care and education politics. In parallel, studies have found parents and peers play an important role in children's political socialization (Dostie-Goulet 2009b; Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995; Mayer and Schmidt 2004; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013), especially when they share the children's gender (Beauregard 2008; Owen and Dennis 1988). Already at age 6, boys and girls are more likely to draw male than female politicians when asked to draw a politician (Bos et al. 2022), suggesting aspects of gendered political socialization happen at a young age. While structural, institutional, biological, and life-cycle factors have also been linked to the development of political interest, childhood socialization is one of its most important determinants (Jennings and Niemi 1981) — and political interest remains stable from an early age (Prior 2010, 2019). However, parental transmission of political interest has only been studied using the traditional one-item measure of political interest, while the gendered aspects of peer transmission of political interest have not been formalized. This dissertation answers the following questions: *"How do men and women differ with regards to political interest, and why?"* In response to these questions, I contend that, as they grow up, most boys develop more interest in competitive aspects of politics while most girls develop more interest in cooperative aspects of politics. I further suggest that these segregated interests mainly emerge as a result of gendered socialization by their same-gender parent(s) and peers. Notably, interest in *partisan* politics is distinctly transmitted from men to boys. Therefore, I argue that gender differences are more about the type of political interest rather than the level of political interest.

Among various topics, interest in partisan politics has important implications for the exercise of citizenship rights. This topic is the most closely related to Canadian political institutions. Therefore, interest in partisan politics may be related to greater political ambition, which leads to men's higher levels of elite representation (Fox and Lawless 2005). Since policies often have different effects on men and women, which can be influenced by policymakers' gender

(Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Donato et al. 2008; Rayment 2020), the fact that women are under-represented in the legislative and executive spheres has practical consequences for the kinds of legislation adopted. By studying the origins of gender differences in political interest, potential solutions can be sought by relevant actors who seek assemblies that are more gender-balanced. Moreover, political interest has also been linked with other forms of political participation (Cicognani et al. 2012). It is therefore possible that interest in various political topics increases the range of political actions in which men and women take part.

1.1 Conceptual Definitions

Before defining relevant concepts such as political engagement, political participation and political interest, it is important to first define what *politics* is. Politics is a contested concept and has been for a long time (Gallie 1956). For Weber (1919), "[t]he concept is extremely broad and comprises any kind of leadership in action" (1). Heywood (2019) offers a more recent and comprehensive definition:

> Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Politics is inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs, and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure their enforcement, they must work with others (34).

Other sources have variously described politics as the art of government, as public affairs in general, as the non-violent resolution of disputes, as power and the distribution of resources, or as the conflictual discussion of controversial topics (Conover, Searing, and Crewe 2002; Fitzgerald 2013; Heywood 2019; Lane 1962; Sapiro 2013; Walsh 2004).

In this dissertation, for the sake of clarity, *politics* is defined using Heywood's (2019) definition. Importantly, this definition emphasizes the notions of cooperation and competition, therefore going beyond Weber's (1919) notion of leadership. More than a partisan game, politics includes actions that preserve the policy status quo as well as actions that aim at disrupting it, including contentious politics (Tilly and Tarrow 2015) and interest groups that seek to influence the rules — from the international level to the local level.

The umbrella term *political engagement* is used throughout this dissertation to describe forms of commitment to politics through either *attitudes*, *actions*, or both — leaving aside the ideological content of these attitudes and actions. Political engagement has been used to refer to political interest, political discussion, political knowledge, voter turnout, political efficacy, and/or party membership (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Gidengil, O'Neill, and Young 2010; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). More narrowly, *political participation* is used to refer to political actions, such as boycotting, participating in protests, donating money to candidates,

voting, or working with interest groups or voluntary associations that seek to influence policy at any level — international, national, provincial, local, school board, and so on.

Political interest, this study's main variable of interest, is defined as "the degree to which politics arouses a citizen's curiosity" (J. W. Van Deth 1990, 278). It therefore involves both being aware of politics and caring about it. It is a form of political engagement through attitudes rather than actions. When used in this dissertation, the concept is meant to refer to people's self-reported interest in politics in general. However, studies show that women and men do not think of politics the same way scholars do, and instead emphasize partisan politics more specifically when answering survey questions on political interest (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020; Ferrín and García-Albacete 2023).[1] The measure of political interest therefore differs from the theoretical definition of politics used for this dissertation, as it is biased towards partisan politics. For similar reasons, when *political discussion* and *political efficacy* are mentioned in this dissertation, they also refer to concepts that are likely tilted toward partisan politics.

Interest in partisan politics is defined as interest in the competition between political parties that happens in political institutions and in election campaigns — as opposed to interest in policies, society issues or contentious politics. When studies explicitly measure interest in partisan politics, this dissertation uses the expression *interest in partisan politics* rather than *political interest*.

Political ambition refers to the desire to run for political office at any level (Fox and Lawless 2005). Political ambition is another attitudinal component of political engagement. This desire can be short-term or long-term.

Finally, the concept of *gender* is defined here as "sets of socially constructed meanings of masculinities and femininities, derived from context-specific identifications of sex, that is, male and female, men and women" (Beckwith 2010, 160). While gender is a social construct, it is already observable at a young age and further develops through time due to biological factors — not environmental ones (Hatemi et al. 2012). Other than men and women, various other gender identities have been identified, including transgender, non-binary, gender-queer, and gender-ambiguous people (Matsuno and Budge 2017). According to the 2021 Canadian Census, people who identify as transgender or non-binary made up 0.33% of all Canadians (R. Easton 2022). Due to concerns with sample size and theoretical grounding, in this dissertation, only people who identify as men, women, boys, and girls are studied, as in most studies of gender differences in political engagement. Further research using purposely selected samples of people who do not identify as men or women will be needed to get a better understanding of the determinants of their political interest.

[1] Women are more likely to view gender issues as political than men, but otherwise men and women seem to define what counts as political in similar ways (Ferrin et al. 2020; Fitzgerald 2013).

1.2 Diagnosis: Gender Differences in Political Interest and Engagement

In Canada and other Western countries, differences in political engagement are complex and often subject to disagreement between studies. On some aspects of political engagement, it is hard to tell whether men or women are more engaged. They seem to be about as likely to vote in national elections (Kostelka, Blais, and Gidengil 2019), participate in demonstrations and political rallies (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010), donate money to political candidates (conflicting evidence from Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) and Tolley, Besco, and Sevi (2022)), express high levels of political trust (conflicting evidence from Dassonneville et al. (2012) and Schoon and Cheng (2011)), win elections when they run for office (Golder et al. 2017; Sevi, Arel-Bundock, and Blais 2019), and express interest in local politics (Coffé 2013; Hayes and Bean 1993).[2]

However, other aspects of political engagement point in the direction of men being more politically engaged. Studies have found that they are more likely to be interested in politics in general, including national and international politics (Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997); to discuss politics (Beauvais 2020; Rosenthal, Jones, and Rosenthal 2003); to have an opinion on political issues (Atkeson and Rapoport 2003); to try to convince other people to vote for a candidate (Beauregard 2014); to feel a sense of political efficacy, both internal and external[3] (Gidengil, Giles, and Thomas 2008; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997); to give correct answers to knowledge questions on political institutions (Dolan 2011; Ferrin, Fraile, and García-Albacete 2018; Fraile 2014; Norris, Lovenduski, and Campbell 2004; Stolle and Gidengil 2010; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997); to vote in second-order elections[4] (Dassonneville and Kostelka 2021; Kostelka, Blais, and Gidengil 2019); to be active political party members (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Stolle and Hooghe 2011); to be politically ambitious; and to run for political office (Devroe et al. 2023; Fox and Lawless 2004, 2005, 2023; Lawless and Fox 2010; Tolley 2023).

Finally, research suggests women are more politically engaged in some aspects. For instance, women are more likely than men to be interested in health care, education and gender issues (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Tormos and Verge 2022), give correct answers to knowledge questions on government services and social issues (Ferrin, Fraile, and García-Albacete 2018; Keeling 2023; Norris, Lovenduski, and Campbell 2004; Stolle and Gidengil 2010), and engage in private activism such as boycotting and signing petitions (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010).

[2] Controlling for some of the other political attitudes mentioned here, women become *more* interested in local politics (Coffé 2013) and *more* likely to vote in national elections (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010) than men, but the current focus is on raw gender differences.

[3] *Internal efficacy*: an individual's "self-perception that they are capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts such as voting." *External efficacy*: an individual's "perception of being able to have an impact on politics" (Gidengil, Giles, and Thomas 2008, 538).

[4] Second-order elections include European elections, municipal elections, and most types of other sub-regional elections.

Overall, the types of political engagement in which men appear to be more involved are more related to political institutions, while those in which women are more involved are more informal and — in the case of boycotts and petitions — anti-system. Since more power is typically concentrated in political institutions than in private activism in Canada, the aspects of politics in which men feel more engaged, such as interest in partisan and national politics, concern the highest levels of power in the country. The overall influence of women in Canadian politics is therefore limited.

1.3 Consequences from the Point of View of Democratic Theory

Different aspects of political engagement are correlated and influence each other (Bennett and Bennett 1989; Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Coffé 2013; Ondercin and Jones-White 2011). This means that a gender gap in one aspect of political engagement can contribute to a gap in another aspect. More importantly, when gender differences in *partisan political interest* emerge at a young age, they can have consequences for at least two types of substantive citizen participation when children become adults: discussing partisan politics with other people and running for elected political office.

1.3.1 Political Discussion

Studies report men are more likely than women to discuss politics, but men and women tend to think about *partisan politics* more specifically when they think about the concept of politics (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020). Still, Heywood's (2019) definition of politics goes beyond partisan competition and elections, including all the ways through which people make and change the rules that govern them. Traditional political discussion survey questions therefore mostly measure discussion of partisan politics, which is one aspect of politics on which men typically report more interest. As people usually discuss the topics they are most interested in, it seems likely that women discuss more often political topics for which they report more interest, such as health care or gender issues, although survey questions typically do not ask what kinds of political questions people discuss the most. Political discussion of various topics is seen as something desirable in participatory democracy,[5] since partisan politics is only a means through which relevant issues are often addressed.

Discussing with people with different ideas and views also creates a phenomenon of collective intelligence (Landemore 2013), which is seen as a desirable outcome from a democratic point of view, since it has been found both to reduce political polarization and to produce better reasoning, i.e., a better capacity at finding and evaluating arguments in deliberative context

[5]The long-standing concept of participatory democracy is also well accepted among feminist and intersectional theorists (Collins 2017; Phillips 1992).

(Mercier and Landemore 2012). Therefore, it seems relevant to identify the socialization elements that lead to more diversity in political discussions — and men and women have different life experiences but also, often, different ideological viewpoints (Gidengil et al. 2005).

1.3.2 Running for Elected Political Office

Studies have repeatedly found that men have more political ambition than women. For instance, there are twice as many men as women who seek to be nominated as candidates in Canadian elections (Tolley 2023). This might be because, in other contexts, women "are more than twice as likely as men to consider themselves 'not at all qualified' to run for office (29% of women, compared to 14% of men) [and] are roughly 22% less likely than men to report parental encouragement" (Fox and Lawless 2005, 654). These two factors still stand in a 2021 follow-up study (Fox and Lawless 2023). Political interest, self-perceived qualifications, and family socialization all predict political ambition — i.e., having previously considered the possibility of running for office. Gender differences in partisan political interest and political efficacy, while not the only causes,[6] might therefore help to explain why women are under-represented in legislative assemblies in the vast majority of countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline 2023). In Canada, too, political issues are most often settled by assemblies and executives where men are the majority. In 2009, women represented less than 25% of Canadian legislators at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels and only 15% of mayors (Tolley 2011). At the time of writing, while the Canadian federal cabinet is gender-balanced, nine out of ten provincial premiers and most of their ministers are men.

Women's lower level of political ambition is not the only factor contributing to their legislative under-representation, but other factors often point in different directions. Discrimination against women by gatekeepers (Ashe and Stewart 2012) and by parties who make them candidates in hopeless ridings (Thomas and Bodet 2013) might explain part of the gender gap in legislative representation in the country, among other factors. Moreover, female candidates tend to be more qualified than male candidates, and voters hold them to more stringent qualification standards compared to male candidates (Bauer 2020). Still, in Canada, women receive as many votes as men on average (Sevi, Arel-Bundock, and Blais 2019). They are also *more* likely than men to win elections at the municipal level when they run (Lucas et al. 2021). An international study also finds female candidates get on average 2 percentage points *more* of the popular vote than male candidates (Schwarz and Coppock 2022). Moreover, Canadian elites discriminate against men when it comes to providing advice to political aspirants (Dhima 2022).

[6] Studies have also found that highly visible politicians are covered more negatively by the media (Fernandez-Garcia 2016; Goodyear-Grant 2013), are more likely to be the targets of uncivil tweets (Rheault, Rayment, and Musulan 2019) and have a lower income than men — even in Canada (Thomas 2013). Furthermore, when primed about the competitive aspects of politics, women's political ambition declines while men's remains stable (Preece and Stoddard 2015). These factors could also help to explain women's lower political ambition and representation.

1.4 Potential Explanations: The Emergence of Gender Differences

Several theories have been suggested to account for women's lower levels of self-reported political interest. This includes structural, institutional, and individual factors. Yet, no convincing unified theory has been proposed thus far to account for the emergence of this gender gap.

1.4.1 Structural Factors

1.4.1.1 Society Values and Culture

Broad cultural differences between countries and through time explain some of the aggregate variation in gender differences in political interest. M. L. Inglehart (1981) shows that women are more interested in politics in traditionally Protestant countries than in traditionally Catholic countries. More recently, R. Inglehart and Norris (2003) further suggest that modernization has a positive effect on cultural attitudes towards gender equality: as societies move from agrarian to industrial and from industrial to postindustrial, people, especially younger generations, become more open to gender equality, though history, religion, and institutions also play a role in shaping country trajectory. Dassonneville and Kostelka (2021) also demonstrate that cultural gender differences — operationalized through differences in boys' and girls' math scores — explain countries' gender gap in political interest. Still, these cross-country variations do not explain why significant gender gaps in political interest remain in countries where gender norms are more egalitarian or where women's rights are stronger.

1.4.1.2 Women's Political Under-Representation

Women politicians' relative absence in politics might also explain part of the gender gap in political interest. Wolbrecht and Campbell (2007) find that adolescent girls are more likely to discuss politics with friends in settings where there are more women legislators, while the increase for adolescent boys is non-significant, suggesting women politicians indeed can be role models who can increase girls' political interest. Mayer and Schmidt (2004) and Bos et al. (2022) also find that adolescent boys and girls in the United States, Mexico, Japan, and China all think politics is a men's domain, and girls are more likely than boys to report so. Adolescent boys also report higher political interest. These two findings might be linked to the fact that citizens in these four countries, like almost all countries in the world, are represented by a majority of male legislators (Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline 2023). Indeed, Bühlmann and Schädel (2012) find political interest is higher among men than women in 33 European countries, but this gap is smaller in countries with higher proportions of women in their countrywide legislative assembly. They suggest the relationship is not simply an artifact of reverse causality since it holds just as well in countries with gender quotas as those without

gender quotas.[7] Still, predicted probabilities show that women would be significantly less interested in politics even in a country whose parliament has reached gender parity.

1.4.2 Institutional Factors

1.4.2.1 Political Institutions

Electoral systems could also influence gender differences in political interest. Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer (2010) find that proportional election systems — but not federalism and parliamentary systems — reduce gender gaps in political interest and political discussion compared with plurality systems. Beyond this study, there have not been any academic inquiries into the institutional determinants of the political interest gender gap. Moreover, this distinction does not address the root cause of the gender gap in political interest.

1.4.3 Individual Factors

1.4.3.1 Life-cycle events

Some individual factors that might contribute to gender differences in political interest focus on adults and life-cycle events, including motherhood and employment.

1.4.3.1.1 Motherhood

First, parenthood might have a negative impact on political interest, especially for women. In a British study, R. Campbell and Winters (2008) find that being a mother has a negative effect on political interest similar in size to being a father. However, women are more likely than men to report lacking time to keep up with politics due to family time pressures. Moreover, studies in the United States, Denmark, and Finland have found that the birth of a first child has a negative effect on political discussion and political participation which is stronger for women than men, especially in the short run, since housework duties and child-rearing are disproportionately handled by women (Bhatti et al. 2019; Gidengil, Giles, and Thomas 2008). These findings might also translate to political interest. Nevertheless, while earlier Canadian studies also found that childbirth was negatively related to political participation (Kay et al. 1987), more recent Canadian studies do not find a link between childbirth, political discussion, and political participation (Gidengil, Giles, and Thomas 2008; O'Neill et al. 2017).

[7] There is thus a feedback loop: political interest leads to political ambition, which leads to political representation, which in turn leads to political interest for the group with a higher level of representation.

1.4.3.1.2 Employment

Second, labour force participation could have a different impact on political interest for women relative to men, as was commonly hypothesized when women started to enter the labour force (Bashevkin 1993). Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1999) explain the rationale like this: "exposure on the job to a broader array of people and issues would heighten engagement with politics [including political interest], especially among [United States] women" (44). However, both Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1999) and Jennings and Niemi (1981) fail to find strong effects of labour force participation on the gender gap in political interest in the United States.

Mestre and Marín (2012) also find that women work on average three more hours of paid and unpaid work than men, and that the amount of unpaid domestic work is negatively related to political interest for women, suggesting women's lower political interest could stem from a lack of time. However, the same study also finds that the amount of unpaid domestic work is unrelated to political interest for men, which means some other factors must be at play to explain gender differences.

1.4.3.2 Biology

1.4.3.2.1 Genetics

The impact of biology, and more specifically genetics, on political interest, has been confirmed by recent studies on twins. Klemmensen et al. (2012) find that political interest and political efficacy are heritable and come from the same underlying genetic factor. The heritability of political interest, i.e. the proportion of the variability in political interest due to genetic differences among a population, varies in important ways from one study to the other and one national context to the other. It has been estimated that heritability stands at 24% (Weinschenk and Dawes (2017), United States), 36% (Weinschenk and Dawes (2017), Minnesota), 40% (Arceneaux, Johnson, and Maes (2012), United States), 43% (Klemmensen et al. (2012), United States), 48% (Ditmars and Ksiazkiewicz (2023), Germany), 50% (Dawes et al. (2014), Sweden and Weinschenk et al. (2019), Germany), 57% (Klemmensen et al. (2012), Denmark), and 62% (Bell, Schermer, and Vernon (2009), Canada and the United States). Canada therefore seems to be a country in which genetics explain a lot of the variation in political interest.

One of these studies, Ditmars and Ksiazkiewicz (2023), assesses heritability by sex, with estimates of 21.9–50.8% for women and 39.6–57.2% for men. Despite these differences not being statistically significant, they find that the heritability of political interest remains stable for men across age groups on average, women's political interest becomes more heritable and less a function of the shared environment in which they live as they age. They attribute this result to the fact that when they reach adulthood, "women can more easily select into environments in which they can pursue their predisposition that drives interest in politics, which is supported by our indications of larger heritability estimates for twins who moved out of the parental home" (11).

All these studies emphasize that genetic differences, when they are found, add to but do not replace differences in political socialization. While estimates vary between samples, these numbers imply that 38 to 76% of the variability in political interest within these populations likely comes from environmental factors. A recent study also finds that "family socialization can compensate for (genetic) individual differences and foster increased political engagement," including political interest (Rasmussen et al. 2021, 1). Genetics can also interact with environmental factors such as socialization (Ditmars and Ksiazkiewicz 2023).

1.4.3.3 Socialization

Overall, structural, institutional, life-cycle, and biological factors provide a partial explanation of the gender gap in political interest, but socialization seems to be an especially fruitful avenue, as biological studies themselves admit. Hooghe (2022) defines political socialization as "the process where individual actors acquire political attitudes as a result of outside influences from their direct environment" (99).

The idea that gender differences in political interest are rooted in early childhood socialization has been argued by many for a long time (Bashevkin 1993; Fraile and Gomez 2017). Mayer and Schmidt (2004) find that political interest is slightly higher for boys than girls in grades 7–9 in China, Mexico, and the United States, but not in Japan. Bos et al. (2022) find that girls are slightly more interested in politics at 6–7 years old, but then boys become more interested, and the gap grows larger until early adolescence.

Moreover, international and longitudinal studies find that political interest remains remarkably stable throughout life, including for high-school students, whose political interest is already high (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores 2020; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Prior 2010, 2019). Still, studies suggest that political interest becomes stronger from adolescence through early adult life (Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013), and even more so for men (Jennings and Niemi 1981, 276). Political socialization keeps happening at the adult age — but it does so at a lower rate than among children and teenagers, which are therefore at the center of this dissertation.

Socialization can be carried out by multiple actors. Studies have found children's political interest is mostly transmitted or influenced by four agents of socialization: parents (Dostie-Goulet 2009b; Mayer and Schmidt 2004; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Shehata and Amnå 2019), peers (Klofstad 2007; Shehata and Amnå 2019; Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995), media (Holt et al. 2013; Lupia and Philpot 2005; Shehata and Amnå 2019), and schools (Dassonneville et al. 2012; Mahéo 2019; Neundorf, Niemi, and Smets 2016). These agents can also influence each other, with Shehata and Amnå (2019) finding that political news consumption by parents and peers can influence their own political interest and, eventually, their children's. Transmission by parents and peers can take the form of interactions — notably political discussions — while media and schools can be agents of socialization through the

contents they produce — notably political news or citizenship education classes — or the agents that bring them — journalists, teachers, or influencers.

The relative importance of these four agents has been studied by many. In Quebec, Dostie-Goulet (2009b) finds that 14- to 17-year-old teenagers' political interest is better predicted by the frequency of political discussions with their parents than with friends, while discussions with history class teachers have a significant but lesser influence on children's political interest. In Sweden, Shehata and Amnå (2019) finds that 13- to 18-year-old teenagers' political interest is mostly affected by parents' political interest, with peers also having an important influence but not long-lasting effects. In Finland, Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015) find that 16- to 18-year-olds' political interest is mainly related to the presence of politics in their family and among their friends, with friends being the most important influence, contrary to Dostie-Goulet's (2009b) and Shehata and Amnå's (2019) results. The influence of school is marginally statistically significant. Finally, Jennings and Niemi (1981) and Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013) find that parents' role in political interest transmission mostly occurs during teenage years, while other factors explain growth among adults.

In practice, two main theories may help explain the gendered influence of these four agents in transmitting political interest to children: *social learning theory* and *gender homophily theory*. Both theories point to a broad influence of same-gender role models in socialization.

1.4.3.3.1 Social learning theory

Social learning theory suggests that children learn through the observation of their parents and peers, and model their behaviour, attitudes, habits and values after them (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016; Shehata and Amnå 2019). Through this process of observation of others, "children gradually learn what is considered appropriate and socially rewarded, and what is not in different contexts" (Shehata and Amnå 2019, 1058). Transmission of political attitudes is deemed to be more effective when cue-giving and reinforcement from the socializing agent are strong and consistent (Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009; Prior 2019).

While research about social learning and politics has most often been applied to the transmission of political participation (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016) or political engagement more generally (Jennings and Niemi 1981), a few recent studies argue social learning can also apply to orientations such as interest — in this case, political interest. Prior (2019) argues social learning can explain the transmission of political interest from parents to children. He suggests this transmission process can only occur at a time when children still live in the family home and after they start acquiring an understanding of what politics is — that is, in the early teens. Shehata and Amnå (2019) also hypothesize parents and peers who value current news affairs knowledge can transmit their political interest to children through both learning opportunities and social pressure. Learning opportunities can occur through political discussions with parents and peers, or through children's exposition to their parents watching or reading the news daily, which can give them a more concrete understanding of how politics affects their lives, a factor that predicts the development of political interest. Social pressure can occur

when children feel they need to take an interest in politics to develop a sense of belonging or social identity. Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) also highlight parents' important role in fostering higher political engagement — including political interest — among their children, linking that role to a social learning process.

Research has found that social learning exhibits gender effects: *observer–model similarity* leads children to model their behaviour, values and attitudes based on the behaviour, values and attitudes of models that resemble them (Bandura 1969). Indeed, past research has shown that the trickle-down effect of political engagement from parents to children works in gendered ways, with sons modeling their behaviour after their fathers and daughters after their mothers (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016).[8] Political interest is also more strongly correlated between mothers and daughters and between fathers and sons than any other combination (Beauregard 2008; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Owen and Dennis 1988).

1.4.3.3.2 Gender homophily theory

Homophily is "the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001, 416). *Gender homophily* refers to the ways in which children of the same gender tend to stick together and become friends, from at least the beginning of primary school (Stehlé et al. 2013). Children are even more likely to drop friends who have a friend from the other gender than to add the other-gender friend to their own group of friends (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). These patterns increase during primary school but diminish — without disappearing — after puberty (Shrum, Cheek Jr., and Hunter 1988; Stehlé et al. 2013).

Studies about gender homophily in social networking websites among teenagers and adults have yielded more nuanced results. Thelwall (2009) finds that MySpace users have similar levels of interactions regardless of their gender. However, Laniado et al. (2016) find strong gender homophily among adolescent girls and boys — though not always for the same kinds of online activities — on a Spanish social networking service.

1.5 Political Interest Dissected: Interest in Different Political Topics

Perhaps as a result of social learning processes, research has found that men and women are often interested in different issues. It is therefore possible that women are simply interested in aspects of politics which they do not always see as political. Studies have suggested the typically reported gender gap in political interest might be the result of inadequate measurement (Alozie, Simon, and Merrill 2003; Bourque and Grossholtz 1974; Keeling 2023; Tormos

[8] This dissertation uses the words "mother" and "father" without implying that there is exactly one mother and one father per family. Other situations are very common.

and Verge 2022). While Alozie, Simon, and Merrill (2003) use a very broad concept of "political orientation" including discussion, attention, and participation in various activities, recent studies have found a creative way of addressing the limitations of the traditional measure of political interest. On average, women report more interest in topics such as health care, education and gender issues, while men report more interest in foreign policy, partisan politics, and law and order, and topics such as taxes and local politics seem to be equally interesting to men and women (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013; Ferrin et al. 2020; Hayes and Bean 1993; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Tormos and Verge 2022; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). These studies generally conclude that men and women are simply interested in different domains of politics and that politics is mentally associated with elections and parties, topics in which men have more interest,[9] therefore leading women to report lower levels of political interest overall. Tormos and Verge (2022) find that prompting for interest in several topics for which women typically report more interest, including gender issues and health care, makes women and men rate their political interest similarly, with an increase in political interest stronger among women than among men. Conversely, prompting respondents for partisan politics slightly reduces political interest among both men and women, but more strongly among women. Keeling (2023) uses a similar research design and also finds that prompting for interest in several topics including gender issues reduces the gender gap in self-reported political interest, although this decline is due to a decline in self-reported political interest among men rather than an increase among women.

Why would women be more interested in health care, education and gender issues specifically? Kuhn (2004) argues that women's "political thinking revolves around terms of compassion and cooperation, not around contest and competition. Females are interested in solving concrete problems and are driven by social empathy, egalitarian values, and engagement for other people. [...] Females prefer unconventional forms of political participation" (96). Women's higher interest in gender issues such as abortion and gender-based violence can be explained by the fact that these issues are more likely to affect them directly (Ferrin et al. 2020). For similar reasons, R. Campbell and Winters (2008) suggest that women's higher interest in health services matches with statistics suggesting that women are more frequent users of these services compared to men. Moreover, women's "continuing disproportionate share of childcare responsibilities may also lead them to be more interested in issues relating to education and social services" (64). Stolle and Gidengil (2010) also find women give better answers than men to knowledge questions about the health care system, and scholars have found strong links between political interest and political knowledge — the former often predicting the latter (Elo and Rapeli 2010; Pettey 1988; Prior 2019).

Why would men be more interested in foreign policy, partisan politics, and law and order? The competitive nature of partisan politics seems to tap into men's tendency towards agency, leading them to express more interest in that aspect of politics. While studies are unclear about

[9]This mental association might be culture-specific to some degree. Conceptions of politics could be more removed from partisan politics in other situations such as Northwest Territories' and Nunavut's non-partisan legislative assemblies, but also in authoritarian one-party regimes.

why men report more interest in foreign policy and law and order, it is possible to argue that men's higher rates of incarceration, stronger presence in the police force, and overrepresentation among world leaders could lead them to take more interest in these areas. Stolle and Gidengil (2010) also find men give better answers than women to knowledge questions about partisan politics.

The reasonings behind differences in interest for different topics often center around a dichotomy between competition and cooperation, which may have to do with different personality traits — also potentially resulting from socialization.

1.5.1 Personality Traits

More specifically, gender may affect some personality traits that are relevant to the development and types of political interest. Rancer and Dierks-Stewart (1985) show that biological sex does not predict argumentativeness, while gender identity does, with masculine individuals more argumentative than feminine individuals. They measure gender identity using a scale of *expressive* (feminine) and *instrumental* (masculine) behaviours. In a literature review, Infante and Rancer (1996) similarly find that men are more likely than women to value arguing and engage in it, except for workplace-related arguing. Similarly, Shaw (2002) finds that female MPs in the United Kingdom are less likely to resort to adversarial language than male MPs. Experimental studies by Niederle and Vesterlund (2007) and Kanthak and Woon (2015) also find that men are less risk-averse than women and tend to value competition more than women do, although Sevi and Blais (2023) find the opposite to be true, with women showing as much willingness as men, or perhaps slightly more, to participate in competitive elections. Individuals also tend to think men are better than women at negotiating, something that is then internalized by women who behave according to gender-based expectations, according to a United States study and a literature review (Eckel, De Oliveira, and Grossman 2008; Kray, Thompson, and Galinsky 2001; A. K. Schneider 2017).

These differences seem to be politically relevant since a recent British study by R. Campbell and Winters (2008) shows that men's higher self-reported political interest derives from the fact that they are more *agentic*, i.e., focused on self-assertion, while women are more *communal*, i.e., focused on cooperation. Since the concept of *politics* is typically seen as more adversarial, it appeals more to agentic types — mostly men — who then develop higher political efficacy and overall self-reported political interest, a finding also shared by M. C. Schneider et al. (2016). Yet, our definition of politics includes both its competitive and cooperative aspects.

1.6 Hypotheses: Towards a Unified Socialization Theory

This dissertation asks *"How do men and women differ with regards to political interest, and why?"* It hypothesizes that political socialization plays a central role in explaining the emergence of gender differences in interest in political interest, with parents and peers the most

important agents of childhood political socialization. Furthermore, it emphasizes that gender differences are more about the type of political interest rather than the level of political interest.

While gender tendencies towards communality and agency respectively contribute to women's interest in health care and men's interest in partisan politics,[10] a broader application of socialization theories that includes parents and peers would provide a more comprehensive understanding of who influences girls and boys in how much interest they have in various aspects of politics. Gender homophily and social learning both suggest that children are influenced by same-gender role models, but these theories need to be further specified. A broad application of social learning theory would predict a parent's political interest influences the development of their children's political interest more strongly for their same-gender children than other-gender children, but whether this applies to interest in political topics other than partisan politics has not been tested. On the other hand, gender homophily predicts more same-gender than mixed-gender peer discussions, and this finding applies to political discussions as well. However, no study has thus far examined the implications of this theory for gender differences in political interest.

The study seeks to bridge two literatures on gender, socialization, and political interest; one emphasizing personality traits leading to interest in different political topics, and the other emphasizing the transmission of political interest by same-gender role models. The goal is to measure interest in various political topics and link it to parents' and peers' interest in those same topics. This is something that has not been done before; parents' and children's political interest is typically compared using a single measure of political interest, but we do not know if same-gender role models have the same impact on interest transmission for each political topic.

***Hypothesis 1**: Children's interest in specific political topics is more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than other-gender parent(s).*

***Hypothesis 2**: Children's interest in specific political topics is more affected by political discussions with their same-gender peers than other-gender peers.*

According to Hypothesis 1, on average, a mother will have more transmission potential of her interest in specific political topics to her daughters than sons through political discussion, for example. Hypothesis 2 uses the same logic for same-gender peers. Hypotheses 1 and 2 are summarized in Figure 1.1, with a few additional background details. Put neatly, the general theory is that *children's interest in specific political topics comes mainly from socialization by their same-gender parent(s) and peers.*

[10]These processes might be reinforced by societal expectations about men's and women's roles, although this explanation is more structural than socialization-driven.

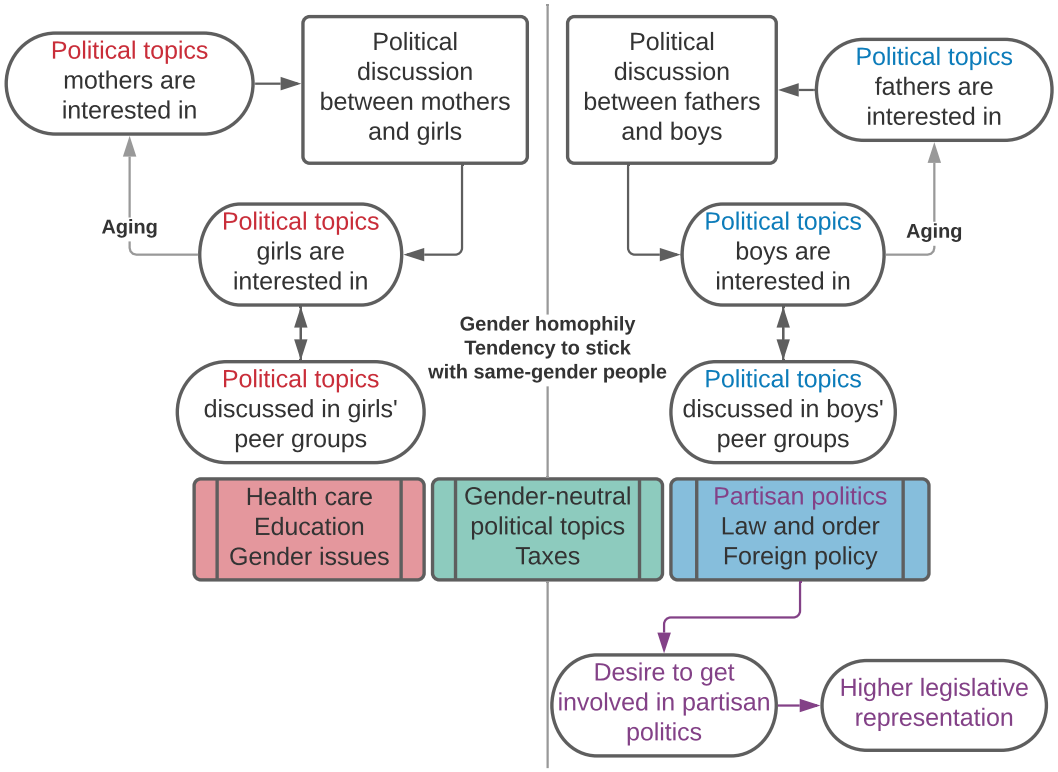

Figure 1.1: Theoretical Framework

1.7 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation mostly relies on survey data collected among Canadian children and teenagers. Chapter 2 outlines the data and methods used in all other chapters of this dissertation. It also provides descriptive statistics about some of the main variables used in the data analysis, including gender, personality traits, role models, interest in various political topics, and socio-demographic variables.

The next four chapters are empirical. Chapter 3 studies the evolution of political interest through life, answering questions about the stability of political interest and of the gender gap in self-reported political interest. Chapter 4 explores the role of parents in the transmission of political interest and provides the answer to Hypothesis 1. Chapter 5 does the same for the role of peers, answering Hypothesis 2, while Chapter 6 assesses the influence of teachers and social media influencers. The role of school and media has been emphasized by some studies, but the extent to which gendered effects will be present is less certain.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides an overall assessment of the influence of role models on the development of political interest among children and teenagers, and of the extent to which socialization can explain political interest gender gaps. Its overarching goals are to provide a better understanding of how men and women view politics differently, to raise awareness about this discrepancy and to provide recommendations for actors who seek to encourage interest in some — or many — political topics among adult citizens and future adult citizens of both genders.

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2 Data, Methods and Descriptive Statistics

This chapter seeks to explain the dissertation's datasets, methods, and analyse descriptive statistics about the main explanatory and outcome variables used in the next chapters. It seeks to answer the following question: How can we study the development of political interest through gendered socialization processes? The types of analyses, survey weights, and decisions about which variables to include are provided.

Chapter 1 has established that political interest is an important predictor of political discussion and of more concrete forms of political engagement, which makes this concept worthy of scientific inquiry. Measuring political interest, its development, and the socialization processes that lead to it requires a methodological approach that relies on data collected among both children and adults. It also requires the data collected among children to inquire about all potential sources of socialization — parents, peers, media, and schools. The measurement of gendered personality traits among children — self-assertion for boys and co-operation for girls — is also an important factor that may explain how transmission processes work. This chapter answers the following question: *How can we study the development of political interest through gendered socialization processes?* It starts by detailing the datasets and methods that will be used throughout the chapters of this dissertation. It also provides descriptive statistics about some of the main variables that will be used, notably those related to political interest as well as socio-economic status. Before doing so, it provides a brief explanation of the case selection.

2.1 Why Canada?

The data used for this dissertation comes from Canada, the country I live in and know best. As Noël (2014) puts it, studying one's own country produces social scientific knowledge that is directly relevant to and usable by citizens of that country, and it therefore has a uniquely important character. Moreover, for the current study, Canada is a particularly interesting country to study, given that it is often classified by reports as one of the best for women to live in (Conant 2019; Equal Measures 2030 2020; US News & World Report 2020), even though only 30.7% of elected MPs are women, the 61st highest percentage among the world's 193 countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline 2023). Canadian Election Study (CES) data

since 1997 shows that the gender gap in political interest has remained fairly stable despite a recent increase in the percentage of women politicians at the national and provincial levels (Sevi 2021). These characteristics make Canada a country worth studying to better understand the underlying reasons behind the stability of the gender gap in the aggregate measure of political interest, which mainly taps into interest in partisan politics. Studies that measure interest in different political topics have been conducted in Europe and the Middle East, but it is unclear how the gender differences they find for many topics apply in Canada. Studying the transmission of political interest to children in Canada seems like a promising place to look for explanations of these gender differences that may, or may not, apply elsewhere.

2.2 Data

Given the abstract nature of political interest, the observation of children's behaviour would not provide an accurate answer to this dissertation's questions. Political interest is different from frequency of political discussions, and different from political participation. Surveys, compared with interviews or focus groups, make it easier to get reliable interest scores that can be compared across respondents of different backgrounds. Interviews and focus groups are also more likely to be subject to social desirability bias than surveys — students might overestimate their interest in politics and the frequency of discussions with parents. This dissertation therefore relies on survey data.

Within Canada, this dissertation relies on five datasets as well as the 2021 Canadian Census. Two of these datasets have been collected for this dissertation while the other three are large-scale surveys mobilized to provide extra context and better estimates of political engagement in Canada — and its evolution as Canadians age. The two datasets which were collected for this dissertation share similar questions about political interest and about interest in five specific political topics: health care, international affairs, law and crime, education, and partisan politics. These five topics are those for which past studies have reported the largest gender differences in interest: women typically report being more interested in the political aspects of health care and education, while men typically report being more interested in the political aspects of the other three topics mentioned (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013; Ferrin et al. 2020; Hayes and Bean 1993; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997).

2.2.1 Canadian Children Political Interest Survey (CCPIS)

To create the Canadian Children Political Interest Survey (CCPIS), data was collected among 698 Canadian children and adolescents aged 8 to 18 from seven elementary and secondary schools and one school board's Student Senate, all located in various urban areas of Quebec

and Ontario,[1] between August 2022 and January 2023. Students had to fill a 15-minute online survey questionnaire during classroom time, under supervision by their teacher, who gave them the link to fill the survey. The survey was hosted on the Qualtrics Web platform and was available in both French and English. This part of the data collection received clearance from the University of Toronto's Social Sciences, Humanities and Education Research Ethics Board. It seems worthwhile to study political socialization in the period of life where political interest is developed to better understand gender differences since there seems to be some level of path dependency in individuals' political interest afterwards (Prior 2010, 2019).

Table 2.1 shows the number of classrooms and students in each of the eight schools included in the final sample of the CCPIS, as well as additional information about the schools. Participating schools include a mix of private and public schools in Quebec and Ontario, including students from all age groups.

Table 2.1: Descriptive statistics, CCPIS data

ID	Type[2]	Language	Province	Ages[3]	Number of students in body	Number of students in sample	Number of classrooms in sample	Number of teachers in sample
1	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	450	133	5	2
2	Public	French	Quebec	12–17	690	196	10	2
3	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	670	78	3	1
4	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	900	253	12	3
5[4]	Private	English	Ontario	14–18		5	3	2
6	Public	French	Quebec	5–12		14	1	1
7	Private	English	Ontario	5–14		4	3	1
8[5]	Public	English	Ontario	14–18	15	15	1	1
					Total	**698**	**38**	**13**

In total, 75 school boards,[6] 47 public schools, and 83 private schools across Canada were originally contacted to take part in the project. Of the 75 school boards that were contacted, 10 accepted to be part of the study (13%), 15 refused (20%), 27 did not reply to emails (36%), and 23 did not follow through or required extensive information that was impossible to provide

[1] All are considered urban since they are part of a census metropolitan area (CMA) as defined by Statistics Canada (2023a).

[4] Mixed on-site/online school.

[5] Student Senate, a body located at the school board level.

[2] The three public bodies that accepted to be part of the study are associated with three different school boards.

[3] Age groups are for the school itself, not the classrooms selected.

[6] This figure also includes institutions known under names such as school service centers, school divisions, school districts, school councils, and centers for education.

(31%). On that last point, several school boards required extensive documentation about the study or background police checks, even for virtual data collection, and most of those who were sent that information still refused to take part in the study after the documentation was provided to them, often citing a lack of time. Of the 132 schools that were contacted, 10 accepted (8%), 9 refused (7%), 2 were deemed ineligible after checking (2%), 88 did not respond (67%) — in most cases after several attempts — and 21 stopped replying after a few email exchanges (16%). Among the schools that accepted to take part in the study, 13 teachers made their students fill the survey (59% of all teachers contacted).[7]

The proportion of schools and school boards who refused to take part in the CCPIS is admittedly high. Two main factors are likely at play. First, schools often cited a lack of time or specified they had already said yes to a number of other academic projects. The demands on schools and teachers are high, and a study about socialization may not rank among their short-term priorities. Second, despite the emphasis in all documentation and emails about the ease of the process — with very few drawbacks on teachers other than coordinating a 15-minute survey period where students could use either their phones or laptops to fill the survey — there was no direct benefit for schools, financial or other. Such payments to schools may have raised concerns among schools or parents.

Within each classroom, 18 students filled the survey on average — a number that rises to 22 per classroom when removing school 5, whose students did not have an allocated classroom period to fill the survey and therefore did so out of their free time. 22 per classroom is a number very close to the average 20 to 24 students per classroom in Ontario and Quebec schools (Bolduc 2023).[8] In total, the 698 students who took part in the survey, while not as large as the 1,000 generally reached in regular cross-country opinion polling in Canada, make it possible to analyze trends that go beyond the local or school level with sufficient statistical power.

Low response rates for schools and school boards imply that the sample's descriptive characteristics should not be seen as representative of the Canadian student population. This sample should be considered a non-random, convenience sample. Nevertheless, as will become clearer when examining student-level descriptive statistics, there is no theoretical reason to believe that the types of correlations studied here — transmission of political interest by role models — should be affected by the convenience nature of the sample. Given the scarcity of available data on school-aged children's political predispositions within Canada, this dataset also provides relevant information about students' interests, role models, and relation to politics. The core of the data analysis in each chapter therefore relies on this dataset.

The CCPIS includes information about students' interest in various political topics, the political topics they say they discuss with their mothers, fathers and peers, as well as the political

[7]Non-response and rejection rates after the first contact are not reported by Dostie-Goulet (2009b), Prior (2019), Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013) or other similar studies about political interest among children and teenagers.

[8]Dostie-Goulet (2009a) and Dostie-Goulet (2009b) also reported high within-class response rates of 90% and 80% respectively.

topics discussed by a teacher and an influencer they like. The gender of these role models is also inquired, to test the implication from social learning theory that political interest transmission should occur mainly between a child and role models of their gender, more than role models of other genders (Prior 2019; Shehata and Amnå 2019).

For questions about students' political interests, the following questions are asked: "How interested are you in politics generally? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means no interest at all, and 10 means a great deal of interest", and "If you were to open a news website and see the following articles how interested would you be in reading each article? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Not at all interested, I would not read it,' and 10 means 'Very interested, I would most likely read it.' (a) Health care (i.e., pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses); (b) International affairs (i.e., diplomatic disputes between Canada and China, Ukrainian war); (c) Law and crime (i.e., police funding, sentences for violent crimes); (d) Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools); (e) Partisan politics (i.e., federal elections, political parties)". These questions specify concrete examples of political issues related to each topic, in order to make the political aspects of these topics more salient and avoid students answering while thinking about their own health or classes they are taking. The question's phrasing is meant to be easily understood by children and teenagers.

The questionnaire was pre-tested on two teenagers, a boy and a girl aged 12. Minor adjustments were made to the questionnaire to ensure children of all ages would understand the questions asked of them, notably with international relations topics. This involved selecting more recent events (i.e., the Ukrainian War and diplomatic disputes between Canada and China) rather than events that occurred a longer time ago. Since topics with some degree of importance in recent news were selected, both topics chosen also embody competitive rather than cooperative aspects of international relations, which may reinforce agentic children — more often boys according to past research — to report more interest in them. The questionnaire's length was also deemed to be reasonable during these pre-tests.

The main socialization-related explanatory variables for children's political interest identified in the literature concern the role of four agents of socialization: parents, peers, schools, and media. In order to determine the importance of these role models' gender, the following questions were asked to children: "Which parent do you discuss most often with? (a) Mother; (b) Father; (c) Both equally"; "What is the gender of most of your friends? (a) Girls; (b) Boys; (c) About the same for both genders"; "Think about a teacher that you like(d). Is that teacher… (a) A woman; (b) A man; (c) Other (e.g. Trans, non-binary, two-spirit, gender-queer)"; "Think about someone that you like and sometimes read or watch on social media — including YouTube. Is that person… (a) A man; (b) A woman; (c) Other (e.g. Trans, non-binary, two-spirit, gender-queer)." These questions make it possible to assess the influence of role models, but also to test its interaction effect with role models' gender. Questions are then asked about the topics most discussed by parents, peers, teachers and influencers among the five political topics highlighted beforehand.

The CCPIS also uses the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence and Helmreich 1978; Ward et al. 2006) to assess students' degrees of agency and communality, and to assess whether interest correlations between children and their same-gender role models change when controlling for the child's degree of agency or communality. Men are typically more assertive, which brings them closer to partisan politics, while women are typical more co-operative, which leads them to be more interested in topics such as health care and education. Given the importance of the agency/communality distinction in explaining gender differences in political interest (R. Campbell and Winters 2008), this hypothesis is tested alongside hypotheses about the role of parents, peers and other role models.

Finally, the CCPIS asks socio-demographic questions about children's gender, language spoken at home, immigrant status, age, and ethnicity. These questions are mostly inspired by the Canadian Election Study (Stephenson et al. 2020), except for the question on ethnicity, which is based on the 2016 Census (Statistics Canada 2017). No question is asked about students' socio-economic background or their parents' level of education since this information may be difficult for them to reliably assess.[9] The English and French CCPIS questionnaires are available in Appendix A and Appendix B.

2.2.2 Datagotchi Post-Election Survey (Datagotchi PES)

The second dataset collected over the course of this dissertation is the 2022 Quebec Datagotchi Post-Election Survey, which includes data on 2,228 Quebec adult respondents (Leadership Chair in the Teaching of Digital Social Sciences 2023). This dataset was collected in February and March 2023 using a panel of respondents which agreed to be contacted by email during the 2022 Quebec general election through the Datagotchi Web app (Leadership Chair in the Teaching of Digital Social Sciences 2022). Opt-in surveys like this one are typically more reliable but less externally valid than traditional surveys (Herrick et al. 2019; Thielo, Graham, and Cullen 2021). For the purposes of this dissertation, the questions of interest which were asked to panel respondents inquired about their level of interest in the five aforementioned political topics and general socio-economic status. For these questions, the same question wording was used than among students, with the same five political topics. The Datagotchi Post-Election Survey French questionnaire is available in Appendix C.

2.2.3 Cross-Country Datasets

Other than these two main datasets, three often-used datasets including Canadian respondents are mobilized to give a more general empirical overlook on political interest in Canada. These datasets include only one question about political interest — rather than interest in five topics — but each of them asks about other forms of political engagement — which will further be

[9] Data about schools' socio-economic level is available for public schools in Quebec, but only one public Quebec school took part in the CCPIS.

analyzed in Chapter 3 — and two of them provide time-series data about political interest and engagement, while the third provides a less political questionnaire and therefore provides data about a different crowd of Canadian respondents which may be more representative of Canadians' overall level of interest in politics.

First, Canadian Election Study (CES) data on various aspects of political engagement is analyzed (Stephenson et al. 2022). Other than typical socio-economic status questions, the CES includes data about political interest, political knowledge, internal efficacy, external efficacy, political discussion, political debating, participation in protests, participation in boycotts, participation in petitions, party membership, donations to parties, and voting. CES data allows time series analyses of the evolution of gender gaps, with some political engagement questions having been asked since 1965.

Second, time-series World Values Survey (WVS) data is also used. These data, like CES data, make it possible to visually represent descriptive statistics by age and gender on political engagement. Moreover, the World Values Survey (WVS) Wave 7 (2017–22) includes data from Canada (2020) and 56 other countries, therefore providing the opportunity for cross-country comparisons on political interest and political engagement (Haerpfer et al. 2022). Other than typical socio-economic status questions, respondents were asked a different political interest question than in other surveys: "How interested would you say you are in politics? (a) Very interested; (b) Somewhat interested; (c) Not very interested; (d) Not at all interested" (Haerpfer et al. 2022).[10] Time-series data about political interest are also used in some analyses, with political interest questions being asked as early as 1982 in some countries.

Third, the 2013 and 2020 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS), cycles 27 and 35 (Social Identity), are also used to get data about Canadians' political interest and engagement coming from a less political survey. The GSS's political interest questions asks "Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics? (e.g., international, national, provincial or municipal) (a) Very interested; (b) Somewhat interested; (c) Not very interested; (d) Not at all interested" (Statistics Canada 2023b).

2.2.4 Canadian Census

Finally, data from the 2021 Canadian Census is used to compare data from all other sources to Canadian population figures (Statistics Canada 2022) — or Quebec population figures, in the case of the Datagotchi PES. More specifically, the Individual Public Use Microdata Files (PUMF) are used to cross-reference data. The PUMF includes data collected among 980,868 Canadians, or a representative segment of 2.7% of the Canadian population. These data are specifically meant to be used to create survey weights and calculate aggregate statistics about the Canadian population, which I do with the Datagotchi PES data.

[10] This 4-point scale is transformed into a 0–10 scale comparable with the CES's political interest scale, using the same method as Prior (2010).

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Avoiding Social Desirability Bias

Questions about political interest can be subject to some degree of social desirability bias, which is "the difference between an individual's own intention and his/her perception of his/her peers' intention" (Chung and Monroe 2003, 296). Respondents may want to portray themselves as "good citizens" who are interested in public affairs, regardless of their real interest in politics. However, it is not entirely clear whether girls' scores or boys' scores would be more inflated as a result of social desirability bias. Studies have found that in Canada, Australia, and the United States, *women* generally exhibit higher social desirability bias when answering survey questions (Chung and Monroe 2003; Cohen, Pant, and Sharp 1998, 2001). However, studies in these same countries and more instead show that *men* are more likely to over-report having voted in the previous elections (Belli, Traugott, and Beckmann 2001; Herrick and Pryor 2020; Stockemer and Sundstrom 2023). For political interest, it is unclear which gender — if any — tends to over-report it, but disaggregating the concept in five topics might be the best approach to avoid systematic social desirability bias associated with one particular question. This is therefore the approach taken throughout this dissertation.

2.3.2 Controlling for Classroom-Level Effects

In the CCPIS dataset, students are clustered within classrooms, which are themselves nested within schools and provinces. There may be some schools or classrooms in which relationships between socialization and political interest develop differently. Multilevel regressions with two levels are therefore used to help disentangle classroom-level effects from individual-level effects. Since the numbers of schools (8) and provinces (2) in the final sample are too low for multilevel regressions to be conducted, only classroom-level fixed effects are used in the analyses.

Empty models are calculated to assess what percentage in the total variance in political interest — and in each of the five topics — is located at the classroom level. Results show that 6.2% of variance in political interest is located at the classroom level, as well as 4.6% of variance in interest in health care, 3.6% of variance in interest in international affairs, 1.4% of variance in interest in law and crime, 8.1% of variance in interest in education, and 2.6% of variance in interest in partisan politics. In all cases, the bulk of variance therefore seems to be located at another level than the classroom — presumably the individual level.

The four datasets collected among adults do not involve individuals clustered within classrooms or other broader groupings of interest for this study. Instead of multilevel regressions, simple and multiple ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions are instead performed.

2.3.3 What are Potential Confounding Variables to Links Between Socialization and Political Interest?

Other than Chapter 3, which takes a time-series approach to studying political interest, most analyses of the coming chapters have political interest as the outcome variable and rely on CCPIS data. Typically, a simple regression model with one explanatory variable — often a given role model's interest in a specific topic — is followed by multiple regression models with control variables for three blocs of variables: (1) personality traits, (2) role models' gender, and (3) socio-economic status variables. Personality traits include the agency and communality scales described in the following section, while socio-economic status variables include confounding variables which have been linked with political interest and could therefore mediate any given relationship found between two persons' political interest. These include gender, age — Chapter 3 explores the relationships between gender, age and political interest in more detail — as well as language, ethnicity, and immigrant status. For analyses involving adult data, income and level of education, both of which can also be linked to political interest, are also added as control variables.

2.4 Descriptive Statistics

2.4.1 General

Before analyzing average levels of interest in politics in each of the datasets, it is first important to assess the extent to which each of them is (un)representative of the Canadian population on some of the main socio-economic status variables that may relate to political interest, including age, gender, education, income, and so on. In cases where the data is deemed unrepresentative, a weighting method is applied and described.

Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of CCPIS students by age, gender, language, ethnicity, immigrant status, degree of agency and communality, and family situation. Most respondents are aged 12 to 17, with a large proportion (41%) being exactly 16 years old. This roughly corresponds to the moment when adolescents' political interest starts increasing alongside a gender gap in which boys report being more interested in politics (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores 2020; Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero 2022; Prior 2019). This age distribution should make it possible to assess the influence of all types of role models at the moment when they are the most likely to be influential for students' political interest. The sample is therefore compared with 2021 Census microdata on 12–17-year-old Canadian teenagers. The gender composition of the sample is roughly balanced, with 50.4% of girls and 47.1% of boys while, among all Canadians, 51.5% of teenagers are boys and 48.5% are girls.[11] Respondents are mainly white — 57.9%, which is close to the Canadian average of 59.8%. They are also overwhelmingly Francophone due to the over-representation of Quebec within sampled schools — 66.5% mostly speak French

[11]The number of transgender and non-binary people for this age group is not disclosed in the microdata.

at home, which is much higher than the Canadian average of 18.3% — but several students who mainly speak another language than English or French at home have also filled the survey — 25%, which is higher than the Canadian average of 13.2%. 84.4% of students in the sample were born in Canada — close to the 86.8% countrywide average. The distributions of agency and communality among students both follow a bell-shaped distribution centered around the averages of 0.62 and 0.68 respectively. Most students live with one mother and one father (71.8%), with a substantial minority (18.3%) also having stepparents. Other family arrangements are less common. Other than language and province, these students do not appear to be markedly different from the Canadian teenager population on the main socio-demographic variables. Descriptive statistics about role models' gender and interest in political topics are analyzed in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6, alongside further analysis related to these role models' influence on children's political interest.

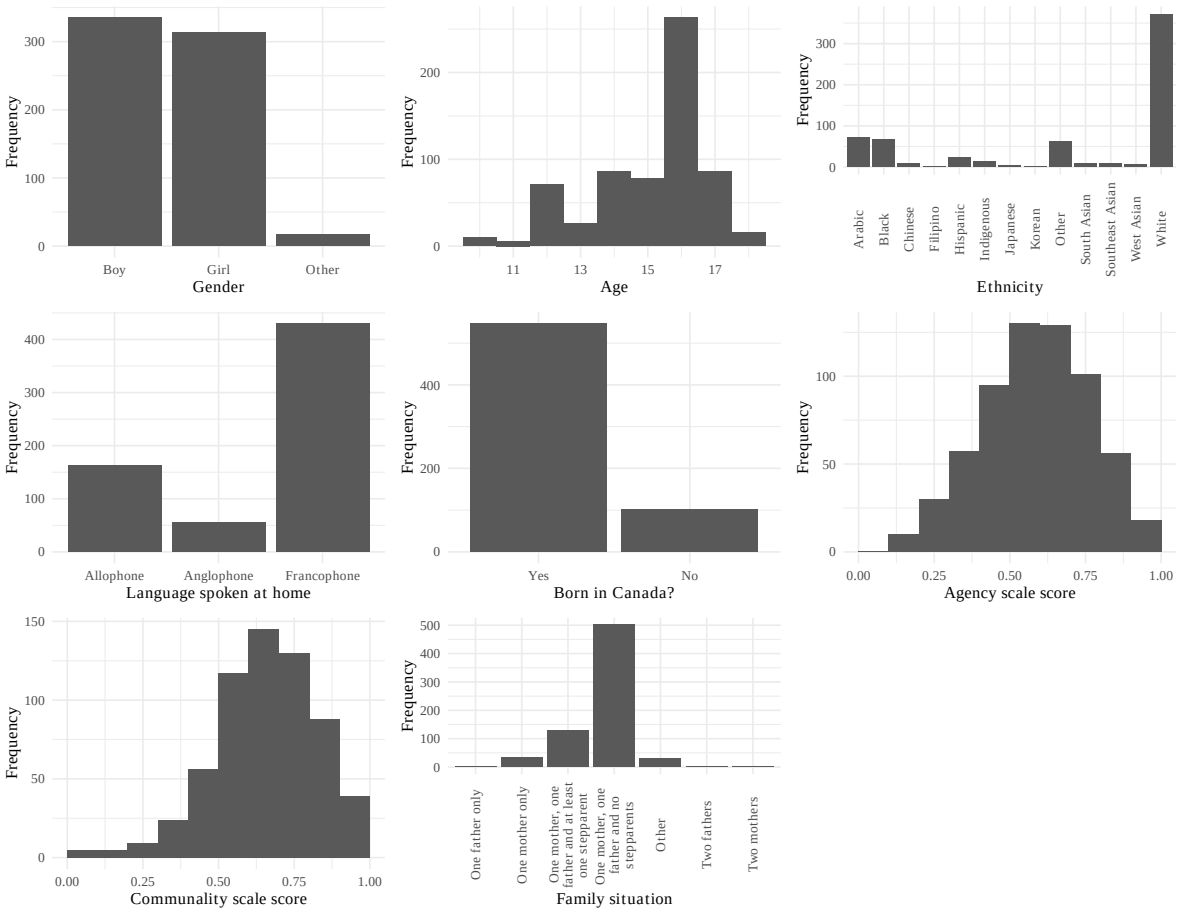

Figure 2.1: CCPIS Descriptive Statistics - General

For agency and communality, scales are replicated from Ward et al. (2006). Factor analysis in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 show that, with one exception on the agency list — an item that was

reverse-coded[12] — all items scale well together, with factor loadings at least medium — above 0.3 (Shevlin et al. 2000) — and first eigenvalues larger than the conventionally accepted value of 1 (Williams, Onsman, and Brown 2010). The Cronbach's alpha for the agency scale (0.63) is slightly under the 0.7 to 0.9 range suggested by scholars (Tavakol and Dennick 2011), while it is within that range for the communality scale (0.78), therefore meeting the standard benchmarks for valid and reliable scales established in peer-reviewed studies about measurement scales.

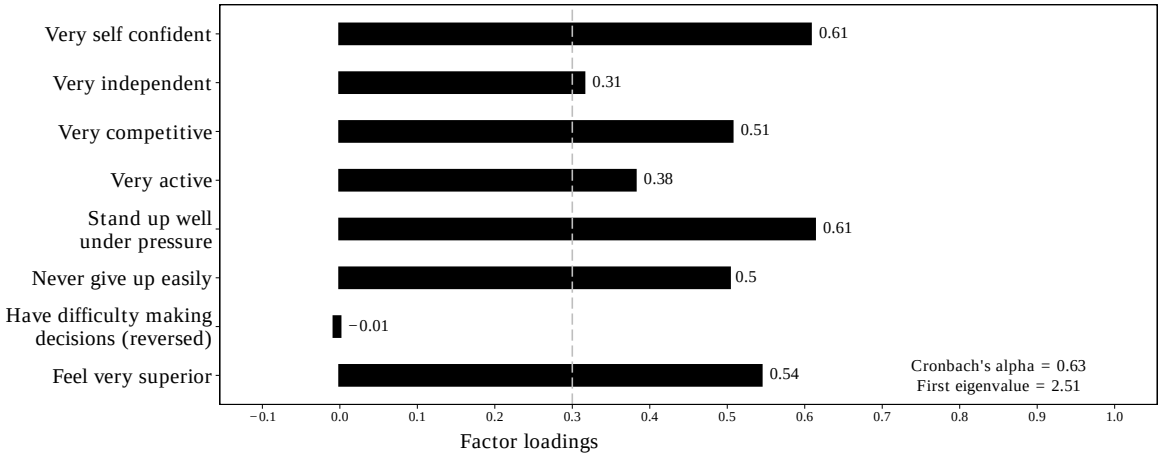

Figure 2.2: CCPIS Factor Analysis: Agency Scale

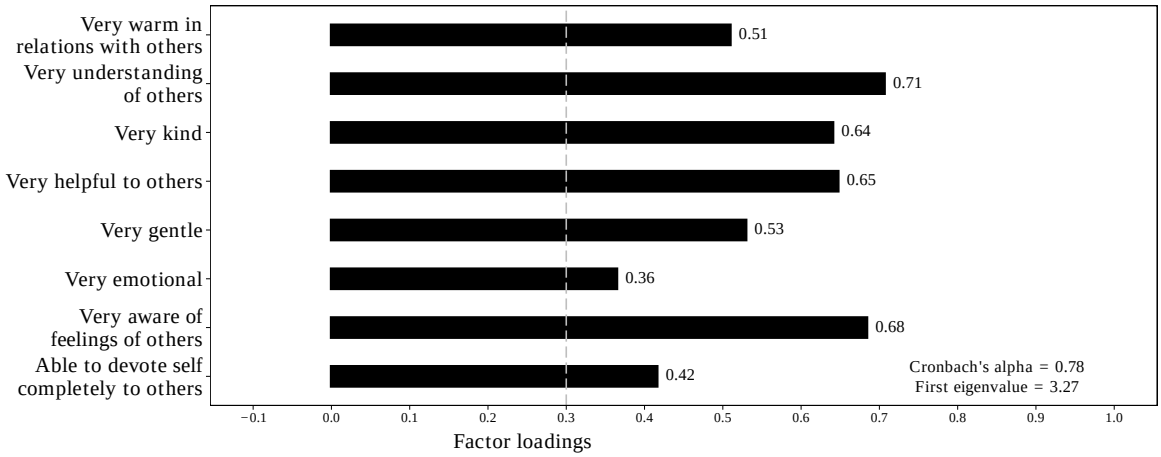

Figure 2.3: CCPIS Factor Analysis: Communality Scale

[12]This could be a data quality issue, since this is the only question for which the agentic pole is reverse-coded among the first eight questions asked to children, and none of the communality scale questions are reverse-coded. This means some children might have paid less attention to the actual question and responded quickly. However, given the fact that the non-reverse-coded measure is also unrelated to other elements of the scale, and since children responded differently to the agency and communality scales, this seems to be a minor concern. The scale is an exact replication of the one used by Ward et al. (2006).

Figure 2.4 shows descriptive statistics for the Datagotchi PES, which is not a representative sample before a form of weighting is applied. The unweighted sample includes an overrepresentation of men (56.8%), white people (97.2%), Francophones (94% responded to the French version of the survey), university-educated people (71%), people born in Canada (86%), and those with a yearly household income over $110,000 (45%). By comparison, Census numbers among adult Quebeckers are 49.3% of men, 82.1% of white people, 82.1% of people who speak French more than English, 28.2% university-educated people, 80.7% people born in Canada, and 34.3% with a yearly household income above $110,000 (Statistics Canada 2022). The median age is 46, with a bimodal distribution centered around 35–40 and 65, compared with a median age within the 50–54 years old range among adult Quebeckers.

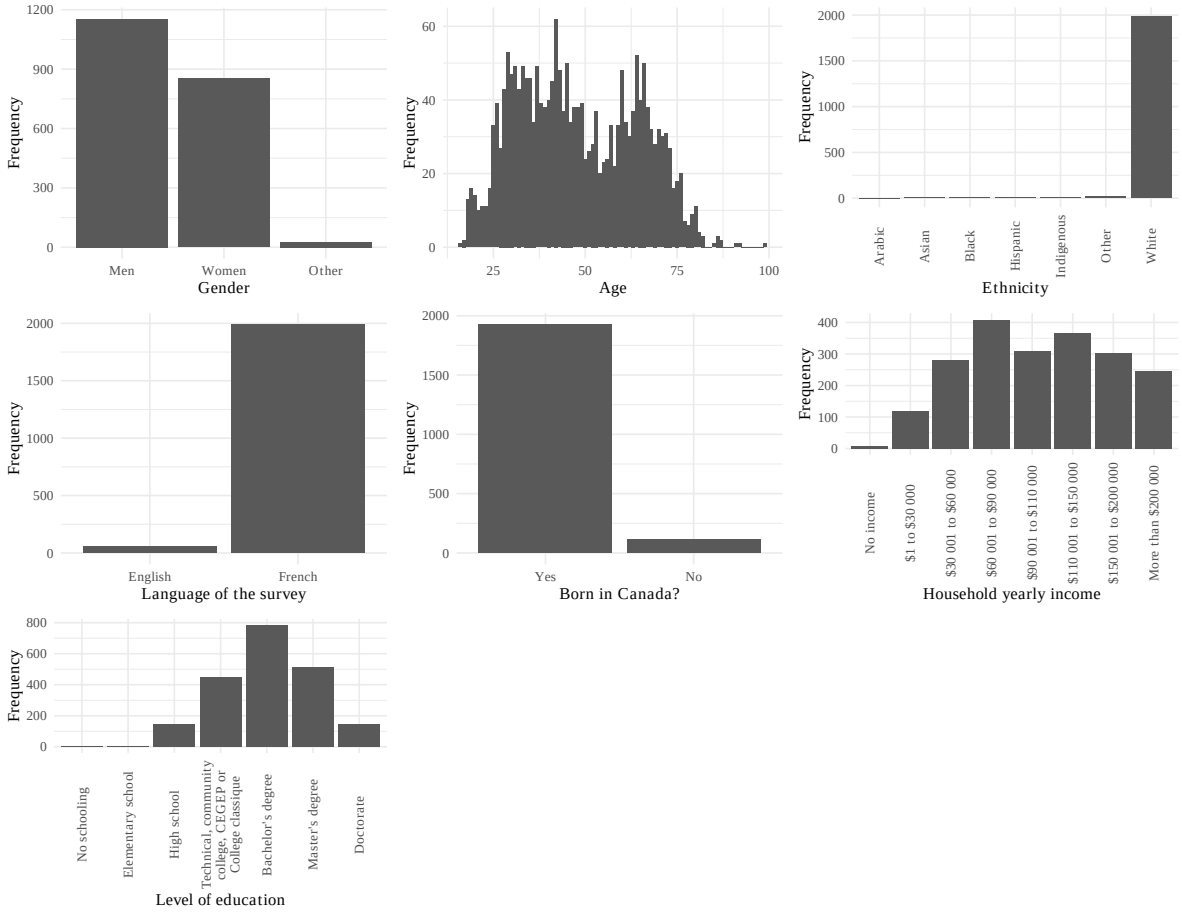

Figure 2.4: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics - General

Given the mismatch between many of these characteristics — notably gender, level of education and ethnicity — and the Quebec population, survey weights are created and used to make the the Datagotchi PES sample more representative of the Quebec population on these two aspects, as well as income and age. Using the `anesrake` package which is used to weight results from

the American National Election Studies (Pasek 2018), a raking procedure is used to produce these weights, which range from 0 to 5. Default settings of the `anesrake` function are used. After using this procedure, the population percentages match with sample percentages within 10 percentage points — and typically less than 5 — for each category of the five variables.

Figure 2.5 shows descriptive statistics for the 2021 CES. Compared to 2021 Canadian Census data collected among adults (Statistics Canada 2022), the unweighted sample includes a slight over-representation of women — 54.5% vs. 51.1% — and a larger over-representation of Allophones — 33.1% vs. 16.5% — of white people — 89.1% vs. 70.2% — of university-educated people — 54.4% vs. 30.7% — and of people born in Canada — 84.4% vs. 70.5%. The median yearly household income is within the $60,001–$90,000 range, which includes the narrower $85,000 to $89,999 median range among adult Canadians. The median age is 53, slightly above the median 45–49 age range for the adult Canadian population, and there is again a bimodal distribution centered, this time centered around 30–35 and 60–70. Respondents from Ontario are slightly under-represented — 35.0% vs. 38.6% — while those from Quebec are over-represented — 29.6% vs. 22.9%. Given the mismatch between many of these characteristics — notably province, education and age — and the Canadian population, the CES's survey weights based on the 2016 Census, which account for province, gender, age, and education, are used. These weights' values vary between 0.2 and 5. After using this procedure, the population percentages match with sample percentages on these aspects.

Figure 2.6 shows descriptive statistics for the 2020 WVS in Canada. Compared to 2021 Canadian Census data collected among adults, the unweighted sample includes a similar proportion of women — 48.8% vs. 51.1% — an under-representation of Allophones — 6.0% vs. 16.5% — and an over-representation of university-educated people — 55.5% vs. 30.7% — of white people — 80.5% vs. 70.2% — and of people born in Canada — 82.1% vs. 70.5%. The median age is 45, which broadly matches with the median 45–49 age range for the adult Canadian population. Respondents from Ontario are under-represented — 25.0% vs. 38.6%. Given the mismatch between many of these characteristics — notably province and education — and the Canadian population, the WVS's survey weights for Canada based on the 2016 Census, which account for age, gender, education, and region, are used. These weights' values vary between 0.12 and 3.69. After using this procedure, the population percentages match with sample percentages on these aspects.

Figure 2.7 shows descriptive statistics for the 2020 GSS. Compared to 2021 Canadian Census data collected among adults (Statistics Canada 2022), the unweighted sample includes a similar proportion of women — 51% vs. 51.1% — an over-representation of Allophones — 23.1% vs. 16.5% — of university-educated people — 40.8% vs. 30.7% — of visible minorities — 42% vs. 29.8% — and of immigrants — 41.1% vs. 29.5%. The median yearly household income is within the $50,000–$74,999 range, compared with the higher $85,000 to $89,999 median range among adult Canadians. The median age is within the 45–54 age range, which broadly matches with the median 45–49 age range for the adult Canadian population. Respondents from Ontario are slightly under-represented — 34.4% vs. 38.6%. Given the mismatch between many of these characteristics and the Canadian population, the GSS's survey weights based on

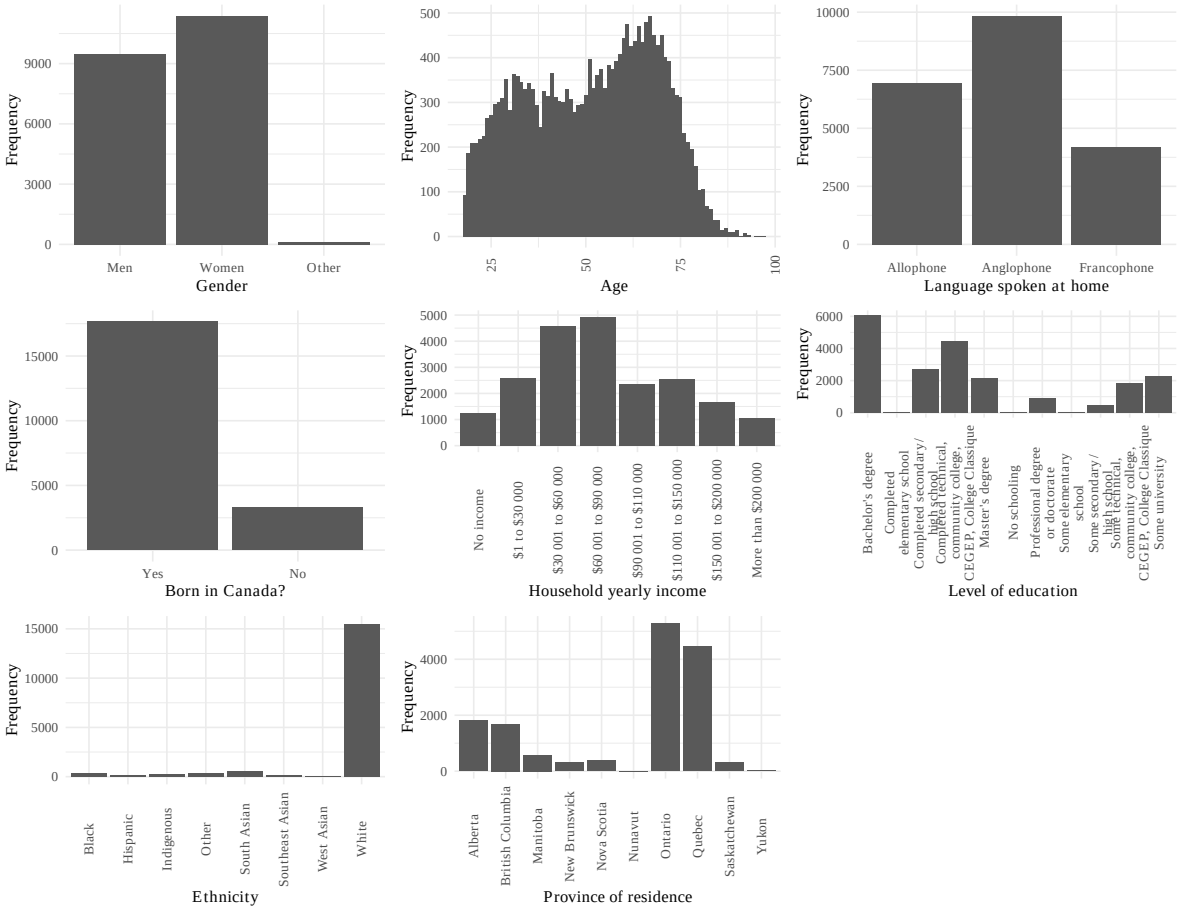

Figure 2.5: 2021 CES Descriptive Statistics - General

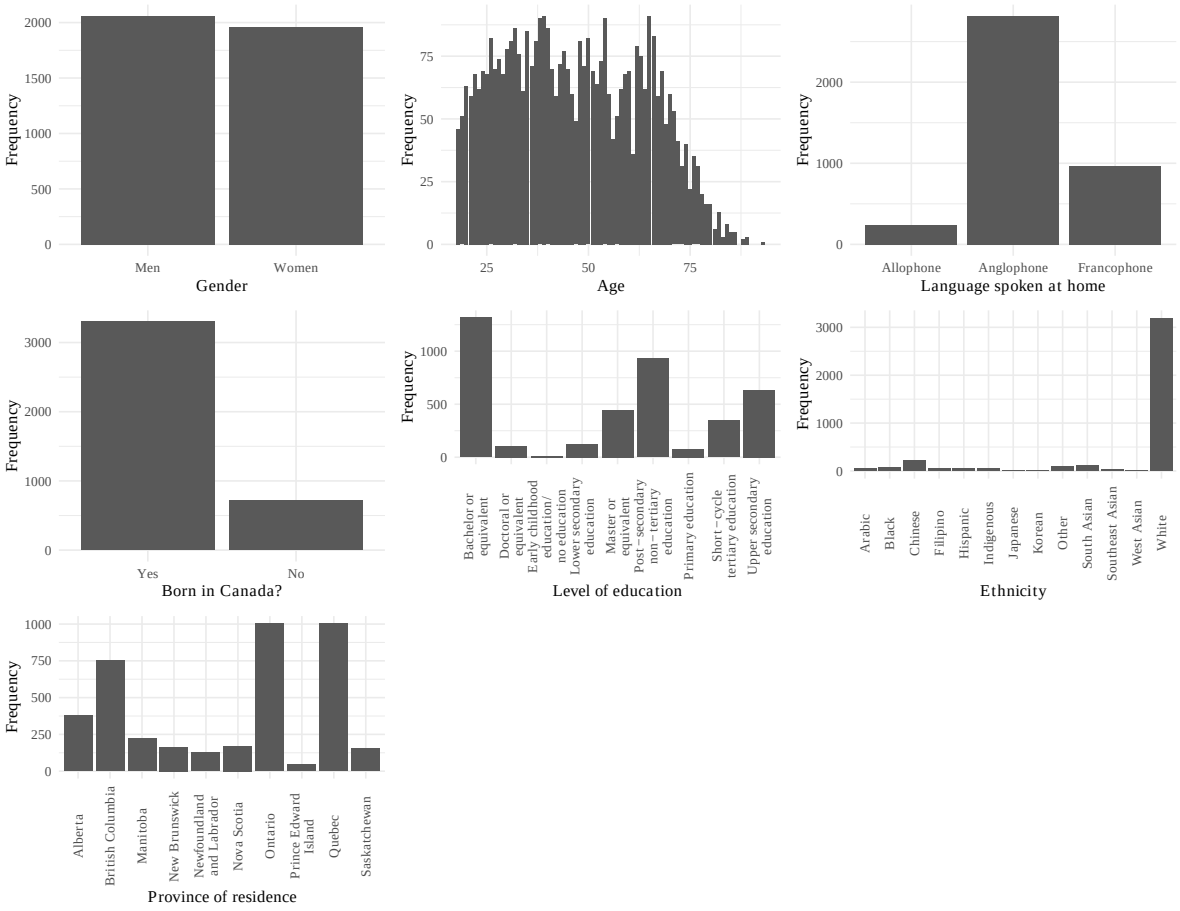

Figure 2.6: 2020 WVS Descriptive Statistics - General

the 2016 Census, which account for gender, age, province, CMA, and visible minority status, are used. These weights' values vary between 1 and 32,631. After using this procedure, the population percentages match with sample percentages on these aspects.

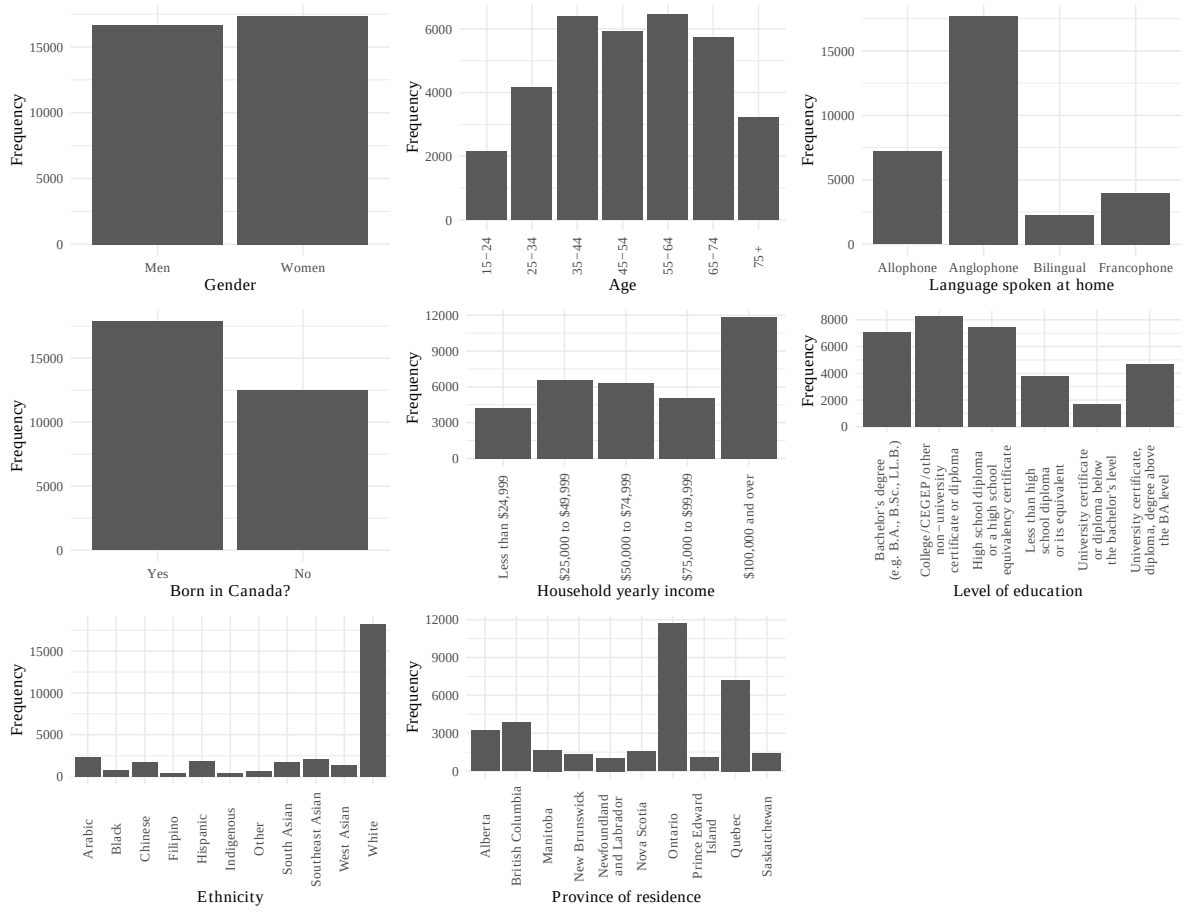

Figure 2.7: 2020 GSS Descriptive Statistics (Cycle 35 - Social Identity) - General

Overall, the four studies conducted among adults have samples that vary from each other. Some of them over-sample immigrants while others under-sample them; some over-sample older citizens while others under-sample them. A common theme in the three studies of Canadian adults — CES, WVS and GSS — is the under-sampling of Ontarians. However, all these variations are corrected using raking or post-stratification weights.

2.4.2 Political Interest

After survey weights are applied, what is the average level of political interest in each of the datasets? What is the distribution of political interest among respondents, and which political

topics are Canadians most interested in? By looking at the distribution of political interest among respondents topic by topic, this section lays the ground for future chapters who will try to explain these political interest scores.

Figure 2.8 shows the distribution of CCPIS students by interest in politics by topic. 0 is associated with the lowest level of interest and 10 with the highest. For all topics, 9 and 10 are among the least common answers. International relations, and law and crime are generally well-balanced, with students' mean interest above 5/10 (5.2–5.3). On the other hand, fewer students report high interest in health care (4.1), education (4.1), or partisan politics (3.5). Partisan politics in particular has a relatively steady positive skew, where the mode is a 0/10 level of interest. For other topics, the distributions are relatively wide, often taking a flattened bell shape.

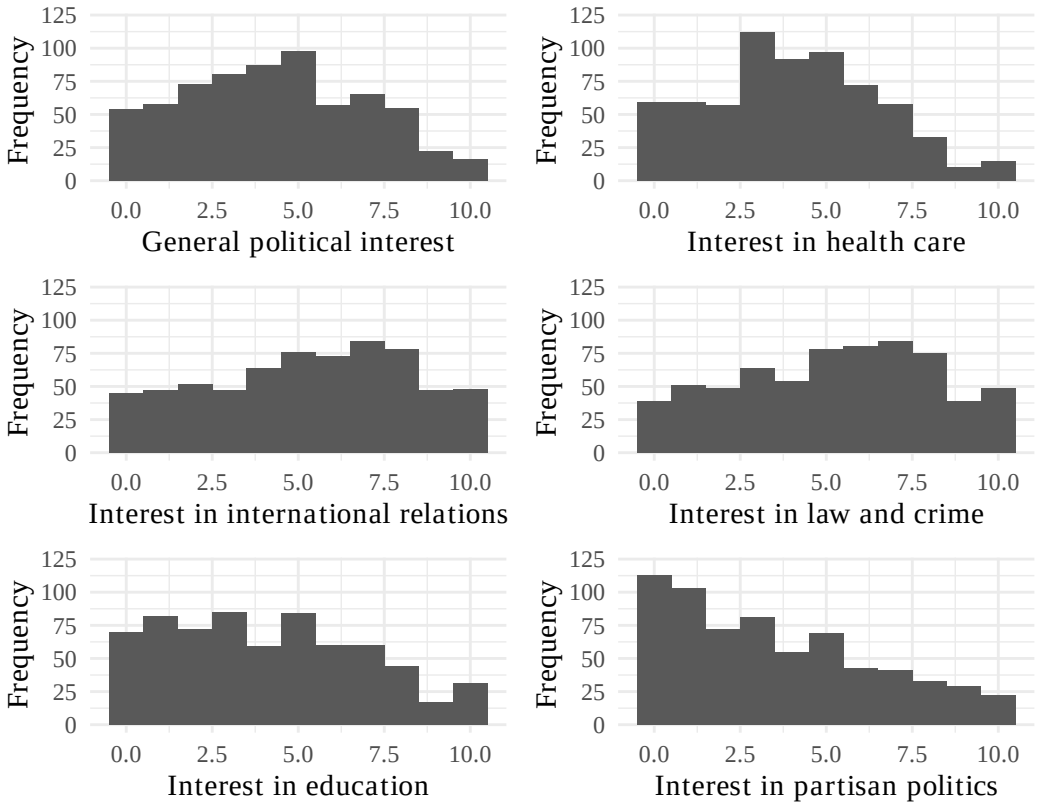

Figure 2.8: CCPIS Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

Figure 2.9 and Figure 2.10 show the level of interest in politics among the four adult Canadian surveys, including interest in the five topics in the case of the Datagotchi PES, after survey weights are applied. While adult Quebeckers (Datagotchi PES) report being more interested in each of the five topics compared with Canadian students (CCPIS), interest in law and crime (5.5/10) is lower than for other topics, followed by partisan politics (5.9/10). General political

interest (7.1/10) is higher on average than interest in any of the five topics. Interest in the five political topics also follows a more bell-shaped, normal distribution than what CCPIS found among Canadian youth, although a negative skew can be found for all topics. Canadian WVS respondents are slightly less interested in politics (5.6/10) than those to the 2020 GSS and 2021 CES (6.0/10 and 6.1/10 respectively). Datagotchi PES respondents score an even higher average general political interest score of 7.1/10, which might not be surprising given the fact that these respondents are former users of the Datagotchi Web app. Analyses using the Datagotchi PES throughout this dissertation can therefore be considered to be a high bar for level of interest in each of the political topics.

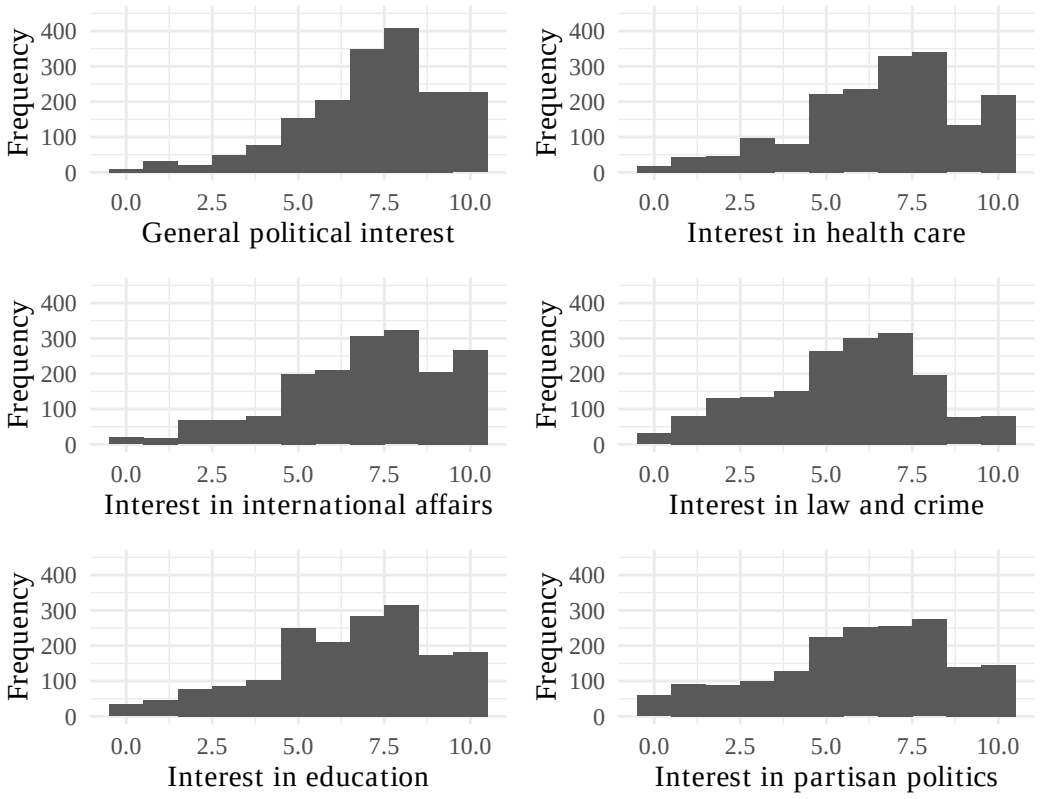

Figure 2.9: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

How can one make sense of these numbers? Are they relatively low or high compared with what other studies have found in various countries among respondents of different age groups? The next chapter will provide more thorough answers to these questions while studying what period of life is associated with the development of political interest.

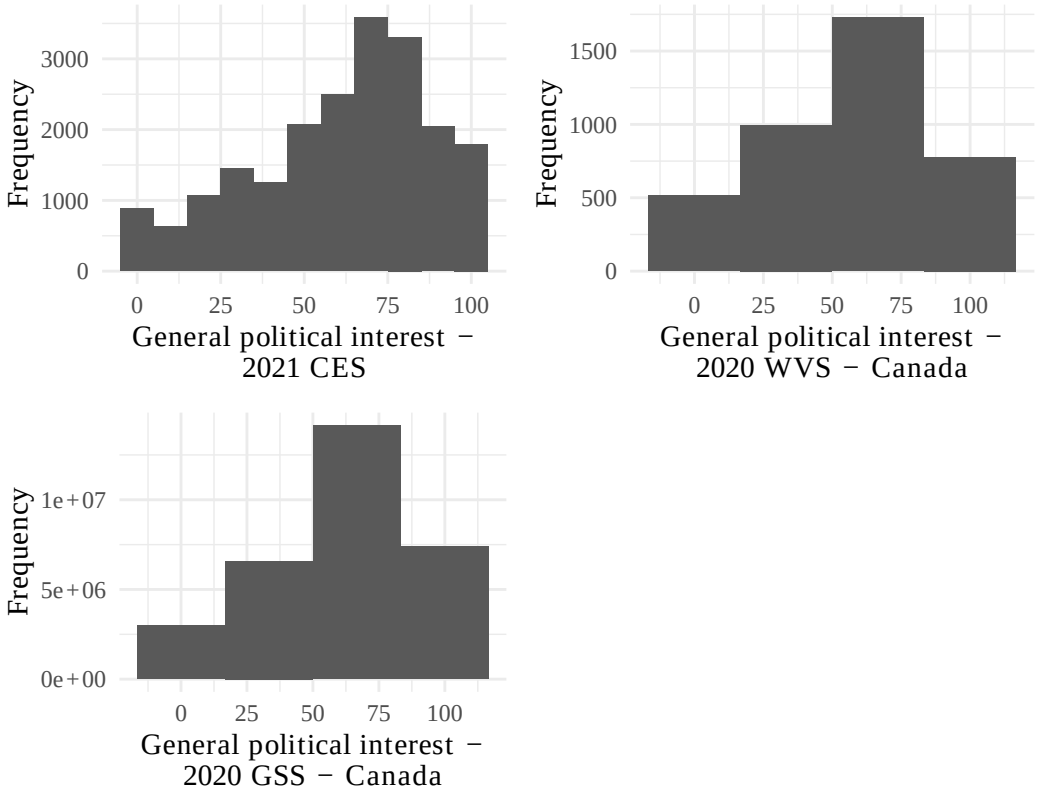

Figure 2.10: CES, WVS and GSS Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

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3 Gender and Political Interest Development: Canadian Trends from Childhood to Adulthood

As Chapter 1 showed, studies have long shown a gender gap in political interest among adults in Western countries, in which men report being more interested in politics than women, and one of the main explanations for that gap is socialization. This process can be influenced by four main agents: parents, peers, media and schools. Moreover, when dissecting interests by topic, women typically develop stronger interests in cooperation-focused political topics, while men typically develop stronger interests in self-assertion-focused political topics. Socialization can happen at various stages throughout the life course. It can start from an early age but does not stop completely after someone reaches adulthood. The timing of gendered political socialization processes can be puzzling. This chapter therefore seeks to provide an overview of how political interest evolves while Canadians age. By identifying the critical periods of life in which political interest can fluctuate, it will lay the groundwork for Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, which will focus their attention on explaining how various socialization agents can influence the development of political interest, especially among children and teenagers.

This chapter addresses two related questions: *Throughout the average person's life, when does political interest increase, decrease, or remain stable? How does the evolution of political interest over the life course differ between girls and boys, and later between women and men?* After exploring what studies have found about these two questions in various countries, the chapter uses a variety of Canadian and international datasets to provide context-specific answers to these two questions and break results down by age, gender, other socio-demographic characteristics, other forms of political engagement and, most importantly, interest in various political topics. This chapter hypothesizes that for both boys and girls, adolescence is the moment in time when gender differences in interest for various political topics emerge. Notably, it is argued that boys develop more interest in partisan politics, which is a contributing factor for their higher interest in running for elected office when they reach adulthood.

3.1 Political Interest Evolution Over the Life Course

Political interest is remarkably stable over the life course, as longitudinal studies conducted in European countries have shown (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores 2020; Neundorf, Smets, and

Garcia-Albacete 2013; Prior 2010, 2019). This finding is robust to changes in survey question wording. However, there is an important exception to this rule: children start with a lower and less stable level of political interest than adults.

Before the age of 15, it is unclear if children and teenagers experience rising, falling or stable levels of interest in politics. In the United States context, Hess and Torney (1967) find that children aged 7 to 14 report less and less political interest as they grow older, and Bos et al. (2022) show the same for children aged 6 to 12. The explanation for this decline is not provided, but it seems to affect mostly girls, a result attributed to internalizing gender roles and the idea that politics is a men's domain, as exemplified by girls becoming more likely as they age to draw a man when asked to draw a politician. On the other hand, more recent peer-reviewed studies by Russo and Stattin (2017) and Shehata and Amnå (2019) both find a slight increase in political interest between 13 years old and 15 years old. In the Canadian context, Dostie-Goulet (2009a) also finds children's political interest falls between ages 14 and 15, before increasing between 15 and 16 years old.

Around the age of 15, numerous European studies find children start experiencing an important uptick in political interest, which keeps increasing until they reach 25 years old approximately, after which it stabilizes (Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Prior 2019; Quintelier and Van Deth 2014; Russo and Stattin 2017; Shehata and Amnå 2019). Russo and Stattin (2017) and Prior (2019) suggest the rise in political interest among adolescents could be due to an increasingly clear sense of what politics is during those formative years (15–25), although it has also been found that by age 10, children have already gained an understanding of what politics means (Hess and Torney 1967). Russo and Stattin (2017) put it in these terms:

> [W]e observed a general increase in interest in politics, which is much steeper between 16 and 18 years of age than in the 13–15 age range. One interpretation of this finding lies in the ideas that — at these ages — adolescents obtain cognitive abilities that allow abstract thinking and reasoning […] and they learn more about society and the wider world. Another possibility is that youths become more interested in political issues because they are approaching voting age, and their 'social environment (as parents and teachers) anticipate a 'life event' in becoming an enfranchised voter' […] Even if our results are consistent with both these ideas, it is worth noting that there was no national election in Sweden in 2012 (when we collected data from the 18 year-olds). Hence, cognitive maturation is a more plausible explanation for the increase in political interest that we observed between 16 and 18 years of age (654).

Adolescence and early adulthood are important, as Russo and Stattin (2017) suggest that it "is during this period that parents, teachers, and role models in general can potentially raise youths' interest in political and societal issues" (655). Learning when exactly political interest increases during one's lifetime can help understanding the political socialization processes at play.

How large is this increase in political interest between 15 and 25 years old? In panel data collected among British, Swiss and German respondents, Prior (2019) estimates there is a 10–15 percentage point increase. Political interest keeps increasing after 25 years old, but at a slower pace, and almost entirely due to cohort effects: older cohorts of voters, especially those born in the 1940s, are particularly interested in politics. However, within each cohort of people, after reaching 25 years old, political interest remains very stable until death. Prior's (2019) findings are similar in all three countries studied.

Political interest also becomes more *stable* at the individual level over the teenage years. Prior (2019) finds an increase in the stability of political interest between the ages of 11 and 20. Russo and Stattin (2017) also show that the stability of political interest increases drastically from 13 years old to 20 years old, after which it remains high. Using a 5-category response scale to measure political interest, they find that 21.8% of adolescents aged 13–15 changed their answer by two or more response categories over two years, compared with only 4.5% of those aged 26 to 28.

3.2 Gender Differences in Political Interest Evolution

3.2.1 Size of the Gender Gap

Among scientific studies on the gender gap in political interest among children and teenagers, a first group of studies finds that boys already report higher levels of political interest. Among children aged 7 to 14, Hess and Torney (1967) find a gender gap varying between two and five percentage points, with boys being more interested in United States government and current events. Owen and Dennis (1988) also find that boys aged 10–13 and 14–17 in the United States are more interested in politics than girls of that age. More recently, Arens and Watermann (2017) find a gender gap of 7.4 points for 12-year-old Germans, which increases to 10.8 points for 15-year-olds, where boys report being more interested in politics.

However, the findings are not all consistent across studies and contexts. Dowse and Hughes (1971) find no statistically significant gender gap (-0.3 to +1.4 percentage point, where positive numbers are associated with boys) in political interest for children aged 11–17. Mayer and Schmidt (2004) also find that no strong gender differences in political interest exist between boys and girls aged 12 to 15 in China, Mexico, the United States, and Japan. Similar results are found among Quebec students aged 14 and 15 (Beauregard 2008; Dostie-Goulet 2009a). However, Bos et al. (2022) find that *girls* are slightly but significantly (3.3 points) more interested in politics at 6–7 years old, but then the gap quickly reverses and grows larger until early adolescence.[1] By age 12, *boys* are 6.7 points more interested in politics. Overall, US boys are found to be 2.4 points more interested in politics than girls (Bos et al. 2020, 2022).

[1]Political interest is measured using age-appropriate questions adapted from the Noyce Enthusiasm for Science scale. "Interest in political activities is an index of agree/disagree responses to the following sentiments: (1) politics, government, and history are exciting topics; (2) curiosity to learn about politics, government, and

For older teenagers and young adults, starting at age 15 — the time when political interest starts increasing markedly — the literature is clearer: studies conducted in various contexts generally show an important gender gap in self-reported political interest, where men are the most interested, and the gap is growing through time for those who report longitudinal data. Using a -100–+100 scale where positive numbers are associated with men, the gender gap in political interest has been measured at +2 (Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015), Finland, 16–18 years old and Dostie-Goulet (2009a), Canada, 14–16 years old); +5 (Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022), UK, 16 years old); +11 (Cicognani et al. (2012), Belgium, 15–19 years old and Lawless and Fox (2013), USA, 18–25 years old); +15 (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001), United States, 18 years old and Muxel (2002), France, 18–25 years old); +20 (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020), UK, 15 years old); +22 (Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022), UK, 30 years old); +27 (Hyman (1959), Germany, 15–24 years old); and +30 (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020), UK, 25 years old). Among these results, only Koskimaa and Rapeli's (2015) are not statistically significant.

The increases in the gender gap between late adolescence and early adulthood reported by the recent studies of Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020) and Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022) are substantially large, although both rely on the same panel dataset. Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020) also test for sub-periods within the 1991–2009 time frame and find similar results.

Among the general adult population, studies also point to a greater interest in politics by men compared with women. J. Van Deth (2000) shows a gender gap in political interest in the Netherlands, which has remained steady or increased through time. Among adults, Prior (2019) finds that men are 10–15 percentage points more interested in politics than women, a wider gap than the one found among younger respondents. Sánchez-Vítores (2019) finds a statistically significant gender gap in 13 countries. Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020) suggest that after the formative years of 15 to 25 years old, "attitudes crystallize and so does the gender gap, remaining at the same size (around 30 percentage points of difference between women and men) over the life course" (89). Using 2002 European Social Survey data, they find a gender gap across 15 European countries, varying between 4 and 13 percentage points.

3.2.2 Gaps in Interest for Certain Topics

Some studies conducted among teenagers report the types of interests girls and boys have, but do not always find significant differences there. Beauregard (2008) finds no gender gap in reported interest in domestic and international politics. Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001) also find null results with regards to interest in community and social issues, which contrasts with the gender gap in political interest they report. Finally, Oswald and Schmid (1998) find that "girls are more interested than boys in topics like peace, ecology and problems of the Third World, whereas boys are more interested in governmental and international affairs than

history; (3) desire to have a political job; and (4) learning about government is boring [reverse coded]" (Bos et al. 2022, 488).

girls" (153). The authors reason that girls might not be "interested as much in the institutions of politics and in the everyday business of negotiation in government and parliament and that the single question measures mainly this sphere of front-page politics" (153). All three studies focus on a relatively limited number of topics.

Among adults, on average, studies have found that women report more interest in topics such as health care, education and gender issues, while men report more interest in foreign policy, partisan politics, and law and order (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013; Ferrin et al. 2020; Hayes and Bean 1993; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). Topics such as taxes and local politics seem to be equally interesting to men and women.

3.2.3 Political Interest Evolution in Canada

Political interest has generally been found to be higher in Canada than in other Western countries. Howe (2010) finds that 59% of Canadian citizens report being very or somewhat interested in politics, a higher percentage than in most European countries. Similarly, using World Values Survey data, Gidengil et al. (2004) show that Canada ranks fourth among seventeen democratic countries when it comes to the average level of political interest.[2] On political interest evolution, mirroring trends in other Western countries, Canadians aged 21–29 have long been less interested in politics than those aged 50–65, and this age gap seems to be growing (Gidengil et al. 2004; Howe 2010). Political interest also varies by province: "Residents of Quebec and Saskatchewan are typically less interested (5.0) in politics in general than Canadians at large. Meanwhile, interest is highest in British Columbia (5.8), followed by Manitoba, Ontario, Newfoundland and Labrador (5.7), and Alberta (5.6)" (Gidengil et al. 2004, 24).

Gidengil et al. (2004) evaluate the gender gap in political interest between Canadian women and men to be worth 5 percentage points, which is a modest gap according to them, although they emphasize this gap is persistent.

3.3 Theorizing Change Over Time

It seems worthwhile to study political socialization in the period of life where political interest is developed — chuldhood to early adulthood — since there seems to be some level of path dependency in individuals' political interest afterwards. Gender differences also seem to become starker at that moment: the early increase in self-reported political interest seems to be stronger for men (Jennings and Niemi 1981, 276), and political socialization seems to be faster-paced during the teenage years. Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020) suggest that "the development of gender roles during early childhood is a crucial phase in the source of the

[2]The timing of the World Values Survey might be a confounding factor since Canadian data was collected shortly before the Meech Lake Accord failed — a time of intense political discussion (Howe 2010).

gender gap, deserving further attention from scholars" (89). Moreover, no study has measured the evolution of interest in various political topics with age among children or adults.

***Hypothesis 0a**: Interest in specific political topics starts rising around age 15 and increases until age 25, after which it stabilizes.*

***Hypothesis 0b**: Gender differences in interest in specific political topics start rising around age 15 and increase until age 25, after which they stabilize.*

Given findings among adults that women and men are interested in different topics depending on these topics being assertion-focused or cooperation-focused, Hypotheses 0c and 0d provide two alternative views about when these differences should start to occur. Hypothesis 0c suggests such differences in interest exist prior to the increase in self-reported political interest around age 15, perhaps as a result of tendencies towards agency and communality which start developing early.[3] Hypothesis 0d instead suggests that — likely as a result of cognitive maturation — personality traits only start fostering interest in assertion-focused or cooperation-focused political topics between ages 15 and 25.

***Hypothesis 0c**: Gender differences in interest in specific political topics already exist prior to age 15, with boys already more interested in assertion-focused political topics and girls more interested in cooperation-focused political topics at 10–15 years old.*

***Hypothesis 0d**: Between ages 15 and 25, boys develop more interest in assertion-focused political topics such as law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics, while girls develop more interest in cooperation-focused political topics such as health care and education politics. These differences then carry on at the adult age.*

Hypothesis 0a, 0b and 0c should apply to interest in the five topics used throughout this book: health care, education, partisan politics, law and crime, and international affairs. They should also apply, as shown in previous studies, to the self-reported measure of political interest, since this measure is mostly associated to interest in partisan politics — an assertion-focused topic.

Hypothesis 0e suggests, again as a result of the cognitive maturation theory laid out by Russo and Stattin (2017), that issues related to partisan politics — such as elections and parties — are more political than other not explicitly partisan issues such as the working conditions of nurses or tuition fees. This would be congruent with Hypothesis 0d.

[3]Gender differences in assertive speech use may develop between 1 and 2 years old, as Fagot et al. (1985) suggest, or may not have already developed at that age, as Brownell, Ramani, and Zerwas (2006) suggest. A meta-analysis of studies done by Leaper and Smith (2004) including children from various age groups more generally finds that boys use more assertive speech than girls, although this is not the case in mixed-gender interactions. Noakes and Rinaldi (2006) also find that, among boys and girls aged 9–14, boys reported having more interpersonal disagreements related to status and hierarchy, and girls were more likely to use cooperative conflict resolution strategies. Finally, Caravita and Cillessen (2012) find that, among 9–15-year-old girls and boys, boys appear to have more agentic goals and girls appear to have more communal goals, although aging makes the gender gap in agency appear and the gap in communality disappear, which could be due to a relatively small sample size.

***Hypothesis 0e**: Boys and girls both see issues related to partisan politics as more political than other political issues starting at age 15.*

Studies have found strong causal or correlational associations between political interest, political knowledge, political efficacy, and other indicators of political engagement (Bennett and Bennett 1989; Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010; Coffé 2013; Ondercin and Jones-White 2011; Prior 2019) — who are sometimes bundled together to create general political engagement scales. Therefore, Hypotheses 0f and 0g suggest that the value of these indicators tend to covary by age, and that gender differences in these indicators should also emerge within similar time frames.

***Hypothesis 0f**: Various indicators of political engagement, such as political interest, political knowledge and political efficacy, mostly increase at the same time — ages 15–25.*

***Hypothesis 0g**: Gender differences in various indicators of political engagement, such as political interest, political knowledge and political efficacy, when they exist, mostly arise at the same time — ages 15–25.*

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Pan-Canadian Surveys among Adults

In order to explore what level of general political interest Canadian men and women report, three datasets are mobilized: the 2021 Canadian Election Study (CES), the World Values Survey (WVS)'s Wave 7 and the 2020 General Social Survey (GSS). Figure 3.1 shows the rate of self-reported political interest by age and gender among Canadians, using a local regression model (LOESS). The trends among all three surveys are very similar and match to some degree with cross-country WVS results as well.

In all three datasets, interest in politics increases as people age, but it does so relatively slowly between 18 to 50 years old — or not at all, according to CES data. A large gender gap also appears for those within that age group in all three datasets. For instance, CES data shows that on average, women aged 18 to 50 report being neither interested nor disinterested in politics — 5/10; men, on the other hand, report being somewhat interested in politics — 6.5/10. This 1.5-point gap is statistically significant ($p<0.001$).

After age 50, both men and women start reporting higher levels of interest in politics, and this interest keeps increasing through their 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s. Moreover, again starting at age 50, the gender gap progressively reduces, as women's political interest increases more quickly than men's. Around age 75–80, the gap becomes statistically non-significant, although confidence intervals also become wider due to smaller sample sizes. For instance, in their early 90s, CES data shows that the average interest in politics stands at 8/10 for both men and women. Overall, throughout people's life course, CES data shows that women's political interest averages 5.4, while men's averages 6.8 ($p<0.001$).

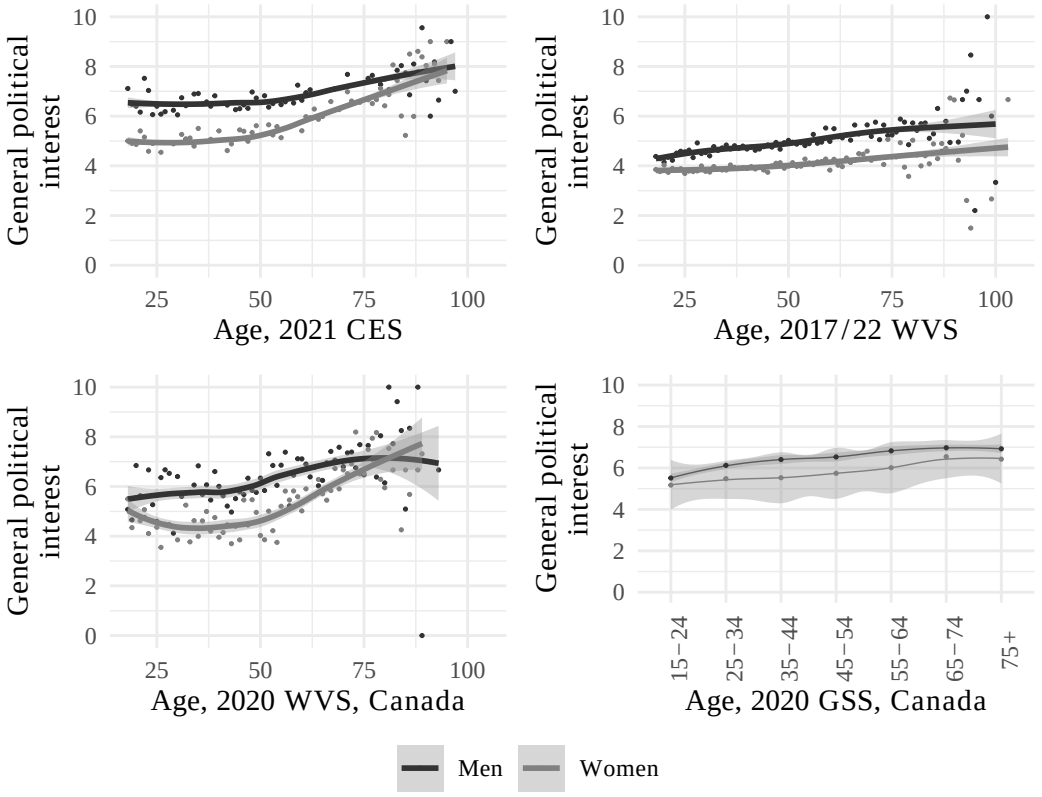

Figure 3.1: Self-Reported Level of General Political Interest by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES, WVS Wave 7 and 2020 Canadian GSS

Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. Dots represent average interest by age and gender. CES, WVS and GSS weights are applied.

How does Canada compare with other countries? Across all 57 countries surveyed during wave 7 of the WVS (2017–22), the average political interest was 4.8/10 for men and 4/10 for women, and while political interest increased with people's age, the size of the gender gap remained relatively similar with age. Among Canadian WVS respondents, the average political interest was 6.2/10 for men and 5/10 for women: this gender gap is 0.35 points larger than the WVS average and is statistically significant (p<0.001). Moreover, as mentioned previously, the age pattern was somewhat different in the Canadian WVS compared with the WVS's cross-country results, becoming statistically insignificant around age 75. However, sample sizes are smaller for people aged 75 and over, and age averages vary substantially from year to year as the CES and WVS scatterplots show. The fact that all three surveys show a shrinking of the gap at that age, however, reinforces confidence in that finding.

Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3

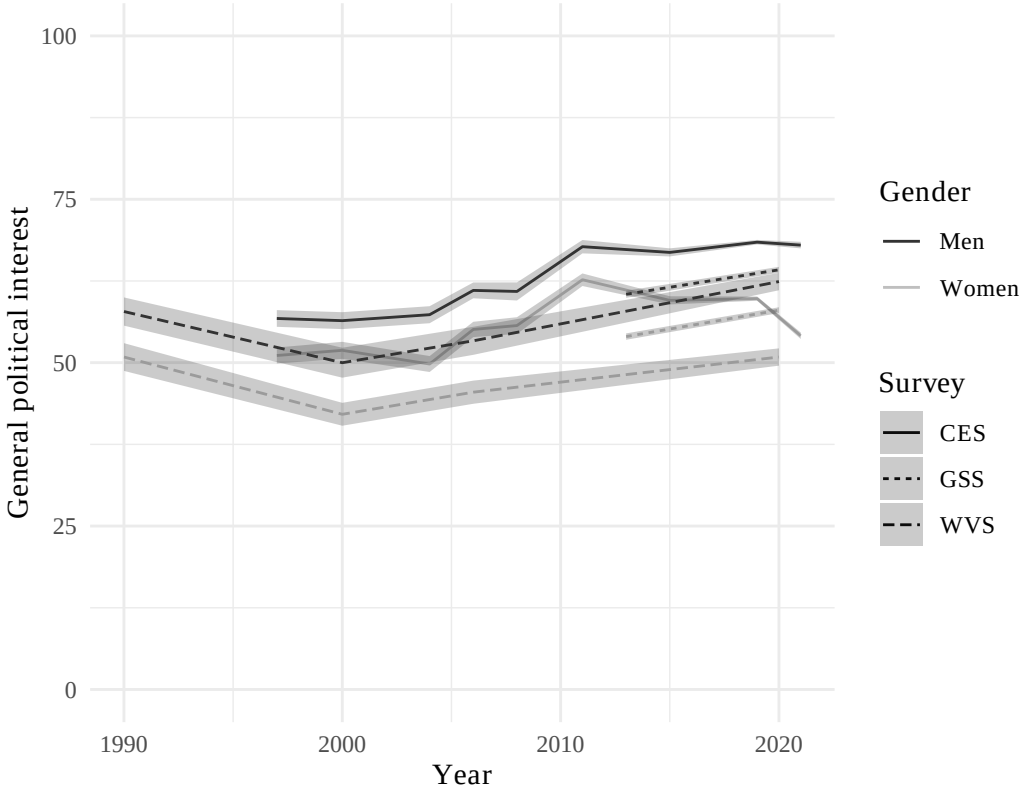

Figure 3.2: General Political Interest by Year and Gender Among Canadian Adults, CES, WVS (Canada) and GSS

Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. CES and WVS weights are applied.

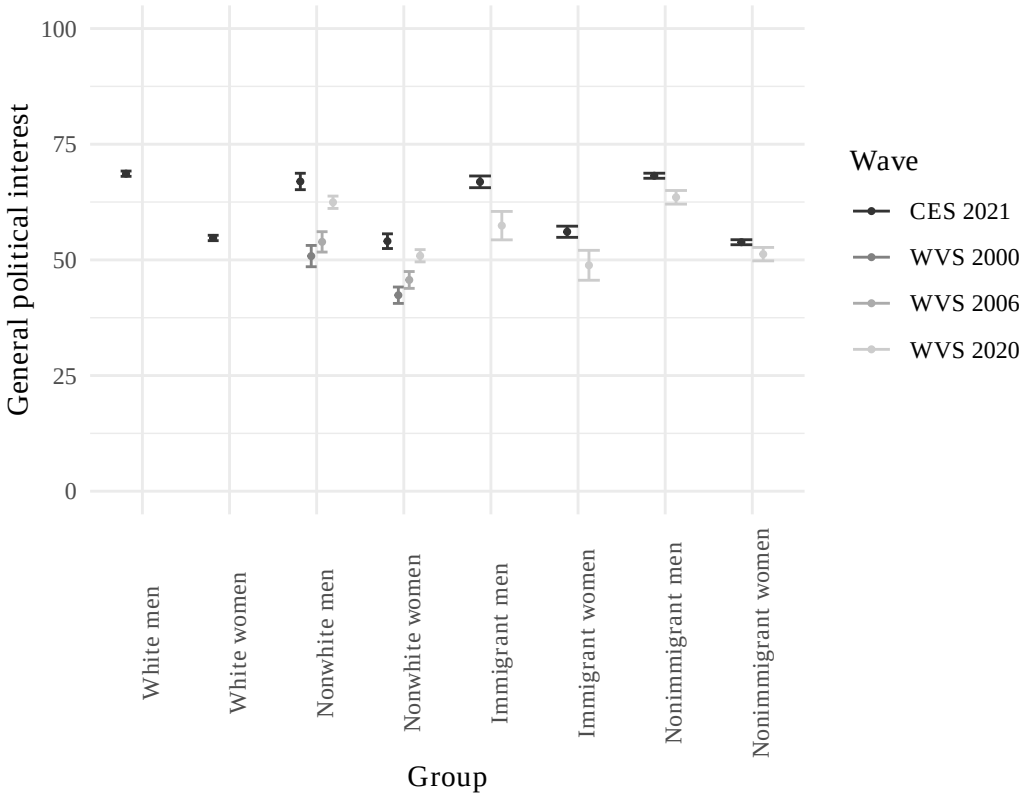

Figure 3.3: General Political Interest by Year, Gender and Ethnicity Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES and 2020 WVS (Canada)
Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. CES and WVS weights are applied.

3.4.2 Canadian Children Political Interest Survey

What kinds of political topics are children and adolescents interested in? Are there gender differences in how interested they are in these topics? Does gender predict political interest in itself, or is it only a proxy for other variables? Data from the Canadian Children Political Interest Survey (CCPIS), described in further detail in Chapter 2, is used to answer these questions. Table 3.1 shows the link between gender and interest in each of the topics among elementary and high school students. The upper part includes gender as the only predictor, while the lower part includes controls for socio-demographic variables.

In the upper half of the table, taking into account classroom fixed effects, boys generally report being more interested in politics than girls, but the gender gap is relatively minimal, standing at 0.43 for the 11-point political interest scale ($p<0.05$). Boys' interest in international affairs and partisan politics is higher than girls' (1-point and 0.85-point difference respectively; both $p<0.001$). This seems to be in line with the results among adult respondents. However, girls' interest in law and crime is also slightly higher (0.5 point, $p<0.05$). This result is more surprising given previous literature showing the contrary. Results for the other two topics, health care and education, are almost even between the genders, and not statistically significant, despite adult women usually reporting higher levels of interest in these two topics across studies.

However, in the lower half of the table, controlling for socio-demographic factors, all relationships between gender and interest disappear. It might be the case that girls are less interested in some of these topics by virtue of other socio-demographic characteristics, but there does not seem to be one other socio-demographic variable that reliably predicts interest in any of the topics. These multiple regression results might be tainted by some multicollinearity between ethnicity, immigrant status and language.

Table 3.1: Students' political interest by gender

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	4.579***	4.041***	5.724***	4.956***	4.219***	4.007***
	(0.184)	(0.167)	(0.180)	(0.173)	(0.206)	(0.171)
Gender (1 = girls)	-0.434*	0.128	-0.980***	0.488*	-0.103	-0.854***
	(0.207)	(0.197)	(0.229)	(0.231)	(0.223)	(0.232)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.651	0.542	0.473	0.377	0.771	0.344
SD (Observations)	2.499	2.397	2.802	2.837	2.701	2.855
Num.Obs.	617	623	620	619	623	620
R2 Marg.	0.007	0.001	0.029	0.007	0.000	0.022
:———	———:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	-4.021	-1.235	0.253	4.881	27.025+	10.330
	(13.493)	(13.062)	(14.952)	(15.600)	(15.173)	(14.425)
Gender (1 = girls)	3.071	-0.092	-3.122	0.357	0.845	1.237
	(2.651)	(2.478)	(2.825)	(2.829)	(2.693)	(2.914)
Age	0.346	0.359	0.218	-0.393	-3.560+	-1.227
	(1.796)	(1.736)	(1.994)	(2.080)	(2.008)	(1.932)
Age squared	0.000	-0.003	0.000	0.022	0.129+	0.045
	(0.060)	(0.058)	(0.066)	(0.069)	(0.066)	(0.064)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.659+	0.154	0.860*	-0.203	0.049	0.356
	(0.378)	(0.356)	(0.409)	(0.411)	(0.395)	(0.422)
Immigrant	-0.072	-0.165	-0.748+	-0.956*	-0.179	-0.428
	(0.421)	(0.392)	(0.452)	(0.458)	(0.433)	(0.467)
English spoken at home	-0.918	-1.020+	-1.255+	-0.515	-0.453	-0.264
	(0.609)	(0.565)	(0.651)	(0.653)	(0.625)	(0.670)
French spoken at home	-0.088	-0.099	-0.591	-0.112	0.426	0.351
	(0.342)	(0.319)	(0.370)	(0.371)	(0.351)	(0.382)
Agency scale	3.268***	1.127	2.185*	1.748*	0.674	2.343**
	(0.785)	(0.730)	(0.844)	(0.846)	(0.806)	(0.875)
Communality scale	1.251	0.719	1.986*	0.954	1.042	0.603
	(0.839)	(0.791)	(0.910)	(0.913)	(0.875)	(0.937)
School #4	0.196	-0.958*	-0.577	-0.475	0.002	-0.444
	(0.351)	(0.407)	(0.453)	(0.493)	(0.531)	(0.390)
School #3	0.990	-0.113	0.797	-0.518	-0.467	0.686
	(0.708)	(0.754)	(0.836)	(0.890)	(0.933)	(0.761)
School #6	0.875	0.465	3.969	1.924	-3.158	1.760
	(2.157)	(2.122)	(2.396)	(2.479)	(2.468)	(2.338)
School #2	0.195	-0.817+	-0.551	-0.547	0.111	-0.447
	(0.373)	(0.433)	(0.483)	(0.527)	(0.564)	(0.416)
School #5	-0.529	-1.081	-0.263	-1.482	1.013	-0.320
	(1.530)	(1.461)	(1.678)	(1.698)	(1.651)	(1.710)
School #8	2.824**	0.324	-1.542	-0.392	3.343*	0.768
	(0.903)	(0.971)	(1.093)	(1.161)	(1.216)	(1.007)
School #7	-1.601	0.070	-3.829	-3.370	-2.073	-2.819
	(2.045)	(1.957)	(2.891)	(2.923)	(2.843)	(2.950)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Gender (1 = girls):Age	-0.174	0.050	0.173	0.030	-0.030	-0.095
	(0.167)	(0.156)	(0.178)	(0.179)	(0.170)	(0.183)
Gender (1 = girls):Ethnicity (1 = white)	-1.191*	-0.542	-0.718	-0.355	-1.035+	-0.962+
	(0.520)	(0.488)	(0.560)	(0.563)	(0.538)	(0.579)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.001	0.432	0.450	0.571	0.706	0.001
SD (Observations)	2.460	2.297	2.647	2.646	2.524	2.758
Num.Obs.	423	427	425	423	427	427
R2 Marg.	0.121	0.071	0.130	0.073	0.102	0.085
:———————	———————:	———:	———————:	———:	———:	———:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

Note: ^^ Reference category for language: Other languages spoken at home

Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 re-analyze those results for children aged 10–14 (n=200) and those aged 15–18 (n=446). Among younger students, the gender gap in self-reported political interest is 0.06/10 (not statistically significant). Among those aged 15–18, this gap grows to 0.53/10 (p<0.05). Notably, among both groups, both interest in international affairs and interest in partisan politics are higher among boys than girls, suggesting some gender differences in interests might take place before adolescence.

Table 3.2: Political interest by gender (ages 10-15)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	3.990***	3.638***	5.356***	4.519***	3.569***	3.854***
	(0.294)	(0.232)	(0.310)	(0.293)	(0.257)	(0.321)
Gender (1 = girls)	-0.113	0.077	-0.891*	0.630+	-0.073	-0.755*
	(0.319)	(0.309)	(0.375)	(0.379)	(0.357)	(0.364)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.703	0.205	0.561	0.392	0.000	0.707
SD (Observations)	2.527	2.467	2.965	3.022	2.847	2.860
Num.Obs.	256	256	253	256	254	251
R2 Marg.	0.000	0.000	0.021	0.011	0.000	0.016

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
:———————	————————	———————	————————	———————	———————	———————
	—-:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:
(Intercept)	19.493	-3.115	-52.289	-56.980	22.959	15.364
	(46.116)	(45.145)	(53.853)	(54.491)	(52.090)	(53.562)
Gender (1 = girls)	2.134	-1.485	-4.173	-4.736	-0.123	0.617
	(4.901)	(4.762)	(5.362)	(5.406)	(5.185)	(5.331)
Age	-3.163	0.778	8.228	9.313	-2.621	-1.619
	(6.914)	(6.771)	(8.072)	(8.166)	(7.808)	(8.029)
Age squared	0.123	-0.023	-0.303	-0.357	0.082	0.050
	(0.257)	(0.252)	(0.299)	(0.303)	(0.290)	(0.298)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.798	0.386	1.214	-0.307	1.312	0.185
	(0.770)	(0.741)	(0.830)	(0.844)	(0.815)	(0.838)
Immigrant	0.683	-0.430	-0.171	2.142+	0.835	0.416
	(1.110)	(1.087)	(1.237)	(1.254)	(1.204)	(1.238)
English spoken at home	-1.859+	-2.249*	-2.509*	-0.496	-2.152*	-2.699*
	(1.048)	(0.982)	(1.116)	(1.139)	(1.070)	(1.100)
French spoken at home	-0.209	-0.889	-0.577	0.150	-0.750	0.094
	(0.617)	(0.608)	(0.694)	(0.703)	(0.667)	(0.686)
Agency scale	2.997*	1.857	1.902	1.545	0.477	1.246
	(1.416)	(1.372)	(1.585)	(1.605)	(1.532)	(1.575)
Communality scale	3.035*	0.343	2.812+	1.665	0.843	1.238
	(1.449)	(1.422)	(1.613)	(1.640)	(1.561)	(1.605)
School #4	0.540	-1.080	-1.473	-1.230	-0.298	-0.599
	(0.887)	(0.823)	(0.865)	(0.930)	(0.792)	(0.814)
School #3	1.080	0.028	-0.071	-0.844	-0.588	0.275
	(1.031)	(0.945)	(0.965)	(1.038)	(0.879)	(0.904)
School #6	-0.713	0.834	6.154	4.838	-3.186	0.685
	(3.242)	(3.130)	(3.620)	(3.700)	(3.462)	(3.560)
School #2	1.302	-0.371	-1.267	0.618	1.419	-0.284
	(0.993)	(0.922)	(0.953)	(1.036)	(0.861)	(0.885)
School #5	-0.136	-2.098	-0.287	-4.974	0.679	-1.899
	(3.017)	(2.937)	(3.309)	(3.380)	(3.191)	(3.281)
School #8	4.630+	1.587	0.726	-0.525	5.375*	5.597*
	(2.250)	(2.156)	(2.397)	(2.475)	(2.284)	(2.349)
School #7	-1.114	0.649	-3.243	-3.716	-2.055	-1.443
	(2.416)	(2.311)	(3.249)	(3.325)	(3.122)	(3.211)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Gender (1 = girls):Age	-0.102	0.184	0.238	0.444	0.098	-0.074
	(0.341)	(0.332)	(0.376)	(0.379)	(0.363)	(0.373)
Gender (1 = girls):Ethnicity (1 = white)	-1.261	-1.049	-0.264	-0.967	-1.985+	-0.387
	(0.986)	(0.956)	(1.073)	(1.087)	(1.051)	(1.080)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.587	0.482	0.336	0.499	0.000	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.516	2.468	2.826	2.860	2.746	2.823
Num.Obs.	159	159	158	159	159	159
R2 Marg.	0.165	0.094	0.207	0.129	0.129	0.169
:———————	———————:	———:	———-:	———:	———-:	———:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

Note: ^^ Reference category for language: Other languages spoken at home

Table 3.3: Political interest by gender (ages 16-18)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	4.997***	4.365***	5.903***	5.291***	4.621***	4.097***
	(0.184)	(0.202)	(0.209)	(0.208)	(0.247)	(0.202)
Gender (1 = girls)	-0.546*	0.213	-0.932**	0.473	-0.013	-0.886**
	(0.271)	(0.261)	(0.293)	(0.293)	(0.293)	(0.302)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.174	0.458	0.318	0.321	0.674	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.484	2.354	2.682	2.659	2.621	2.815
Num.Obs.	345	349	349	345	351	351
R2 Marg.	0.012	0.002	0.029	0.008	0.000	0.024
:———————	———————:	———:	———-:	———:	———-:	———:
(Intercept)	-136.895	-30.503	149.356	98.815	220.357	-246.198
	(156.856)	(137.403)	(161.764)	(167.899)	(149.124)	(164.357)
Gender (1 = girls)	-0.483	5.854	-3.756	15.528	5.428	2.834
	(9.780)	(8.948)	(10.326)	(10.522)	(9.723)	(10.684)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Age	16.603	3.632	-17.463	-12.298	-26.984	29.632
	(18.852)	(16.517)	(19.446)	(20.234)	(17.927)	(19.758)
Age squared	-0.494	-0.094	0.525	0.399	0.836	-0.884
	(0.566)	(0.496)	(0.584)	(0.609)	(0.538)	(0.593)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.552	0.026	0.722	-0.086	-0.382	0.448
	(0.440)	(0.412)	(0.472)	(0.463)	(0.448)	(0.491)
Immigrant	-0.172	0.094	-1.108*	-1.520**	-0.366	-0.490
	(0.467)	(0.430)	(0.493)	(0.492)	(0.466)	(0.516)
English spoken at home	-0.249	-0.201	-0.466	-0.496	0.658	1.448+
	(0.767)	(0.708)	(0.813)	(0.797)	(0.765)	(0.852)
French spoken at home	0.030	0.317	-0.626	-0.168	0.980*	0.568
	(0.422)	(0.384)	(0.443)	(0.436)	(0.415)	(0.463)
Agency scale	3.209**	0.760	1.971+	2.017*	0.703	2.733*
	(0.964)	(0.885)	(1.015)	(0.998)	(0.957)	(1.065)
Communality scale	0.232	0.935	1.294	0.460	1.115	0.267
	(1.064)	(0.985)	(1.131)	(1.111)	(1.068)	(1.179)
School #4	0.224	-0.896+	-0.170	-0.203	0.441	-0.220
	(0.433)	(0.503)	(0.540)	(0.518)	(0.660)	(0.480)
School #2	-0.041	-0.995+	-0.196	-0.789	-0.011	-0.371
	(0.437)	(0.503)	(0.541)	(0.522)	(0.650)	(0.485)
School #5	-0.653	-0.478	-0.833	-1.418	0.555	0.690
	(1.873)	(1.752)	(2.004)	(1.962)	(1.954)	(2.061)
School #8	2.129+	-0.313	-1.866	-0.127	2.901*	-1.063
	(1.056)	(1.107)	(1.221)	(1.184)	(1.358)	(1.177)
Gender (1 = girls):Age	0.054	-0.326	0.226	-0.899	-0.322	-0.163
	(0.598)	(0.547)	(0.631)	(0.643)	(0.594)	(0.653)
Gender (1 = girls):Ethnicity (1 = white)	-1.343*	-0.186	-1.164+	-0.536	-0.736	-1.486*
	(0.638)	(0.591)	(0.677)	(0.667)	(0.640)	(0.707)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.000	0.460	0.426	0.386	0.758	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.423	2.229	2.562	2.513	2.400	2.700

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Num.Obs.	264	268	267	264	268	268
R2 Marg.	0.088	0.049	0.099	0.083	0.099	0.092
:———————	————	———	————	———	———	———
———	—-:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:

Note: ‸ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ‸ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

Note: ‸ Reference category for language: Other languages spoken at home

For health care and education, results among Canadian children — which show no gender gap — might come as a surprise given the number of studies that show adult women report being more interested in the political aspects of these topics in various contexts. Still, the experiences of several women as mothers and caregivers later in life might be the elements that shape the importance they give to both issues.

Figure 3.4 shows how students view each of the 10 concrete issues associated with the 5 topics as political or non-political. As expected, the two issues related to partisan politics are almost universally seen as political, followed by issues related to international affairs. These are the two topics for which boys report being more interested. Findings for issues related to the other three topics are perceived by 25% to 60% of students as being non-political — substantially large proportions. R. Campbell and Winters (2008) and Ferrin et al. (2020) had similarly found that issues related to partisan politics were seen as more political than those related to other topics. Visibly, this trend also applies to Canadian children, which suggests that topics which are seen as political are also those for which men typically report a higher degree of interest.

3.4.3 Datagotchi PES

How do these interests change when people reach adulthood? This question is best answered using Datagotchi PES data. As Table 3.4 shows, Quebec men generally report being more interested in politics than women. Men's interest in international affairs and partisan politics is also higher than women's (0.7-point and 0.6-point difference respectively; both $p<0.001$). Men's interest in law and order is also slightly higher (0.2 point, $p<0.1$). However, women are significantly more interested in health care and education (0.7-point and 0.5-point difference respectively, both $p<0.001$) than men are.

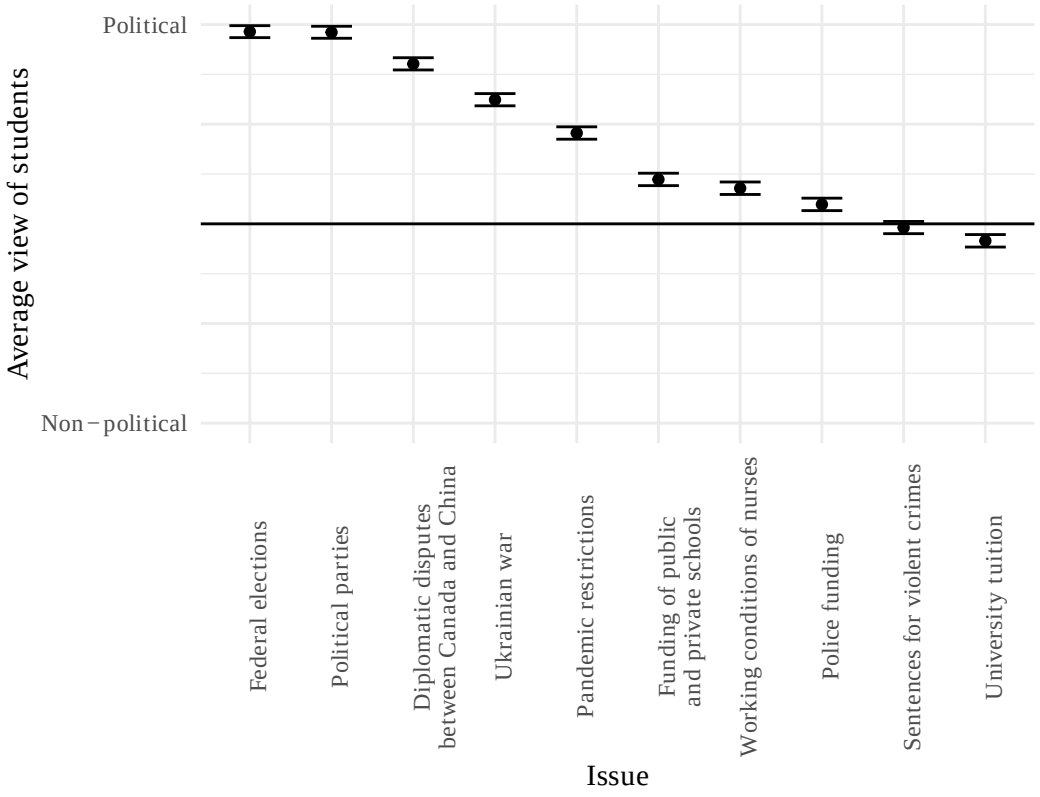

Figure 3.4: Views of Topics as Political or Non-Political By Canadian Students, 2022 CCPIS

Table 3.4: Political interest by gender

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	7.736***	6.473***	7.517***	5.408***	6.607***	6.342***
	(0.059)	(0.070)	(0.066)	(0.073)	(0.070)	(0.077)
Gender (1 = women)	-0.828***	0.706***	-0.653***	0.184+	0.530***	-0.565***
	(0.090)	(0.108)	(0.102)	(0.112)	(0.107)	(0.119)
Num.Obs.	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
R2	0.045	0.023	0.022	0.002	0.013	0.012
R2 Adj.	0.044	0.023	0.022	0.001	0.013	0.012
Log.Lik.	-3702.748	-4020.146	-3922.656	-4088.971	-4010.567	-4202.267
F	83.948	42.885	40.871	2.710	24.381	22.384
:———————	—————	———	————	———	———	———
———	—-:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:
(Intercept)	7.266***	4.359***	6.160***	5.391***	6.052***	6.922***
	(0.676)	(0.791)	(0.754)	(0.843)	(0.798)	(0.897)
Gender (1 = women)	-0.557	1.538*	-0.562	0.426	-0.288	-1.005
	(0.627)	(0.733)	(0.698)	(0.781)	(0.740)	(0.831)
Age	-0.034+	0.038+	-0.006	0.014	-0.025	-0.073**
	(0.019)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.026)
Age squared	0.000*	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.496	-0.262	-0.244	-0.936+	-0.449	0.558
	(0.443)	(0.518)	(0.493)	(0.552)	(0.523)	(0.587)
Immigrant	-0.354+	0.345	0.262	-0.463+	0.139	-0.332
	(0.207)	(0.242)	(0.230)	(0.258)	(0.244)	(0.274)
French spoken at home	0.163	0.132	0.481	-0.058	0.381	0.209
	(0.292)	(0.341)	(0.325)	(0.363)	(0.344)	(0.387)
Income between $60,000 and $150,000	0.054	0.138	0.214	0.263+	0.080	0.164
	(0.123)	(0.144)	(0.138)	(0.154)	(0.146)	(0.164)
Income above $150,000	0.232	0.306+	0.493**	0.482**	0.207	0.434*
	(0.143)	(0.167)	(0.159)	(0.178)	(0.169)	(0.190)
Education: college	0.164	0.254	0.366+	0.201	0.604*	0.116
	(0.199)	(0.232)	(0.221)	(0.248)	(0.234)	(0.263)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Education: university	0.485**	0.407+	0.615**	-0.121	1.324***	0.475+
	(0.185)	(0.216)	(0.206)	(0.230)	(0.218)	(0.245)
Gender (1 = women):Age	0.018**	0.005	0.019**	-0.011	-0.001	0.026***
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Gender (1 = women):Ethnicity (1 = white)	-1.119+	-1.014	-0.953	0.369	0.840	-0.806
	(0.592)	(0.692)	(0.659)	(0.737)	(0.698)	(0.785)
Num.Obs.	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
R2	0.071	0.087	0.075	0.019	0.050	0.030
R2 Adj.	0.065	0.081	0.069	0.012	0.044	0.024
Log.Lik.	-3677.474	-3959.286	-3872.398	-4073.506	-3976.231	-4185.857
F	11.392	14.219	12.132	2.809	7.889	4.628
:———	———:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression

Figure 3.5 inquires about any time trends in the evolution of interest in each of the topics, including gendered aspects. No clear gender pattern emerges, beyond the finding that the gap in general political interest becomes statistically insignificant among Quebeckers aged 75 and over.

3.5 Discussion

This chapter highlights gender differences in interest in various political topics, but also shows differences between children and adults. For international relations and partisan politics, male students report more interest in these topics, just like adults in previous studies. However, girls' higher interest in law and crime and similar levels of interest in health care and education compared to boys contrast with data previously found among adults (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013; Ferrin et al. 2020; Hayes and Bean 1993; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004a; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997). Given the results of the Datagotchi PES, which shows higher levels of interest in the political aspects of health care and education among adult women

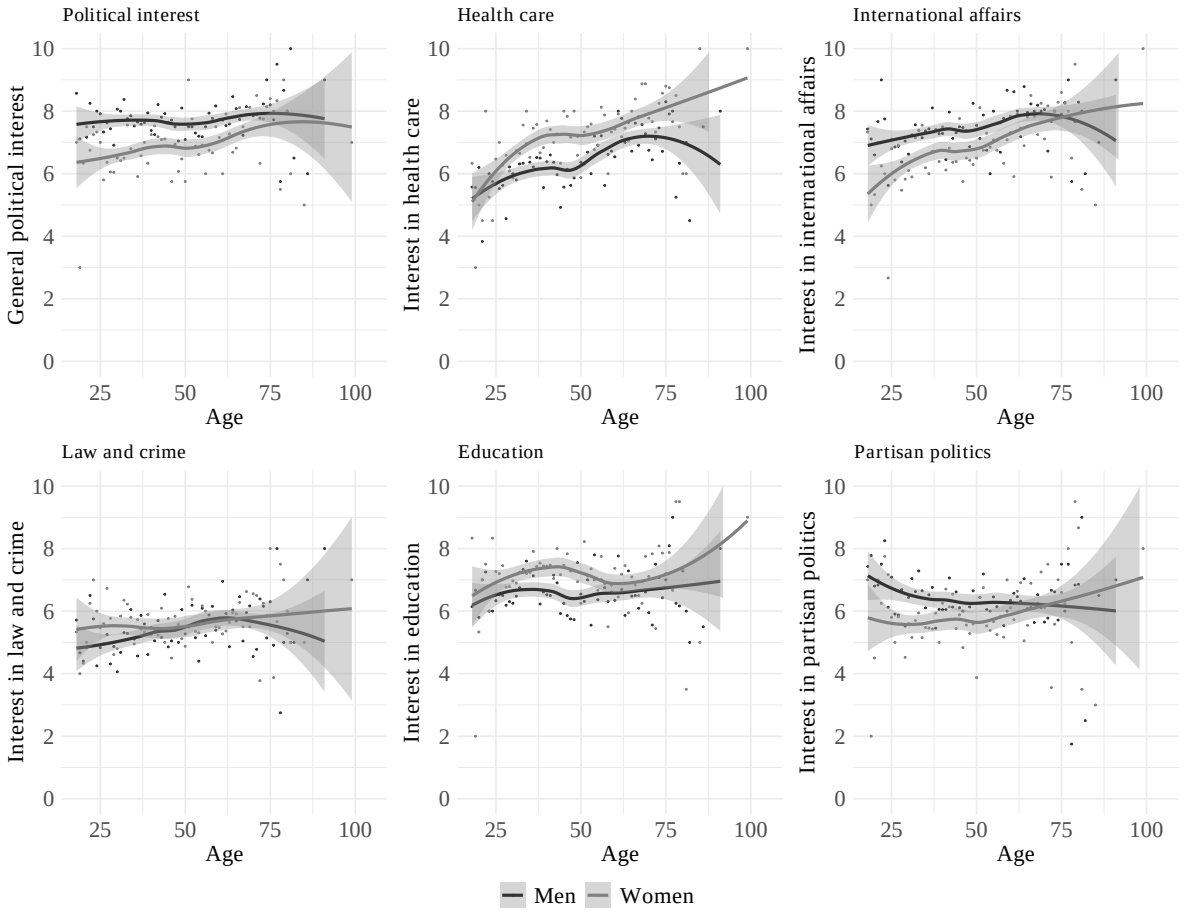

Figure 3.5: Self-Reported Level of Interest in Various Topics by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2022 Datagotchi PES

Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. Dots represent average interest by age and gender. No weights are currently applied.

than men, it seems that the gender gap in interest in these topics emerges in early adulthood, perhaps as a result of life events that happen at that stage, such as women becoming more likely to care for children and relatives. Given the absence of longitudinal data collected among Canadians, it is not possible to tell at what point in time girls or women become more interested in health care and education issues relative to men. However, given the current results of two datasets, it is possible to note, for the first time, that some differences in interests are not necessarily pre-existent among adolescents. On the other hand, reported interest in politics in general, partisan politics and international affairs is already higher among boys aged 10 to 18.

Russo and Stattin (2017) suggested that the 13–15 age range is a period when parents, teachers, and other role models have the highest potential for transmission of interest in politics to children. Applying these results to the Canadian context, it appears that the 15–25-year-old period, similar to what previous studies have found, is also the point in time where a gender gap in interest for politics more generally emerges, with boys/men reporting higher interest in politics in general than girls/women.

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4 Parent–Child Political Interest Transmission: Do Moms Influence their Daughters and Dads Influence their Sons?

Parents play a prominent role in raising their children and therefore are among the main actors who can transmit political interest to them. Political scientists have long studied the extent of parents' role in that regard and the mechanisms through which political interest can be transmitted. A. Campbell et al. (1960) already suggested that "interest in politics, like partisanship, is readily transmitted within the family from generation to generation" (413). More recent research has highlighted inequalities in the extent to which boys and girls match their parents' level of political interest. This chapter aims to uncover the complex role gender can play in mediating parent–child political interest transmission. When and how does political interest transmission occur? To what extent do mothers influence political interest development in their children? Do they have a greater influence on their sons or daughters? What about fathers? Do these results hold for different political topics, when political interest is measured by sector? The chapter relies on social learning theory and seeks to test this dissertation's first hypothesis highlighted in Chapter 1: *Children's interest in specific political topics is more related to political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than other-gender parent(s).*

4.1 Political Interest Transmission

The transmission of interest in politics between parents and children has typically been measured by using methods to statistically compare their answers to the same political interest questions. Studies have generally shown a significant relationship between parents' political interest and their children's political interest (Beauregard 2008; Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero 2022; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Prior 2019; Shehata and Amnå 2019). While Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) find no statistically significant relationship, their results show that successful parent–child political interest transmission occurs when the family environment is more politicized. Prior (2019) estimates moderately strong Pearson correlation coefficients of 0.3 to 0.4 for parent–child political interest scores across three countries. By comparison, correlation coefficients of different indicators of political interest for the same individual vary between 0.6 and 0.7.

Parent–child political interest correlations vary by age. Prior (2019) finds very weak (0.05) correlations at age 11, followed by a steady growth until age 15. Parent–child correlations then remain stronger when both parents share a similar level of political interest, when this parental political interest is stable through time, and when children move out late from their parents' place. Children who move out early of their parents' place tend to see a quick drop in the extent to which their political interest matches their parents'. Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022) also find that, between ages 11 and 15, the gap in political interest between children whose parents are not interested in politics and children whose parents are interested in politics grows every year. Shehata and Amnå (2019), for their part, find the strength of the relationship between parents' news media use and children's political interest remains stable between ages 13 and 18.

While parents' political interest often seems to match their children's political interest, most studies lack the kind of data needed to establish a causal link between both. However, Prior (2019) uses panel data collected among parents and children and finds a weak but noticeable causal link in parental transmission of political interest. In time series, an increase in mothers' political interest is often accompanied by an increase in their children's political interest. The same goes for fathers, and for decreases rather than increases. These trends are clearer in the United Kingdom and Germany, despite weaker evidence in Switzerland. In the first two countries, it seems reasonable to assume that a change in parents' political interest could cause a similar change in their children's political interest.

The main causal mechanism for this transmission process seems to be parent–child political discussions. Scholars have long suggested that the development of political interest can happens through increasingly complex discussions about political topics between parents and children at home (D. Easton, Dennis, and Easton 1969; Greenstein 1965). These discussions can be initiated either by the parent or by the child, and the more they occur, the likelier the child is to be interested in politics. This relationship between the frequency of political discussions with parents and the child's interest in politics is statistically significant in the United States (Shehata and Amnå 2019), China, Mexico, Japan (Mayer and Schmidt 2004), and Canada (Dostie-Goulet 2009b). Furthermore, Shehata and Amnå (2019) find that changes in the frequency of political discussions with parents positively predict changes in adolescents' level of political interest.

It is also important to recognize that children can play a role in shaping political discussions with their parents — and potentially their parents' interest in politics. McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) find evidence of trickle-up political socialization, in which adolescent children initiate political discussions with parents, who react by increasing their news consumption or finding other ways to gain knowledge about politics in order to maintain a leadership role in the family. In this study, children's interest is first triggered through a civics curriculum.[1] York (2019) even finds that adolescents' news use and political discussions with peers have a positive influence on their political discussions with parents, while the opposite effects — political discussions

[1]The influence of schools, teachers, and citizenship education are studied in more detail in Chapter 6.

with parents influencing adolescents' news use or political discussions with peers — are not found to hold.

Yet, other studies about the relative influence of various socialization agents on the development of political interest in children and adolescents (Dostie-Goulet 2009b; Koskimaa and Rapeli 2015; Shehata and Amnå 2019) mostly find that parents play a larger role in transmitting political interest than any other socialization agent — including friends, media and schools. Trickle-down political socialization — from parents to children — therefore remains an important explanation of children's development of political interest.

4.2 Gender Differences in Transmission

Research has found that the trickle-down effect of political interest from parents to children works in gendered ways, and much of that evidence suggests transmission works better for parent–child pairs of the same gender. From the perspective of parents, mothers' political interest has a stronger effect on their daughters than sons' political interest, while fathers' political interest has a stronger effect on their sons' political interest (Beauregard 2008; Owen and Dennis 1988; Prior 2019). Disregarding parents' gender, Sabella (2004b) finds that parents' potential to transmit political interest to their sons is stronger than to their daughters. From the perspective of children, daughters' political interest seems to be influenced mostly by their mothers, with the mother–daughter political interest link stronger than all other combinations (Beauregard 2008; Owen and Dennis 1988; Prior 2019), although Rebenstorf (2004) strikes a discordant note, finding that fathers' potential to transmit political interest to their children is stronger than mothers'. Finally, it is not clear whether sons' political interest is influenced mostly by their father (Beauregard 2008; Owen and Dennis 1988) or mother (Prior 2019).

The strength of parent–child political interest correlations by gender is inquired by Prior (2019), whose findings are more recent and rely on panel data. In the British dataset, they find mother–daughter political interest correlations are the strongest (0.43), while mother–son, father–daughter and father–son correlations all sit between 0.31 and 0.34. In their German dataset, all four pairs are relatively close together, but exact numbers are not provided by the author. Finally, in the Swiss dataset, mother–daughter correlations are the strongest (0.36), followed by mother–son (0.31), father–son (0.21) and father–daughter (0.2). There is overall a stronger causal effect of mothers' political interest on their children's political interest, compared with fathers.[2]

Studies have investigated the gender patterns in parent–child political discussions, but the amount of political discussions does not seem to vary based on parents' and children's gender. While earlier studies found that children discuss politics more often with their fathers than mothers (Noller and Bagi 1985; Oswald and Schmid 1998), more recent research has found

[2]Kestilä-Kekkonen et al. (2023) also find stronger effects of mothers on children when it comes to the transmission of political self-efficacy, but do not not find a stronger relationship between parents and children of the same gender.

no significant difference between fathers and mothers (Hooghe and Boonen 2015; Mayer and Schmidt 2004; Shulman and DeAndrea 2014). Noller and Bagi (1985) also find that parents discuss politics more often with their sons. However, most studies again find a different pattern in which parents discuss politics with their daughters as much as with their sons (Dowse and Hughes 1971; Lawless and Fox 2015; Mayer and Schmidt 2004). Overall, it seems reasonable to assume, as Hooghe and Boonen (2015) do, that political discussions involving the father tend to revolve mostly around partisan politics, while political discussions with mothers might center on other topics — presumably health care, education, gender issues, and so on.

The nature of discussions about politics could also vary by gender, with more conflictual discussions happening between sons and fathers, or between mothers and daughters, than between other-gender pairs. Vuchinich (1987) shows the opposite to be true: parents are more likely to begin conflictual interactions with their other-gender children than same-gender children, while children initiate conflictual interactions with their mother more than with their father. It is not clear whether these patterns also apply to political discussions.

While past studies have found no differences in the frequency of political discussions by child gender or parent gender, these studies have not studied whether the specific topics of political discussions in the family could vary by parent gender or child gender. Are fathers more likely than mothers to discuss agency-related political topics with their children? Are parents more likely to discuss communality-related political topics with their daughters than sons? Hypotheses 1a–1f provide hypotheses about the frequency of political discussions by gender in the family unit.

- ***Hypothesis 1a****: Mothers are as likely as fathers to discuss any specific political topic with their children.*
- ***Hypothesis 1b****: Mothers are more likely than fathers to discuss the politics of health care and education with their children.*
- ***Hypothesis 1c****: Fathers are more likely than mothers to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their children.*
- ***Hypothesis 1d****: Parents are as likely to discuss any specific political topic with their sons as with their daughters.*
- ***Hypothesis 1e****: Parents are more likely to discuss the politics of health care and education with their daughters than sons.*
- ***Hypothesis 1f****: Parents are more likely to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their sons than daughters.*

Hypotheses 1a, 1b and 1c focus their attention on discrepancies between mothers' and fathers' likelihood of discussing certain topics with their children, while hypotheses 1d, 1e and 1f focus their attention on discrepancies between daughters and sons in their likelihood of discussing politics with — or being told about politics by — their parents. Hypotheses 1a and 1d seek to corroborate previous findings by Mayer and Schmidt (2004) and others that political

discussion frequency in the family does not vary by gender. To the contrary, hypotheses 1b and 1e suggest that parent gender is a significant factor that explains which topics will be discussed with children, and hypotheses 1c and 1f suggest that child gender is a key variable that explains which topics they will discuss with their parents.

Parents' education can also affect their children's interest in politics. Status transmission theory suggests that "well-educated parents are more likely to provide a politically stimulating home environment" and therefore have politically engaged children (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016, 373). It is not clear if status transmission theory works in gendered ways. Beauregard (2008) and Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022) find that parents' education has a positive relationship with their adolescents' political interest regardless of parents' gender, while other studies find a stronger effect of one parent. Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013) and Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015) find a positive relationship between fathers' education and children's interest in politics, Sanjuan and Mantas (2022) instead find a positive relationship for mothers, Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) find no relationship for both fathers and mothers, and Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015) even find a *negative* relationship between mothers' education and children's political interest.

Other parental characteristics can also influence the development of children's political interest in gendered or non-gendered ways. Gidengil, O'Neill, and Young (2010) and Cicognani et al. (2012) find that a mother's level of political participation has a positive link with her daughter's political interest. Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) do not find a relationship between parents' income and children's political interest, but Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013) find a positive relationship between fathers' income and children's political interest, which they suggest may be due to an indirect process in which fathers' income increases children's level of education and development of higher class civic attitudes, which then increases their level of interest in politics. Borkowska and Luthra (2022) find that political interest transmission patterns vary between immigrant and non-immigrant families, with intergenerational transmission somewhat weaker in immigrant families than other families, notably because other factors — such as socialization in a good-performing democracy or not — have a more significant influence. The authors find no moderating effect for naturalization.

4.3 Social Learning Theory

As highlighted in Chapter 1, social learning theory suggests that children learn by observing their parents' behaviour, attitudes, habits and values, and model their own behaviour, attitudes, habits and values after them (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016; Shehata and Amnå 2019). This process applies to the transmission of political interest (Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009; Prior 2019; Shehata and Amnå 2019). Prior (2019) suggests the transmission process starts in early adolescence, when children still live in the family home but start acquiring an understanding of what politics is. Its effectiveness is higher when parents give consistent and strong cues about their own level of political interest (Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009;

Prior 2019). Parents' political opinions and leanings are also more likely to be known by their children when the family environment is politicized, since this environment can foster social learning (Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013). In a political home environment, children can either feel social pressure to become interested in politics to create or maintain a sense of social belonging in the family unit, be exposed to more news media content, listen to or participate in more political discussions at home, or all of these (Shehata and Amnå 2019). Bandura (1969) further explains that observer–model similarity leads children to model their behaviour, values, attitudes and habits on models that resemble them, notably their parent(s) of the same gender.

Social learning theory and observer–model similarity both assume that political interest should be more strongly correlated between mothers and daughters and between fathers and sons than any other combination. While this assumption has somewhat effectively been tested in past research, mothers seem to have an overall stronger influence on the development of political interest in their children. Moreover, it remains unclear if this finding applies similarly across various political topics, or if the cooperation-oriented topics in which women typically report being more interested — health care and education — can better be transmitted by mothers while those assertion-focused topics in which men typically report being more interested — law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics — can better be transmitted by fathers. Four hypotheses are therefore tested alongside each other:

- ***Hypothesis 1g****: Children's interest in specific political topics is more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than other-gender parent(s).*
- ***Hypothesis 1h****: Children's interest in the politics of health care and education is more affected by political discussions with their mother(s) than father(s).*
- ***Hypothesis 1i****: Children's interest in law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics is more affected by political discussions with their father(s) than mother(s).*
- ***Hypothesis 1j****: Children's interest in specific political topics is more affected by political discussions with their mother(s) than father(s).*

According to Hypothesis 1g, which is the one most consistent with social learning theory, a parent's interest in a specific political topic should influence interest in that topic more strongly for their same-gender children than other-gender children. On average, a mother is expected to have more transmission potential of her interest in health care issues to her daughters than sons through political discussion, for example. Given the importance of parents' role in socialization in childhood and adolescence, this transmission process would explain part of the gender gap in interest into topics such as health care and partisan politics that exists among adults.

While Hypothesis 1g supposes similar effects of parental discussions for different topics and suggests the key factor explaining interest transmission is parent–child gender congruence, the other three hypotheses provide different answers to the question of how political interest gender gaps could be transmitted by parents. Hypotheses 1h and 1i suppose the key factor

explaining interest transmission is the nature of the topics themselves — with mothers having more transmission potential of interest in topics for which the average woman reports more interest, and the same for fathers and men's political interests. Finally, hypothesis 1j supposes that mothers have more transmission potential than fathers for all topics. Hypotheses 1g and 1j provide further tests of the findings of Beauregard (2008), Owen and Dennis (1988), and Prior (2019), while hypotheses 1h and 1i are alternate hypotheses. Since R. Campbell and Winters (2008) suggest that women tend to see political issues through the lens of cooperation while men tend to see them through a lens of self-assertion, hypotheses 1c and 1d test the suggestion that parental socialization of boys favours agency-related political topics while parental socialization of girls favours communality-related political topics.

4.4 Time Trends

- ***Hypothesis 1k**: Children's interest in specific political topics becomes more and more affected by political discussions with their parent(s) between ages 11 and 15, after which the parental effects stabilize.*

Finally, Hypothesis 1k tests the time trends in parental influence over children's political interest, testing results but forward by Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022), Prior (2019) and Shehata and Amnå (2019), but relying on measures of parent–child political discussions rather than parental political interest. The hypothesis implies that social learning and observer–model similarity keep affecting children more and more as they age, with girls developing more interest in issues they discuss with their mothers and boys developing more interest in issues they discuss with their fathers. For the sake of simplicity, the effect is presumed to be more or less constant across political topics and across all parent–child pairs — mother–son, mother–daughter, father–son, father–daughter.

4.5 Data Analysis

The 2022–23 Canadian Children Political Interest Survey (CCPIS) is used to study relationships between students' interest in certain topics and parents' discussions of these same topics. This web-collected bilingual dataset includes survey responses from 698 Canadian children and adolescents aged 8 to 18.

The CCPIS includes information about students' interest in various political topics, the political topics they say they discuss with their mothers, fathers and peers, as well as the political topics discussed by a teacher and an influencer they like. The gender of these role models is also inquired, to test the implication from social learning theory that political interest transmission should occur mainly between a child and role models of their gender, more than role models of other genders (Prior 2019; Shehata and Amnå 2019).

For questions about students' political interests, the following questions are asked: "How interested are you in politics generally? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means no interest at all, and 10 means a great deal of interest", and "If you were to open a news website and see the following articles how interested would you be in reading each article? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Not at all interested, I would not read it,' and 10 means 'Very interested, I would most likely read it.' (a) Health care (i.e., pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses); (b) International affairs (i.e., diplomatic disputes between Canada and China, Ukrainian war); (c) Law and crime (i.e., police funding, sentences for violent crimes); (d) Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools); (e) Partisan politics (i.e., federal elections, political parties)". These questions specify concrete examples of political issues related to each topic, in order to make the political aspects of these topics more salient and avoid students answering while thinking about their own health or classes they are taking. The question's phrasing is meant to be easily understood by children and teenagers.

The main socialization-related explanatory variables for children's political interest identified in the literature concern the role of four agents of socialization: parents, peers, schools, and media. In order to determine the importance of parents depending on their gender, the following questions were asked to children: "Which parent do you discuss most often with? (a) Mother; (b) Father; (c) Both equally". Several questions are then used to assess the role of parents in transmitting interest to their children. Given the important role of political discussion in the transmission of political interest, this variable is used to measure parents' transmission potential: "For each of the following topics, which parent do you discuss most often with?" Answers are either "My mother", "My father" or "Don't know/Prefer not to answer".[3] Second, students are asked "Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your mother(s)?" Each of the five topics is listed, and the same question is then asked for the father(s). While topics such as health care and education can be spoken about without referring to their political aspects, children were given examples of political issues related to each of this topic shortly before in the same survey when they were asked which topic they were most interested in (e.g., "Health care (i.e., pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses)", "Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools)"). Nevertheless, since these specifications are not repeated in the subsequent questions inquiring about discussion topics with their parents, children may have answered while keeping the non-political aspects of these topics in mind (e.g., "How was school today? Are you feeling sick?"), and results are therefore interpreted with caution for these two topics.

All multilevel regression results presented in this chapter include controls for socio-economic status, agency, communality, and classroom fixed effects, except if otherwise specified. A simple multilevel regression model with one explanatory variable — often a given role model's interest in a specific topic — is followed by multiple regression models with control variables for three blocs of variables: (1) personality traits, (2) role models' gender, and (3) socio-economic status variables. Personality traits include the agency and communality scales developed in

[3]Students who do not have one parent of either gender are removed from the analysis.

Chapter 2, while socio-economic status variables include confounding variables which have been linked with political interest and could therefore mediate any given relationship found between two persons' political interest. These include gender, age, language, ethnicity, and immigrant status.

4.5.1 Parent–Child Political Discussions by Gender

Figure 4.1 shows, for each topic, which parent students report discussing the most often with. Out of 698 students, after removing non-answers and missing data, 82% of students report discussing health care more often with their mother than father, and 74% say the same for education. To the contrary, 64% of students say they discuss law and crime more often with their father, as well as 68% for partisan politics and 71% for international affairs. There are more non-answers and missing data for partisan politics, which presumably means no parent discusses the topic at home with their children. When these results are broken down by students' gender, very similar results are found for boys and girls, with one exception: in general, for all types of discussions — regardless of their political nature — 62% of boys say they have more discussions with their mother, compared with 82% of girls who report the same.

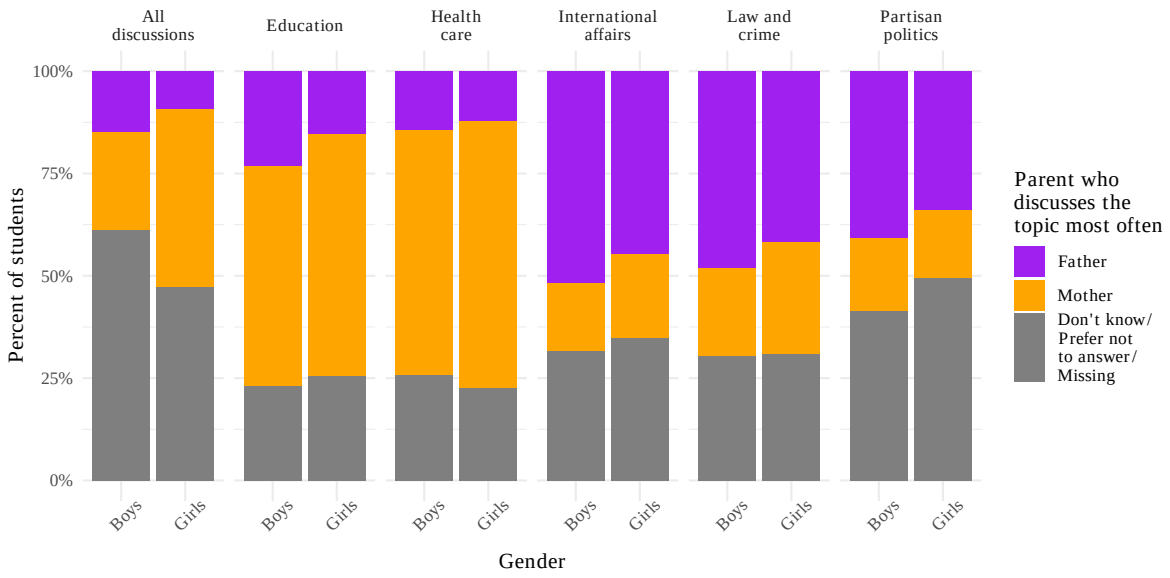

Figure 4.1: Topic most often discussed with parents by child gender, 2023 CCPIS data

These results match with what previous literature has found about women reporting more interest in education and health care, and men reporting more interest in partisan politics, law and crime, and international affairs. Hypotheses 1b and 1c are therefore corroborated, as opposed to Hypothesis 1a. Also in line with the literature, parents seem to talk about various

political topics just as much with their sons as with their daughters. Hypothesis 1d is therefore corroborated, as opposed to Hypotheses 1e and 1f, which hypothesized agency-related topics would be more prevalent in discussions with sons while communality-related topics would be more prevalent in discussions with daughters.

Figure 4.2 shows the extent to which mothers discuss each of the five topics, and the same for fathers. Mothers overwhelmingly discuss education and health care according to their children, while fathers discuss international affairs more than other topics but seem like a more heterogeneous group. Despite partisan politics being the least discussed topic by both parents, fathers are much more likely to discuss it than mothers according to this metric. For law and crime too, fathers are more likely to discuss it. Again, when these results are broken down by students' gender, very similar results are found for boys and girls.

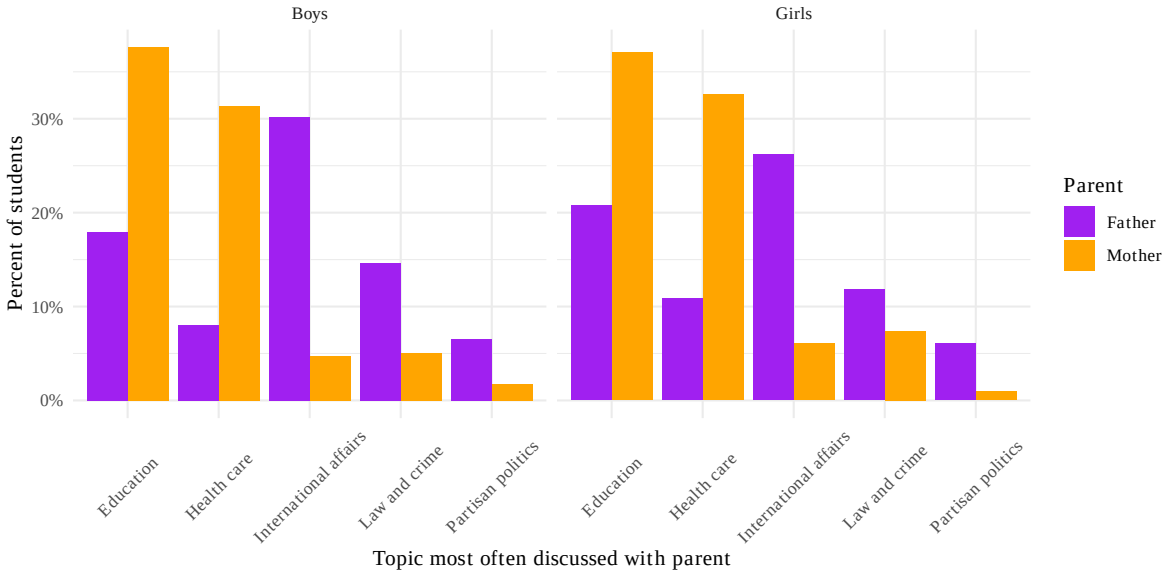

Figure 4.2: Topic most often discussed by mothers and fathers, 2023 CCPIS data

The gender gap in political topics discussed is pretty stark between mothers and fathers, according to their children's assessments. It is important to specify that given the question's phrasing, it is not clear if these interactions are initiated by parents or by their children, and if it is reflective of top-down or trickle-up political socialization (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002). Moreover, the question does not ask children to specify a percentage of interactions about each topic started by the mother or father; it simply asks them to pick the parent most likely to have these discussions with them. There is no assumption that mothers are the only ones talking about health care and fathers the only ones to talk about international affairs, but on average, they are more likely to raise this topic than the other-gender parent — with the caveat that children may have been thinking about health care and education in a broader

sense than simply their political aspects, despite prior prompting that should encourage them to think about political aspects.

Regardless, the fact that results among boys and girls both strongly point in the same direction is revealing. It makes little doubt that mothers and fathers speak differently about politics when they raise the topic with their children. Both questions were formulated in concrete ways, asking children the extent to which they discuss these topics with their parents. There is no Hawthorne effect among kids; they would not have an expected answer. Parents speak in starkly different ways about politics to their children, and this confirms that political socialization is a deeply gendered process.

4.5.2 Topics Parents Discuss the Most

When it comes to parents' role in political interest transmission, Table 4.1 shows the relationship between students' interest in each of the five topics and the gender of the parent who discusses the topic with them the most. Children's interest in either of the five topics does not seem to be related to the gender of the parent who discusses the topic the most; the topic-by-topic analysis shows all relationships are statistically insignificant. However, when aggregated, the fact that their father discusses a topic more than their mother increases sons' interest in that topic by an average of 0.5 point on an 11-point scale ($p<0.001$). The gender of the parent who discusses more a topic does not have a significant effect on daughters' interest in that topic.[4]

4.5.3 Topics Most Often Discussed with Mothers

Table 4.2 shows students' interest in each of the five topics depending on whether this topic is the one they most often discuss with various role models, starting with mothers. For boys, interest in either of the five topics or their aggregate is unrelated to their discussion of these topics with their mothers. For girls, interest in law and crime is related to their mothers discussing law and crime ($p<0.01$), and the same is true for education ($p<0.01$), partisan politics ($p<0.05$) and health care ($p<0.1$) are all positively predicted by their mothers discussing these topics with them. Only when it comes to international affairs is there no statistically significant effect — but the effect size is still largely positive. In the aggregate, if a girl's mother discusses mostly one of the five topics, her interest in that topic is expected to increase by 0.9 points on the 11-point scale ($p<0.001$).

4.5.4 Topics Most Often Discussed with Fathers

Table 4.2 then shows students' interest in a specific topic depending on it being the topic they most often discuss with their father(s). For boys, interest in partisan politics is related to their

[4]Appendix D shows very similar findings when control variables are removed.

Table 4.1: Interest in topic by gender of parent who discusses that topic the most

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	5.105	13.767	-12.026	-2.620	23.735	28.086
	(8.972)	(15.655)	(17.015)	(17.533)	(15.222)	(19.914)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.616***	-0.498	-0.244	-0.400	0.211	0.199
	(0.163)	(0.404)	(0.389)	(0.400)	(0.390)	(0.470)
Age	-0.463	-1.776	2.166	0.778	-3.321	-3.943
	(1.224)	(2.160)	(2.310)	(2.425)	(2.091)	(2.721)
Age squared	0.020	0.068	-0.078	-0.020	0.121+	0.134
	(0.042)	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.083)	(0.071)	(0.093)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.419*	0.226	1.227**	0.035	-0.250	0.658
	(0.195)	(0.381)	(0.387)	(0.421)	(0.403)	(0.502)
Immigrant	-0.332	0.125	-1.149*	-0.017	-0.686	-0.676
	(0.269)	(0.516)	(0.532)	(0.567)	(0.548)	(0.717)
English spoken at home	-0.271	-0.336	-1.193	-0.426	-0.466	0.752
	(0.414)	(0.798)	(0.812)	(0.862)	(0.829)	(1.137)
French spoken at home	-0.012	0.198	-0.911*	-0.030	-0.066	0.476
	(0.234)	(0.453)	(0.455)	(0.494)	(0.473)	(0.593)
Agency	2.668***	3.071**	2.633*	1.363	1.617	5.279***
	(0.514)	(0.962)	(1.050)	(1.113)	(1.037)	(1.344)
Communality	1.018	-0.043	3.155*	0.284	3.284*	1.448
	(0.623)	(1.179)	(1.273)	(1.312)	(1.294)	(1.602)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.657	0.523	0.747	0.373	0.252	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.605	2.324	2.345	2.636	2.646	2.812
Num.Obs.	1058	223	211	212	236	176
R2 Marg.	0.060	0.076	0.137	0.028	0.093	0.144
Girls						
(Intercept)	11.982	11.059	24.421+	10.076	15.288	40.801*
	(7.486)	(12.077)	(13.769)	(13.763)	(12.531)	(20.218)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.209	0.171	0.081	0.141	-0.381	-0.054
	(0.178)	(0.454)	(0.439)	(0.428)	(0.453)	(0.493)
Age	-1.127	-1.253	-2.974	-0.571	-1.768	-5.302+
	(1.034)	(1.674)	(1.924)	(1.914)	(1.746)	(2.772)
Age squared	0.043	0.051	0.106	0.024	0.069	0.182+
	(0.036)	(0.058)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.095)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	-0.347	-0.309	0.184	-0.264	-0.435	-0.140
	(0.221)	(0.401)	(0.488)	(0.469)	(0.428)	(0.572)
Immigrant	-0.199	0.172	-0.505	-1.182+	0.686	-0.126
	(0.294)	(0.534)	(0.667)	(0.675)	(0.570)	(0.709)
English spoken at home	-0.507	-0.061	-0.372	-1.248	0.165	-0.010
	(0.381)	(0.645)	(0.819)	(0.764)	(0.743)	(0.884)
French spoken at home	0.071	0.227	-0.104	-0.797	0.373	0.572
	(0.245)	(0.445)	(0.536)	(0.532)	(0.479)	(0.623)
Agency	0.065	-0.477	0.037	1.359	-0.100	1.326
	(0.607)	(1.110)	(1.343)	(1.379)	(1.189)	(1.564)
Communality	0.060	1.022	1.568	-1.836	0.084	-0.413
	(0.582)	(1.037)	(1.242)	(1.279)	(1.140)	(1.548)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.694	0.672	0.001	0.565	0.757	0.231
SD (Observations)	2.688	2.376	2.756	2.799	2.596	2.734
Num.Obs.	978	222	189	200	218	149
R2 Marg.	0.015	0.035	0.027	0.044	0.049	0.042

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
Method: Multilevel linear regression
Fixed Effects: Classroom
Reference Category for Language: Other languages spoken at home

Table 4.2: Interest in topic most often discussed with role models

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	-15.368	-3.663	-24.250	-9.486	19.580	-2.943
	(11.253)	(22.801)	(19.529)	(20.741)	(22.085)	(22.591)
Topic most discussed with mother?	-0.328	0.114	0.659	1.721	-0.528	-0.286
	(0.274)	(0.553)	(0.961)	(1.148)	(0.517)	(1.374)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.902***	2.217+	0.359	0.866	0.336	2.595**
	(0.271)	(1.319)	(0.464)	(0.536)	(0.632)	(0.959)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.569*	-0.086	-0.031	1.821*	1.048+	-0.468
	(0.284)	(0.761)	(0.548)	(0.788)	(0.528)	(1.595)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.951***	-2.133+	1.008*	0.847	0.069	2.019+
	(0.281)	(1.253)	(0.476)	(0.596)	(0.629)	(1.061)
Age	2.155	0.471	3.772	1.350	-2.873	0.449
	(1.566)	(3.187)	(2.723)	(2.887)	(3.075)	(3.157)
Age squared	-0.069	-0.013	-0.129	-0.040	0.107	-0.016
	(0.054)	(0.110)	(0.094)	(0.099)	(0.106)	(0.109)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	0.188	-0.106	0.811	0.120	-0.301	0.594
	(0.262)	(0.592)	(0.529)	(0.504)	(0.585)	(0.582)
Immigrant	-0.755*	0.321	-1.933**	0.273	-1.645*	-1.128
	(0.370)	(0.823)	(0.722)	(0.697)	(0.824)	(0.815)
English spoken at home	-0.428	-0.232	-0.971	-0.897	-0.540	-0.786
	(0.606)	(1.313)	(1.136)	(1.180)	(1.309)	(1.306)
French spoken at home	0.509	0.568	-0.403	0.600	-0.637	0.945
	(0.346)	(0.786)	(0.663)	(0.656)	(0.748)	(0.748)
Agency	2.150**	3.452*	2.623+	2.086	0.027	3.383*
	(0.740)	(1.674)	(1.418)	(1.426)	(1.600)	(1.581)
Communality	2.871***	2.226	1.923	2.132	7.357***	2.025
	(0.828)	(1.811)	(1.582)	(1.504)	(1.820)	(1.789)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.716	0.783	0.282	0.948	0.454	0.759
SD (Observations)	2.510	2.556	2.302	2.206	2.591	2.550
Num.Obs.	570	113	114	115	114	114
R2 Marg.	0.155	0.132	0.221	0.202	0.212	0.230
Girls						
(Intercept)	-11.178	-19.274	4.961	8.957	-30.007+	38.590+
	(11.263)	(17.209)	(21.684)	(20.017)	(17.650)	(19.968)
Topic most discussed with mother?	0.867**	0.828+	0.884	2.441**	1.360**	4.002*
	(0.284)	(0.477)	(1.257)	(0.880)	(0.482)	(1.936)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.486+	0.903	-0.398	2.146**	-0.020	-0.210
	(0.279)	(0.705)	(0.617)	(0.692)	(0.569)	(0.977)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.483+	-0.535	1.006	-0.526	0.981+	3.038
	(0.288)	(0.554)	(0.742)	(0.705)	(0.490)	(2.074)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.660*	0.200	-0.087	-0.643	0.811	2.021+
	(0.277)	(0.762)	(0.683)	(0.568)	(0.560)	(1.199)
Age	2.040	2.678	-0.001	-0.390	3.718	-4.871+
	(1.541)	(2.380)	(3.015)	(2.785)	(2.419)	(2.768)
Age squared	-0.068	-0.073	0.001	0.014	-0.112	0.163+
	(0.053)	(0.082)	(0.105)	(0.097)	(0.083)	(0.096)
Ethnicity (1 = white)	-0.328	0.529	-0.605	-0.869	0.199	-0.195
	(0.311)	(0.540)	(0.661)	(0.640)	(0.559)	(0.644)
Immigrant	-0.246	-0.365	-1.306	-1.743*	0.799	0.455
	(0.379)	(0.694)	(0.895)	(0.863)	(0.684)	(0.835)
English spoken at home	-0.335	0.239	-0.786	-0.729	0.245	-0.291
	(0.477)	(0.796)	(0.985)	(0.903)	(0.828)	(0.926)
French spoken at home	0.716*	0.674	0.720	-0.032	1.297*	0.064
	(0.359)	(0.627)	(0.796)	(0.729)	(0.626)	(0.757)
Agency	1.672+	-0.763	1.593	2.853	2.920+	2.511
	(0.888)	(1.586)	(1.935)	(1.778)	(1.621)	(1.924)
Communality	-1.322	-0.828	-1.256	-2.360	-0.004	-1.185
	(0.932)	(1.494)	(1.855)	(1.652)	(1.548)	(1.944)
SD (Intercept Class)	1.139	0.750	0.219	0.000	1.024	0.307
SD (Observations)	2.442	2.103	2.709	2.501	2.051	2.603
Num.Obs.	504	102	100	99	102	101
R2 Marg.	0.082	0.182	0.092	0.229	0.254	0.171

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001
Method: Multilevel linear regression
Fixed Effects: Classroom
Reference Category for Language: Other languages spoken at home

fathers discussing partisan politics ($p<0.01$), and the same is true for health care ($p<0.1$). At the aggregate level, if a boy's father discusses mostly one of the five topics, their interest in that topic is expected to increase by 0.9 point on an 11-point interest scale ($p<0.001$). For girls, interest in law and crime is related to their fathers discussing law and crime ($p<0.01$). At the aggregate level, if a girl's father discusses mostly one of the five topics, their interest in that topic is expected to increase by 0.5 point on an 11-point interest scale ($p<0.1$). None of the other topic-specific father–son and father–daughter relationships are statistically significant at the 90% confidence level.

Overall, results from Table 4.2 lend support to Hypothesis 1g, which suggests that children's interest in a given political topic should be more related to their same-gender parent discussing that topic with them than their other-gender parent discussing it with them. Fathers' influence on sons seems to be similar to mothers' influence on daughters, contrary to some past research in which the influence of mothers on political interest development was deemed to be generally stronger than fathers. Table 4.1 also shows that when a topic is discussed by their father rather than their mother, their interest in that topic is more likely to increase. For girls, whichever parent discusses a topic more does not significantly predict their interest in that topic when the question is asked this way. Overall, none of the relationships tested lend support to Hypothesis 1j, that mothers' influence in the transmission of interest in political topics would be greater than fathers.

The topic-by-topic analysis does not show a consistent pattern, and it does not appear that interest in cooperation-oriented topics such as health care and education is more likely to be transmitted by mothers while interest in assertion-oriented topics is more likely to be transmitted by fathers. Consequently, Hypotheses 1h and 1i are not corroborated.[5]

4.5.5 Age Trends

Figure 4.3 shows relationships between parents' discussion of certain topics and children's interest in those topics broken down by age group. For the sake of simplicity and to avoid small sample sizes, topic-by-topic analyses are excluded, with all analyses aggregating each parent discussion–child interest pair. Results are mixed, but seem to show that in some respects, older teenagers (ages 16–18) are more influenced by their parents' discussion of certain topics than 10–15-year-olds. Notably, for girls, the influence of both their father and mother is only statistically significant among 16–18 year-olds, and it grows in size compared with girls aged 10–15. No such difference between age groups is found among boys. However, for boys aged 16–18, when their parent most interested in a specific topic is their father, they become more

[5]Appendix D reproduces Tables 4.1 and 4.2 without controls. Generally, the same relationships are found. Father–daughter interest transmission at the aggregate level increases to $p<0.01$ but remains substantively smaller than both father–son and mother–daughter transmission. Mother–daughter interest transmission for certain topics seems to decline, while it increases for other topics. Mother–son and father–son law and crime interest transmission also both become marginally significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

interested in that topic, while this relationship is weaker and non-significant for boys aged 10–15. These results provide mixed evidence for Hypothesis 1k: aging makes more statistically significant relationships emerge, but the effect sizes only become somewhat wider between age groups. Yet, among 10–15-year-olds, only father–son political interest transmission is statistically significant, which could indicate that early parental socialization is more limited than what was previously thought. It could be the case that due to a more limited sample size, smaller effect sizes are present but do not reach statistical significance. This would be consistent with the finding that, for all significant parent–child interest relationships found among 16–18-year-olds, the direction of the relationship among 10–15-year-olds is the same — but the coefficient is larger. Moreover, again confirming Hypothesis 1g, the largest effect sizes among 16–18-year-olds are for mother–daughter and father–son transmission. Substantively, when a topic is the one their mother discusses the most, 16–18-year-old daughters' interest in that topic increases on average by 1.2 points. Similarly, when a topic is the one their father discusses the most, 16–18-year-old sons' interest in that topic increases on average by 1 point.

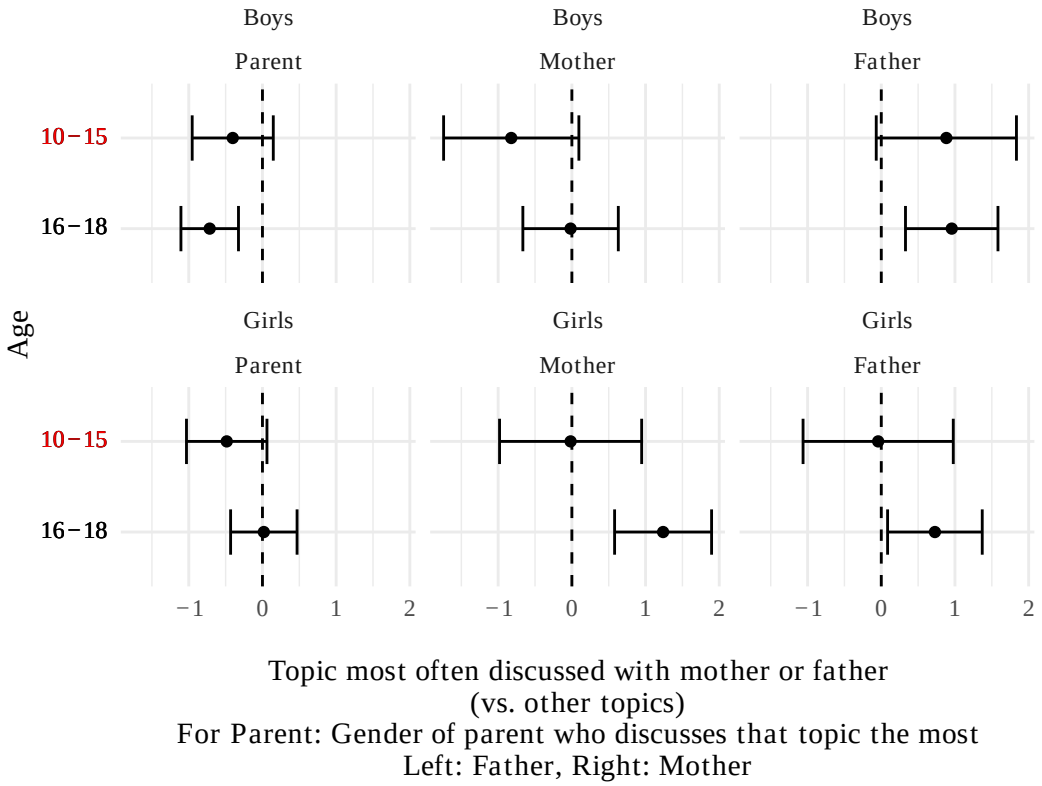

Figure 4.3: Interest in topics by gender, age and discussion with parents

4.6 Discussion

Overall, the analysis generally confirms the main hypotheses put forward, with a few minor caveats. Broadly, it seems that social learning theory applies just as well when political interest transmission is evaluated across a range of political topics — but not necessarily for each topic measured individually.

Descriptive results show a clear trend: mothers are much more likely to speak about education and health care, while fathers are more likely to speak about the other three topics. These trends mirror previous literature on interest in these topics.

Moreover, fathers' discussion of various political topics is related to their sons' interest in these topics, while mothers' discussion of various political topics is related to their daughters' interest in these topics. Mothers also seem to have a weaker impact on sons' political interest, while fathers seem to lack influence over their daughters' political interest. Political interest seems to trickle down from parents to children in gendered ways.

Results by age groups seem to indicate political interest grows with time, but these results also seem to apply to girls more than to boys — and the increase seem rather limited. Future studies conducted among a larger number of children may be able to see more clearly time trends for the growth of parent–child political interest transmission potential.

Results highlight the transmission potential of parents for interest in various political topics to their children and they reinforce the idea that, in some respects, there are different socialization routes for girls and boys.

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5 Homophily and Political Interest: How Do Peer Groups Create Gendered Political Interests?

Gender homophily and social learning both suggest that children are influenced by same-gender models. These models include parents, as social learning theory finds it, and peers, as gender homophily theory finds it. However, it might be the case that other role models, including teachers and social media influencers, also have a broader influence on children of their gender. This would be coherent with the idea that observer-model similarity encourages children to model their behaviour on people who resemble them. Is gender homophily just one example among many of social learning through observer-model similarity?

Friends and acquaintances can contribute to the development of political interest, mainly through political discussions. Political discussions with friends and acquaintances increase political interest among child and adult respondents (Klofstad 2007; Shehata and Amnå 2019). Peer-group diversity can also contribute to the development of political interest. The size of one's social network has been found to have a positive relationship with political interest, while political disagreement is not related to it (Pattie and Johnston 2009).

Political discussions among peers typically exhibit gender effects. Among adults, leaving aside relatives, 84% of men report discussing politics only with men, while 64% of women report discussing politics only with women (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1995). This could be a by-product of gender homophily since people generally spend more time with other people of the same gender.

5.1 Data Analysis

Questions are also asked about students' peers and interests. First, students are asked "What is the gender of most of your friends?" They can choose either girls, boys, or "About the same for both genders". Second, the following question is asked: "Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your male friends?" Each of the five topics is listed, and the same question is then asked for female friends.

Gender homophily holds among the sample of students: when excluding students who say they have as many friends of both genders, no less than 95% of boys and 91% of girls report that most of their friends are of the same genders as theirs.

5.1.1 Topics Most Often Discussed with Female Friends

Table 5.1 shows students' interest in a specific topic depending on it being the topic they most often discuss with their female friends. For both boys and girls, interest in law and crime is related to their female friends discussing law and crime ($p<0.05$). If a girl's female friends discuss mostly law and crime among the five topics, her interest in law and crime is expected to increase by 1.6 points on the 11-point scale. For boys, the expected increase is 1.1 points. For girls, interest in international affairs and partisan politics is also related to their female friends discussing the topic with them ($p<0.05$ and $p<0.01$ respectively), but not for boys. If a girl's female friends discuss mostly international affairs among the five topics, her interest in this topic is expected to increase by 1.2 points. If her female friends discuss mostly partisan politics, her interest in that topic is expected to increase by a large 6.4 points. All other relationships are non-significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.1: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's female friends

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	4.474***	6.297***	5.068***	4.459***	4.576***
	(0.273)	(0.242)	(0.250)	(0.316)	(0.250)
Health care	-0.078				
	(0.547)				
International affairs		0.267			
		(0.486)			
Law and crime			1.605*		
			(0.659)		
Education				0.752	
				(0.458)	
Partisan politics					-1.114
					(1.127)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.745	0.034	0.625	0.638	0.400
SD (Observations)	2.568	2.630	2.564	2.756	2.896
Num.Obs.	155	157	157	157	157
R2 Marg.	0.000	0.002	0.036	0.017	0.006

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among girls					
(Intercept)	4.246***	4.687***	5.477***	4.249***	3.376***
	(0.268)	(0.238)	(0.251)	(0.296)	(0.201)
Health care	0.151				
	(0.423)				
International affairs		1.195*			
		(0.533)			
Law and crime			1.085*		
			(0.511)		
Education				0.274	
				(0.400)	
Partisan politics					4.624**
					(1.570)
SD (Intercept Class)	1.010	0.567	0.478	0.946	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.214	2.616	2.788	2.506	2.698
Num.Obs.	183	182	181	184	184
R2 Marg.	0.001	0.027	0.024	0.002	0.045

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

5.1.2 Topics Most Often Discussed with Male Friends

Table 5.2 shows students' interest in a specific topic depending on it being the topic they most often discuss with their male friends. For boys, interest in law and crime is related to their male friends discussing law and crime (p<0.001), but not for girls. If a boy's male friends discuss mostly law and crime among the five topics, his interest in law and crime is expected to increase by 1.5 points on the 11-point scale. Interest in international relations among boys is also related to their male friends discussing the topic with them (p<0.001), but not among girls. If a boy's male friends discuss mostly international relations, his interest in that topic is expected to increase by 1.6 points. For girls, interest in partisan politics is predicted by their male friends discussing the topic (2-point gain, p<0.05), but not for boys. All other relationships are non-significant at the p<0.05 level.

Table 5.2: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's male friends

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	4.432***	5.474***	5.023***	4.449***	4.175***
	(0.232)	(0.239)	(0.197)	(0.230)	(0.239)
Health care	-1.111+				
	(0.669)				
International affairs		1.586***			
		(0.356)			
Law and crime			1.503***		
			(0.397)		
Education				0.626	
				(0.443)	
Partisan politics					1.509+
					(0.810)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.860	0.301	0.000	0.528	0.685
SD (Observations)	2.365	2.673	2.604	2.743	2.900
Num.Obs.	230	233	232	232	231
R2 Marg.	0.011	0.079	0.058	0.008	0.014
Results among girls					
(Intercept)	4.387***	5.133***	5.876***	4.313***	3.592***
	(0.211)	(0.298)	(0.293)	(0.289)	(0.231)
Health care	0.070				
	(0.656)				
International affairs		0.871+			
		(0.512)			
Law and crime			-0.343		
			(0.462)		
Education				0.638	
				(0.515)	
Partisan politics					2.033*
					(1.000)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.410	0.858	0.000	0.961	0.000

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
SD (Observations)	2.297	2.595	2.768	2.444	2.751
Num.Obs.	153	149	149	152	150
R2 Marg.	0.000	0.019	0.004	0.010	0.027
:———————	———:	———————-:	———:	———-:	———————:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

Patterns from Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 are somewhat complex to understand and do not seem consistent with gender homophily theory. While having male friends who discuss international politics strongly increases boys' interest in that topic, for girls, having female friends who discuss the topic also increases their interest. For boys, having friends who discuss law and crime strongly increases their interest, while for girls, the same can be said about partisan politics. Therefore, gendered factors seem to be at play, but hypothesis 2 cannot be confirmed on the basis of these results.[1]

For the two topics for which adult women report more interest than adult men — health care and education — peers seem to have no effect on the development of interest in these topics. It could be the case that health care and education become relevant to women as they grow older and start caring for children and elderly people — something quite different in nature than the kinds of conversations teenagers presumably have about education and health care.

5.2 Discussion

For gender homophily theory, again, the main descriptive results highlight the importance of this phenomenon: among those who say their friends are mostly of one gender, more than 90% of students, both girls and boys, report they have more friends of their own gender. Yet, multilevel regression results are not straightforward to analyze. Girls and boys seem to be interested in some topics their peers discuss but not others, and these topics tend to be different for children of both genders.

[1] Appendix C reproduces Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 while adding controls for age, age squared, language, immigrant status and race. The same relationships are found. Female friends–girl law and crime interest transmission loses statistical significance, while male friends–boy partisan politics transmission becomes statistically significant (p<0.05).

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6 Teachers, Influencers and Political Interest: School and Social Media as Other Venues of Acquisition

Gender homophily and social learning both suggest that children are influenced by same-gender models. These models include parents, as social learning theory finds it, and peers, as gender homophily theory finds it. However, it might be the case that other role models, including teachers and social media influencers, also have a broader influence on children of their gender. This would be coherent with the idea that observer-model similarity encourages children to model their behaviour on people who resemble them. Is gender homophily just one example among many of social learning through observer-model similarity?

manipulation?

"students who actively use social media have an increased level of support for conventional citizenship values and demonstrate more interest in active political participation in the future." (Blaskó, Costa, and Vera-Toscano 2019)

storytelling can be effective in increasing political engagement online (Vromen, Halpin, and Vaughan 2022) (not sure for interest)

6.0.1 Media

Research has been done on the influence of political news on the development of political interest among adolescents. Although political interest can influence news media consumption, studies have shown the relationship also works in the other direction: watching more political news on traditional media and on social media has a positive effect on political interest (Holt et al. 2013; Shehata and Amnå 2019).

Websites can also have a positive influence on people's political interest, although this literature might be somewhat old. Lupia and Philpot (2005) find young adults can gain political interest by visiting informative websites under certain conditions.

Studies mostly find boys use the Internet more frequently than girls. Willoughby (2008) finds that boys use the Internet just as frequently as girls in early high school, but girls' Internet use decreases in late high school, notably due to a decline in gaming, making older teenage boys more active on the Internet than girls. Tsai and Tsai (2010) also find boys use the Internet more

than girls in junior high school, but purpose-wise, girls use the Internet for communication while boys use it more for Web exploration.

Online political engagement is more prevalent among boys than girls according to Cicognani et al. (2012), but Livingstone, Bober, and Helsper (2005) find that girls visit more political and civic websites.

6.0.2 Schools

Schools can influence childhood socialization in many ways, including citizenship education classes, classroom political discussions, extracurricular activities, and active learning strategies.

While earlier studies found only weak links between citizenship education classes and political interest (Langton and Jennings 1968), more recent studies find a positive link (Dassonneville et al. 2012; Mahéo 2019; Neundorf, Niemi, and Smets 2016). *Citizenship education* and *civic education* classes include classes teaching facts about government and politics but also promoting political engagement (Althof and Berkowitz 2006; Themistokleous and Avraamidou 2016).

Extracurricular and active learning activities can affect youth political interest. The number of class group projects and membership in the school council are positively related to political interest, but not participation in voluntary associations nor parliamentary visits (Dassonneville et al. 2012).

Classroom political discussions in general can also increase students' political interest. For instance, students' perceptions of an *open classroom climate* marginally increase their political interest (Dassonneville et al. 2012). An *open classroom climate* is one in which "students experience the discussion of social and political issues while in class and [in which] they feel comfortable contributing their own opinions during such discussions" (D. E. Campbell 2007, 62).

The role of classroom political discussions in political socialization might be gendered. For instance, Mahony (1985) finds that girls are less likely to participate in classroom discussions of politics because boys make the classroom climate aggressive. However, Rosenthal, Jones, and Rosenthal (2003) show that, while girls' presence has a slightly positive impact on girls' speaking time, interruptions occur as frequently between adolescents whatever their gender, and studies find that 8th- to 12th-grade girls are *more* likely than boys to report an open classroom climate (Blankenship 1990; D. E. Campbell 2007; Maurissen, Claes, and Barber 2018).[1]

[1]Among adults, Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) and Beauvais (2020) also show that women's and men's relative speaking time in a deliberative and decision-making setting depends on the number of women. When decisions are made by a majority, the presence of more women leads to more speaking time for each woman.

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7 Conclusion

7.1 References

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A CCPIS English Questionnaire

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT: Gendered Political Socialization: Why Women and Men Still Differ on Political Interest

MAIN RESEARCHER: Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard, PhD student in political science at the University of Toronto

PROJECT BACKGROUND: PhD dissertation supervised by Professor Christopher Brian Cochrane

INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT: This research project aims to answer the following question: How do gender differences in interest in different political topics emerge?

YOUR PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this research consists in completing this questionnaire comprising 22 questions on political interest, on yourself and on your social network. Although answering each question is important for this research project, you are free to leave some or all questions unanswered or to terminate your participation at any time. Participation in this study will not be evaluated by your teacher. However, data obtained from a participant who chooses to withdraw from the project after submitting their questionnaire cannot be destroyed. One optional question will ask for your email address. If you decide to answer this question, which will only be used to contact you for optional follow-up surveys in 5 and 10 years, you can send me an email at `alexandre.fortier.chouinard@mail.utoronto.ca` to remove your email address from the list at any moment.

DATA CONSERVATION: The research ethics program may have confidential access to data to help ensure participant protection procedures are followed. The data from your answers will be destroyed in August 2037.

THANKS: Your collaboration is central to this study. Therefore, we would like to thank you for the time and attention you are willing to devote by participating.

CERTIFICATION OF CONSENT: Simply sending the completed online survey will be considered as an implied expression of your consent to participate in the project.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: If you have questions about the research or the implications of your participation, please contact Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (email: `alexandre.fortier.chouinard@mail.utoronto.ca`) or the project's faculty supervisor, Prof. Christopher Brian Cochrane (email: `christopher.cochrane@utoronto.ca`). If you have questions about your rights as research participants, you can also contact the University

of Toronto's office of research ethics (ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416-946-3273). We are taking all safety precautions to reduce the risk of spread of COVID-19.

- I accept to participate in this survey
- I do not accept to participate in this survey

0. What 8-digit number have you been assigned?

1. When you think about politics, what kinds of things come to your mind? What does politics mean for you?

   - (Open field)

2. How interested are you in politics generally? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means no interest at all, and 10 means a great deal of interest.

   - (0–10 slider)
   - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

3. Among the following topics, please indicate which ones you think are political and which you think are not political.

   - 3.1 Pandemic restrictions
     - Political
     - Not political
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 3.2 Working conditions of nurses
     - Political
     - Not political
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 3.3 Diplomatic disputes between Canada and China
     - Political
     - Not political
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 3.4 Ukrainian war
     - Political
     - Not political
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 3.5 Police funding
     - Political
     - Not political
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

- 3.6 Sentences for violent crimes
  - Political
  - Not political
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 3.7 University tuition
  - Political
  - Not political
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 3.8 Funding of public and private schools
  - Political
  - Not political
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 3.9 Federal elections
  - Political
  - Not political
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 3.10 Political parties
  - Political
  - Not political
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

4. If you were to open a news website and see the following articles how interested would you be in reading each article? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 10, where 0 means "Not at all interested, I would not read it," and 10 means "Very interested, I would most likely read it."

   - 4.1 Health care (i.e., pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses)
     - (0–10 slider)
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 4.2 International affairs (i.e., diplomatic disputes between Canada and China, Ukrainian war)
     - (0–10 slider)
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 4.3 Law and crime (i.e., police funding, sentences for violent crimes)
     - (0–10 slider)
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 4.4 Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools)
     - (0–10 slider)
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 4.5 Partisan politics (i.e., federal elections, political parties)

  - (0–10 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

5. Which of the following best describes your family situation, regardless of whether your biological parents live together or not?

- One mother, one father and no stepparents
- One mother, one father and at least one stepparent
- One mother only [skip questions 6, 7 and 9]
- One father only [skip questions 6–8]
- Two mothers [skip questions 6, 7 and 9]
- Two fathers [skip questions 6–8]
- Other [skip questions 6–9]

6. Which parent do you discuss most often with?

- Mother
- Father
- Both equally
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

7. For each of the following topics, which parent do you discuss most often with?

   - 7.1 Health care
     - My mother
     - My father
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 7.2 International affairs
     - My mother
     - My father
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 7.3 Law and crime
     - My mother
     - My father
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 7.4 Education
     - My mother
     - My father
     - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
   - 7.5 Partisan politics
     - My mother
     - My father

- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

8. Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your mother(s)?

- Health care
- International affairs
- Law and crime
- Education
- Partisan politics
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

9. Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your father(s)?

- Health care
- International affairs
- Law and crime
- Education
- Partisan politics
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

10. What is the gender of most of your friends?

- Girls
- Boys
- About the same for both genders
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

11. Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your male friends?

- Health care
- International affairs
- Law and crime
- Education
- Partisan politics
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

12. Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your female friends?

- Health care
- International affairs
- Law and crime
- Education
- Partisan politics
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

13. Think about a teacher that you like(d).

- 13.1 Among these five topics, which one is (was) mentioned most often by this teacher?
  - Health care
  - International affairs
  - Law and crime
  - Education
  - Partisan politics
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 13.2 Is that teacher…
  - A woman
  - A man
  - Other (e.g. Trans, non-binary, two-spirit, gender-queer)

14. Think about someone that you like and sometimes read or watch on social media — including YouTube.

- 14.1 Among these five topics, which one is mentioned most often by this person?
  - Health care
  - International affairs
  - Law and crime
  - Education
  - Partisan politics
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 14.2 Is that person…
  - A man
  - A woman
  - Other (e.g. Trans, non-binary, two-spirit, gender-queer)

15. Are you…

- A girl
- A boy
- Other (e.g. Trans, non-binary, two-spirit, gender-queer)

16. In what year were you born?

- (All years from 1990 to 2021)

17. Which language do you usually speak at home?

- English
- French
- Aboriginal language (please specify _____)
- Arabic

- Chinese, Cantonese, Mandarin
- Filipino / Tagalog
- German
- Indian, Hindi, Gujarati
- Italian
- Korean
- Pakistani, Punjabi, Urdu
- Persian, Farsi
- Russian
- Spanish
- Tamil
- Vietnamese
- Other (please specify _____)
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

18. Are you…

- First Nations (North American Indian), Métis or Inuk (Inuit)
- White
- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
- Chinese
- Black
- Filipino
- Latin American
- Arab
- Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, etc.)
- West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
- Korean
- Japanese
- Other (please specify _____)
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

19. Were you born in Canada?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know/Prefer not to answer

20. For each of these pairs of characteristics, indicate where you fall on a scale between both extremes.

    - 20.1 Not at all independent - Very independent
        - (1–5 slider)
        - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

- 20.2 Very passive - Very active
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.3 Not at all competitive - Very competitive
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.4 Can make decisions easily - Have difficulty making decisions
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.5 Give up very easily - Never give up easily
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.6 Not at all self-confident - Very self confident
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.7 Feel very inferior - Feel very superior
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.8 Go to pieces under pressure - Stand up well under pressure
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.9 Not at all emotional - Very emotional
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.10 Not at all able to devote self to others - Able to devote self completely to others
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.11 Very rough - Very gentle
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.12 Not at all helpful to others - Very helpful to others
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.13 Not at all kind - Very kind
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.14 Not at all aware of feelings of others - Very aware of feelings of others

  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.15 Not at all understanding of others - Very understanding of others
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 20.16 Very cold in relations with others - Very warm in relations with others
  - (1–5 slider)
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

21. We might do a follow-up survey in a few years. If you accept to be contacted by email for this survey, what is your current email address? Leave the field blank if you do not wish to be recontacted for this.

- (Open field)

B CCPIS French Questionnaire

TITRE DE LA RECHERCHE : Socialisation politique genrée : Pourquoi les femmes et les hommes diffèrent encore en matière d'intérêt politique

CHERCHEUR PRINCIPAL : Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard, étudiant au doctorat en science politique à l'University of Toronto

CONTEXTE DU PROJET : Thèse de doctorat dirigée le professeur Christopher Brian Cochrane

RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR LE PROJET : Ma thèse vise à répondre à la question suivante : Comment émergent les différences de genre dans l'intérêt pour différents sujets politiques?

VOTRE PARTICIPATION : Votre participation à cette recherche consistera à remplir le présent questionnaire comprenant 22 questions portant sur l'intérêt politique, sur vous-mêmes et sur votre entourage. Bien que les réponses à chacune des questions soient importantes pour la recherche, vous demeurez libre de choisir de ne pas répondre à l'une ou l'autre d'entre elles ou encore de mettre fin à votre participation à tout moment. La participation à cette étude ne sera pas évaluée par votre enseignant. Toutefois, les données obtenues d'un(e) participant(e) qui choisirait de se retirer du projet après avoir soumis son questionnaire ne pourront être détruites. Une question facultative vous demandera votre adresse courriel. Si vous décidez de répondre à cette question, qui sera seulement utilisée pour vous contacter pour des sondages de suivi facultatifs dans 5 et 10 ans, vous pouvez m'envoyer un courriel à `alexandre.fortier.chouinard@mail.utoronto.ca` pour retirer votre adresse courriel de la liste à n'importe quel moment. Une question vous demandera votre numéro d'élève. Nous ne pouvons pas lier cette information avec aucune information personnelle au sujet de l'élève, incluant son nom, et cette information peut seulement être utilisée pour lier des questionnaires soumis à différents moments dans le temps par le même élève.

CONSERVATION DES DONNÉES : Le programme d'éthique de la recherche peut avoir un accès confidentiel aux données pour aider à garantir le respect des procédures de protection des participants. Les données issues de vos réponses seront détruites en août 2037.

REMERCIEMENTS : Votre collaboration est précieuse pour nous permettre de réaliser cette étude. C'est pourquoi nous tenons à vous remercier pour le temps et l'attention que vous acceptez de consacrer à votre participation.

ATTESTATION DU CONSENTEMENT : Le simple retour du sondage en ligne rempli sera considéré comme l'expression implicite de votre consentement à participer au projet.

RENSEIGNEMENTS SUPPLÉMENTAIRES: Si vous avez des questions sur la recherche ou sur les implications de votre participation, veuillez communiquer avec Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard (courriel : `alexandre.fortier.chouinard@mail.utoronto.ca`) ou le superviseur du projet, le professeur Christopher Brian Cochrane (courriel : `christopher.cochrane@utoronto.ca`). Si vous avez des questions sur vos droits en tant que participant(e) à la recherche, vous pouvez également contacter le bureau d'éthique de la recherche de l'University of Toronto (`ethics.review@utoronto.ca`, 416-946-3273). Nous prenons toutes les précautions de sécurité pour réduire le risque de propagation de la COVID-19.

```
- J'accepte de participer à cette recherche
- Je n'accepte pas de participer à cette recherche
```

0 Quel numéro à 8 chiffres t'a-t-on attribué?

1. Quand tu penses à la politique, quelles sont les choses qui te viennent à l'esprit? Que signifie la politique pour toi?
    - (Champ libre)
2. Quel est ton intérêt pour la politique en général? Glisse la barre sur un chiffre de 0 à 10, où 0 indique aucun intérêt du tout et 10 indique beaucoup d'intérêt.
    - (barre de 0–10)
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
3. Parmi les sujets suivants, indique ceux qui, selon toi, sont politiques et ceux qui ne le sont pas.
    - 3.1 Restrictions en cas de pandémie
        - Politique
        - Pas politique
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 3.2 Conditions de travail des infirmiers(ères)
        - Politique
        - Pas politique
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 3.3 Conflits diplomatiques entre le Canada et la Chine
        - Politique
        - Pas politique
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 3.4 Guerre en Ukraine

    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.5 Financement de la police
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.6 Peines pour des crimes violents
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.7 Frais de scolarité universitaires
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.8 Financement des écoles publiques et privées
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.9 Élections fédérales
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 3.10 Partis politiques
    - Politique
    - Pas politique
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

4. Si tu ouvrais un site Web d'information et que tu voyais les articles suivants, dans quelle mesure serais-tu intéressé par la lecture de chaque article? Déplace la barre vis-à-vis un nombre compris entre 0 et 10, où 0 signifie « Pas du tout intéressé, je ne le lirai pas » et 10 signifie « Très intéressé, je le lirai très probablement ».

    - 4.1 Santé (ex.: restrictions en cas de pandémie, conditions de travail des infirmiers(ères))
        - (barre de 0–10)
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 4.2 Affaires internationales (ex.: conflits diplomatiques entre le Canada et la Chine, guerre en Ukraine)
        - (barre de 0–10)

    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
  - 4.3 Loi et crime (ex.: financement de la police, peines pour des crimes violents)
    - (barre de 0–10)
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
  - 4.4 Éducation (ex.: frais de scolarité universitaires, financement des écoles publiques et privées)
    - (barre de 0–10)
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
  - 4.5 Politique partisane (ex.: élections fédérales, partis politiques)
    - (barre de 0–10)
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

5. Lequel des choix suivants décrit le mieux ta situation familiale, peu importe que tes parents biologiques vivent ensemble ou non?

- Une mère, un père et aucun beau-parent
- Une mère, un père et au moins un beau-parent
- Une mère uniquement [sauter les questions 6, 7 et 9]
- Un père uniquement [sauter les questions 6–8]
- Deux mères [sauter les questions 6, 7 et 9]
- Deux pères [sauter les questions 6–8]
- Autre [sauter les questions 6–9]

6. Avec quel parent discutes-tu le plus souvent?

- Ma mère
- Mon père
- Les deux autant
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

7. Pour chacun des sujets suivants, avec quel parent discutes-tu le plus souvent?

   - 7.1 Santé
     - Ma mère
     - Mon père
     - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
   - 7.2 Affaires internationales
     - Ma mère
     - Mon père
     - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
   - 7.3 Loi et crime
     - Ma mère

    - Mon père
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
  - 7.4 Éducation
    - Ma mère
    - Mon père
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
  - 7.5 Politique partisane
    - Ma mère
    - Mon père
    - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

8. Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel discutes-tu le plus souvent avec ta mère (tes mères)?

- Santé
- Affaires internationales
- Loi et crime
- Éducation
- Politique partisane
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

9. Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel discutes-tu le plus souvent avec ton père (tes pères)?

- Santé
- Affaires internationales
- Loi et crime
- Éducation
- Politique partisane
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

10. Quel est le genre de la plupart de tes amis?

- Filles
- Garçons
- Environ autant des deux genres
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

11. Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel discutes-tu le plus souvent avec tes amis garçons?

- Santé
- Affaires internationales
- Loi et crime
- Éducation
- Politique partisane
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

12. Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel discutes-tu le plus souvent avec tes amies filles?

- Santé
- Affaires internationales
- Loi et crime
- Éducation
- Politique partisane
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

13. Pense à un(e) enseignant(e) que tu apprécies (ou as apprécié).

    - 13.1 Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel est (était) mentionné le plus souvent par cet(te) enseignant(e)?
        - Santé
        - Affaires internationales
        - Loi et crime
        - Éducation
        - Politique partisane
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 13.2 Cet enseignant(e) est-il(elle)…
        - Une femme
        - Un homme
        - Autre (ex.: trans, non-binaire, bispirituel, gender-queer)

14. Pense à une personne que tu apprécies et que tu lis ou regardes parfois sur les médias sociaux — y compris YouTube.

    - 14.1 Parmi ces cinq sujets, lequel est mentionné le plus souvent par cette personne?
        - Santé
        - Affaires internationales
        - Loi et crime
        - Éducation
        - Politique partisane
        - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 14.2 Cette personne est-elle…
        - Une femme
        - Un homme
        - Autre (ex.: trans, non-binaire, bispirituel, gender-queer)

15. Es-tu…

- Une fille
- Un garçon

- Autre (ex.: trans, non-binaire, bispirituel, gender-queer)

16. En quelle année es-tu né(e)?

- (Toutes les années entre 1990 et 2021)

17. Quelle langue parles-tu à la maison d'habitude?

- Anglais
- Français
- Langue autochtone (veuillez préciser _____)
- Arabe
- Chinois, cantonais, mandarin
- Philippin / tagalog
- Allemand
- Indien, Hindi, Gujarati
- Italien
- Coréen
- Pakistanais, Pendjabi, Ourdou
- Persan, farsi
- Russe
- Espagnol
- Tamil
- Vietnamien
- Autre (veuillez spécifier _____)
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

18. Es-tu…

- Première Nation (Indien(ne) de l'Amérique du Nord), Métis(se) ou Inuk (Inuit)
- Blanc(he)
- Sud-Asiatique (ex.: Indien(ne) de l'Inde, Pakistanais(e), Sri-Lankais(e), etc.)
- Chinois(e)
- Noir(e)
- Philippin(e)
- Latino-Américain(e)
- Arabe
- Asiatique du Sud-Est (ex.: Vietnamien(ne), Cambodgien(ne), Laotien(ne), Thaïlandais(e), etc.)
- Asiatique occidental(e) (e.g., Iranien(ne), Afghan(e), etc.)
- Coréen(ne)
- Japonais(e)
- Autre (veuillez spécifier _____)
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

19. Es-tu né(e) au Canada?

- Oui
- Non
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

20. Pour chacune de ces paires de caractéristiques, indique où tu te situes sur une échelle entre les deux extrêmes.

    - 20.1 Pas du tout indépendant(e) - Très indépendant(e)
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.2 Très passif(ive) - Très actif(ive)
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.3 Pas du tout compétitif(ive) - Très compétitif(ive)
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.4 Peut prendre des décisions facilement - A de la difficulté à prendre des décisions
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.5 Abandonne très facilement - N'abandonne jamais facilement
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.6 Pas du tout confiant(e) en soi - Très confiant(e) en soi
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.7 Se sent très inférieur(e) - Se sent très supérieur(e)
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.8 S'effondre sous la pression - Résiste bien à la pression
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.9 Pas du tout émotionnel(le) - Très émotionnel(le)
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
    - 20.10 Pas du tout capable de se dévouer aux autres - Capable de se dévouer complètement aux autres
      - (barre de 1–5)
      - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

- 20.11 Très rude - Très doux (douce)
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 20.12 Pas très aidant(e) avec les autres - Très aidant(e) avec les autres
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 20.13 Pas très gentil(le) - Très gentil(le)
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 20.14 Pas du tout conscient(e) des sentiments des autres - Très conscient(e) des sentiments des autres
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 20.15 Pas du tout compréhensif(ive) des autres - Très compréhensif(ive) des autres
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre
- 20.16 Très froid(e) dans les relations avec les autres - Très chaud(e) dans les relations avec les autres
  - (barre de 1–5)
  - Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

21. Il est possible que nous faisions une enquête de suivi dans quelques années. Si tu acceptes d'être contacté(e) par courriel pour cette enquête, quelle est ton adresse courriel actuelle? Garde le champ vide si tu ne veux pas être recontacté(e) pour cela.

- (Champ libre)

C 2022 Quebec Datagotchi Post-Election Survey French Questionnaire

C.1 Socio-Economic Status

1. Quel est votre genre?

- Masculin
- Féminin
- Masculin (homme trans)
- Féminin (femme trans)
- Non-binaire
- Queer
- Agenre
- Préfère ne pas répondre

2. Parmi les appellations suivantes, laquelle décrit le mieux votre orientation sexuelle?

- Hétérosexuel(le)
- Gai ou lesbienne
- Bisexuel(le)
- Autre
- Préfère ne pas répondre

3. Quel âge avez-vous?

Veuillez indiquer votre âge

4. Laquelle des catégories suivantes vous décrit le mieux?

- Blanc
- Noir
- Autochtone
- Asiatique
- Hispanique
- Arabe
- Autre

- Préfère ne pas répondre

5. Parmi les catégories suivantes, laquelle décrit le mieux votre domaine d'emploi?

- Agriculteurs, bûcherons et pêcheurs
- Propriétaires de magasins et d'usines
- Professions libérales
- Cadres et fonctionnaires
- Cols blancs
- Ouvriers
- Vente et services
- Au foyer
- Étudiants et sans profession

6. Approximativement, dans laquelle des catégories suivantes le revenu total de votre ménage, avant impôts, se situe-t-il?

- Aucun revenu
- 1$ à 30 000$
- 30 001$ à 60 000$
- 60 001$ à 90 000$
- 90 001 à 110 000$
- 110 001$ à 150 000$
- 150 001$ à 200 000$
- Plus de 200 000$

7. Quel est votre plus haut niveau de scolarité complété?

- Aucune scolarité
- École primaire
- École secondaire
- Collège, CÉGEP ou Collège classique
- Baccalauréat
- Maîtrise
- Doctorat

8. Quelle est votre religion, si vous en avez une?

- Aucune/Athée
- Agnostique
- Bouddhisme
- Hindou
- Judaïsme
- Musulman
- Sikhisme

- Catholique
- Protestantisme
- Orthodoxe
- Autre (veuillez préciser) _____
- Préfère ne pas répondre

9. Quel est votre degré d'attachement à cette église, dénomination religieuse ou communauté religieuse ?

- Très faible
- Plutôt faible
- Modéré
- Plutôt fort
- Très fort

10. Combien d'enfant ayant moins de 18 ans vivent avec vous?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- Plus de 5

11. Quel est votre statut matrimonial?

- Célibataire
- Marié(e)
- Conjoint de fait
- Veuf/veuve
- Divorcé/séparé

12. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e)?

_____

13. Êtes-vous…

- En emploi à temps plein
- En emploi à temps partiel
- Étudiant
- Retraité
- Sans emploi

14. Comment décririez-vous l'endroit où vous vivez?

- Ville
- Banlieu
- Petite ville
- Campagne/village

15. Quel est votre secteur d'emploi

- Secteur public
- Secteur privé
- Secteur associatif
- Ne travaille pas dans un emploi formel

C.2 Attitudes

16. Quel est l'enjeu le plus important pour vous, personnellement?

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17. Quel que soit le parti pour lequel vous avez l'intention de voter à l'occasion de la prochaine élection provinciale québécoise, en général, quelle est la probabilité que vous appuyiez [Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, où 0 signifie très peu probable, et 10 très probable] :

Préfère ne pas répondre

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Coalition avenir Québec (CAQ)
Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ)
Parti Québécois (PQ)
Québec solidaire (QS)
Parti conservateur du Québec (PCQ)

18. Quel que soit le parti pour lequel vous avez l'intention de voter à l'occasion de la prochaine élection fédérale canadienne, en général, quelle est la probabilité que vous appuyiez [Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, où 0 signifie très peu probable, et 10 très probable] :

Préfère ne pas répondre

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Parti libéral du Canada (PLC)
Parti conservateur du Canada (PCC)
Nouveau Parti démocratique (NPD)
Bloc Québécois (BQ)
Parti vert du Canada (PV)

19. Lors d'une élection, certaines personnes ne peuvent pas voter parce qu'elles sont malades ou occupées, ou pour une autre raison. Avez-vous voté aux élections provinciales québécoises de 2022 ?

- Oui
- Non

20. Pour quel parti avez-vous voté lors des élections provinciales québécoises de 2022?

- Coalition Avenir Québec
- Parti libéral du Québec
- Parti Québécois
- Québec Solidaire
- Parti conservateur du Québec
- Autre parti (veuillez spécifier) _____
- Préfère ne pas répondre

21. En politique, nous discutons parfois de "gauche" et "droite". Où est-ce que vous vous situerez sur l'échelle du placement gauche-droite? L'échelle va de 0 à 10 : 0 signifie que vous vous situez très à gauche, 10 signifie que vous vous situez très à droite (5 est le centre).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Veuillez déplacer le curseur

22. En politique provinciale québécoise, vous considérez-vous habituellement comme étant…

- Caquiste (CAQ)
- Libéral (PLQ)
- Péquiste (PQ)
- Solidaire (QS)
- Conservateur (PCQ)
- Vert (PVQ)
- Un autre parti
- Aucun de ces partis
- Je ne sais pas/Préfère ne pas répondre

23. En utilisant l'échelle ci-dessous, comment évaluez-vous votre niveau de connaissances politiques?

- Très élevé
- Élevé
- Ni élevé ni faible
- Faible
- Très faible

24. Quel est votre degré d'accord avec les énoncés suivants?

	Fortement en accord	Plutôt en accord	Ni en accord ni en désaccord	Plutôt en désaccord	Fortement en désaccord
Est-ce que vous accepteriez que la Taxe de Vente du Québec augmente et passe de 9.975% à 10.575% pour avoir accès à des soins dentaires et psychologiques gratuits?					

-

-
-
-

Est-ce qu'il est légitime que le gouvernement impose à tous les travailleurs de payer 0.5% de leur revenu (jusqu'à concurrence de 430$) pour s'assurer des deux parents d'un nouveau-né puisse recevoir 70% de son salaire pour rester à la maison avec son enfant pendant 50 semaines.

-
-
-
-
-

- Est-ce que vous accepteriez que le gouvernement diminue la Taxe de Vente du Québec pour qu'elle passe de 9.975% à 9.575%, mais que les frais de scolarité à l'université passent de 3000$ à 7000$ par année? |
-
-
-
-
-

25. Si le gouvernement avait des surplus budgétaires, est-ce qu'il devrait surtout réduire les impôts ou surtout augmenter les dépenses en éducation ou en santé.

- Surtout augmentant les dépenses en éducation ou en santé
- Surtout réduisant les impôts

26. Si le gouvernement devait réduire son déficit budgétaire, est-ce qu'il devrait le faire surtout en augmentant les impôts ou surtout en réduisant les dépenses en éducation ou en santé.

- Surtout augmentant les impôts
- Surtout réduisant les dépenses en éducation ou en santé

27. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord avec l'affirmation suivante : "Les impôts sont déjà élevés. Le gouvernement ne devrait plus prélever davantage d'argent auprès des citoyens par le biais des impôts."

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt en accord
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

28. Les gens ont différentes façons de se définir. Comment diriez-vous que vous vous considérez?

- Uniquement comme Canadien(ne)
- D'abord comme Canadien(ne), puis comme Québécois(e)
- Également comme Canadien(ne) puis comme Québécois(e)
- D'abord comme Québécois(e)
- Uniquement comme québécois(e)
- Autre

29. Le Québec devrait devenir un État indépendant.

- Fortement en désaccord
- Modérément en désaccord
- Un peu en désaccord
- Ni en accord ni en désaccord
- Un peu en accord
- Modérément en accord
- Fortement en accord

30. Est-ce que vous considérez que votre situation économique s'est améliorée, est restée la même, ou s'est détériorée pendant les 12 derniers mois?

- Améliorée
- Restée la même
- Détériorée

31. D'une manière générale, diriez-vous que l'on peut faire confiance à la plupart des gens ou que l'on ne peut pas être trop prudent dans ses relations avec les autres? Veuillez utiliser cette échelle de 0 à 10, où 0 signifie que vous ne pouvez pas être trop prudent et 10 que vous pouvez faire confiance à la plupart des gens.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Déplacez le curseur

32. Je considère que je reçois ma juste part des services publics, considérant les taxes et impôts que je paie.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt en accord
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

33. Qui est le ou la ministre des Finances du Canada?

- Eric Girard
- Chrystia Freeland
- Steven Guilbault
- Pierre Poilièvre
- Mélanie Joly
- Ne sait pas

34. Pensez-vous que le Canada devrait admettre:

- Plus d'immigrants
- Moins d'immigrants
- À peu près le même nombre d'immigrants

35. Pensez-vous que le Canada devrait admettre:

- Plus de réfugiés
- Moins de réfugiés
- À peu près le même nombre de réfugiés

36. Le Canada devrait accepter les réfugiés provenant de pays aux prises avec des catastrophes écologiques.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

37. Nous devrions développer les pistes cyclables et le transport collectif, même si cela implique de réduire l'espace pour les voitures.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

38. Les changements climatiques constituent une menace pour moi au cours de ma vie.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

39. Si les choses continuent ainsi, nous connaîtrons bientôt une catastrophe écologique majeure.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

40. Les changements climatiques mèneront à la fin de l'humanité.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

41. Les citoyens mécontents du gouvernement ne doivent jamais recourir à la violence pour exprimer leurs sentiments

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

42. À quel point seriez-vous prêt à tolérer les actions politiques suivantes pour l'avancement de la cause climatique?

	Aucune tolérance	Tolérance faible	Tolérance moyenne	Tolérance élevée
Signer une pétition				

-
-
-

Boycotter des produits et compagnies

-
-
-
-
- Désinvestir des placements |
-
-

-
-
- Participer à une manifestation |
-
-
-
-
- Occuper temporairement un espace public |
-
-
-
-
- S’attacher à un arbre ou un véhicule |
-
-
-
-
- Bloquer un pont ou une route |
-
-
-
-
- Bloquer la construction d’un oléoduc (pipeline) |
-
-
-
-
- Faire du vandalisme sur des objets |
-
-
-

- Saboter des infrastructures, des véhicules, etc |
-
-
-
- Tirer un objet sur des infrastructures, des véhicules, etc. |
-
-
-
- Affronter des policiers dans une manifestation |
-
-
-
- Violenter des individus en position de pouvoir |
-
-
-
-

43. Si vous ouvriez un site Web d'information et que vous voyiez les articles suivants, dans quelle mesure seriez-vous intéressé par la lecture de chaque article? Déplacez la barre vis-à-vis un nombre compris entre 0 et 10, où 0 signifie « Pas du tout intéressé, je ne le lirai pas » et 10 signifie « Très intéressé, je le lirai fort probablement »

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Santé (ex.: restrictions en cas de pandémie, conditions de travail des infirmiers(ères))
Affaires internationales (ex.: conflits diplomatiques entre le Canada et la Chine, guerre en Ukraine)
Loi et crime (ex.: financement de la police, peines pour des crimes violents)
Éducation (ex.: frais de scolarité universitaires, financement des écoles publiques et privées)
Politique partisane (ex.: les élections fédérales, les partis politiques)

44. Quel est votre intérêt pour la politique en général? Glissez la barre sur un chiffre de 0 à 10, où 0 indique aucun intérêt du tout et 10 indique beaucoup d'intérêt.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Déplacez le curseur

45. Certains pensent que le gouvernement à Ottawa devrait faire tout en son pouvoir pour améliorer la situation sociale et économique des personnes noires. D'autres estiment que le gouvernement ne devrait faire aucun effort particulier pour aider les personnes noires. Et, bien sûr, d'autres personnes ont des opinions quelque part entre les deux. Où vous situeriez-vous sur l'échelle suivante, où 1 signifie que le gouvernement devrait aider les personnes noires et 7 que le gouvernement ne devrait pas aider les personnes noires)?

- 1 (Le gouvernement devrait aider les personne noires)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (Le gouvernement ne devrait pas aider les personnes noires)

46. Personnellement, êtes-vous en accord ou en désaccord avec l'imposition de quotas pour qu'il y ait plus de personnes noires en politique?

- Fortement en désaccord
- Plutôt en désaccord

- Ni accord ni en désaccord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Fortement en accord

47. Sur l'échelle suivante, où 1 correspond à « équitablement » et 7 à « inéquitablement », comment pensez-vous que la police traite les personnes noires par rapport aux personnes blanches au Canada?

- 1 (Équitablement)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 (Inéquitablement)

48. Selon vous, quel est le degré de discrimination au Canada aujourd'hui contre chacun des groupes suivants?

	Aucune	Un peu	Une quantité modérée	Beaucoup	Énormément
Les noirs					

-
-
-
-

Les asiatiques

-
-
-
-
-
-

Les blancs |

-

-
-
-
- Les autochtones |
-
-
-
-
- Les hispaniques |
-
-
-
-
- Les arabes |
-
-
-
-
-

C.3 Perceptions

49. À votre avis, quel parti gérerait le mieux l'enjeu du coût de la vie?

- CAQ
- PLQ
- PQ
- QS
- PCQ

50. Que représente l'enjeu du coût de la vie pour vous, personnellement?

---

51. Il serait possible d'accomplir mes activités quotidiennes sans voiture.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt d'accord
- Neutre
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

C.4 Lifestyle

52. En comparaison avec le reste de la société, comment évaluez-vous votre consommation d'alcool ?

- Très en-dessous de la moyenne
- En-dessous de la moyenne
- Dans la moyenne
- Au-dessus de la moyenne
- Très au-dessus de la moyenne

53. Comment percevez-vous les gens qui sont contre la consommation d'alcool? [Sur un thermomètre de sentiment allant de 0 (Très négatif) à 100 (Très positif)]

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Déplacez le curseur

54. Au cours des 12 derniers mois, à quelle fréquence avez-vous consommé des boissons alcoolisées ?

- Moins d'une fois par mois
- Une fois par mois
- 2 à 3 fois par mois
- Une fois par semaine
- 2 à 3 fois par semaine
- 4 à 6 fois par semaine
- Tous les jours
- Préfère ne pas répondre
- Ne sais pas

55. Au cours du dernier mois, combien de fois avez-vous bu [5 pour les hommes /4 pour les femmes] verres ou plus d'alcool à une même occasion ?

- Jamais
- Moins d'une fois
- Une fois
- 2 à 3 fois
- Une fois par semaine
- Plus d'une fois par semaine
- Tous les jours
- Préfère ne pas répondre
- Ne sais pas

56. À quelle fréquence lisez-vous des livres?

- Jamais
- Presque jamais
- Parfois
- Souvent
- Très souvent

57. Quel est votre livre préféré?

---

58. Quel est votre genre de roman préféré?

- Roman policier
- Roman historique
- Roman picaresque

- Roman d'amour
- Roman philosophique
- Roman d'aventure
- Autre (veuillez préciser) _____

C.5 Other Opinions

59. Le gouvernement doit réduire les inégalités de revenus entre les riches et les pauvres.

- Fortement en accord
- Plutôt en accord
- Ni en accord ni en désaccord
- Plutôt en désaccord
- Fortement en désaccord

60. Voici une liste de domaines où l'État intervient. Spécifiez si vous souhaitez que le gouvernement dépense plus ou moins dans chaque domaine. Soyez conscients que dépenser plus ou beaucoup plus peut occasionner une augmentation des taxes et impôts.

	Dépenser beaucoup plus	Dépenser plus	Dépenser le même montant qu'actuellement	Dépenser moins	Dépenser beaucoup moins
Soins de santé					

-
-
-
-

Soins à domicile pour les personnes âgées

-
-
-
-

-
- Services de garde |
-
-
-
-
- Éducation |
-
-
-
-
- Les prestations aux personnes à faible revenu |
-
-
-
-
- Les prestations aux familles |
-
-
-
-
-

61. Imaginez que le gouvernement ait les moyens d'augmenter certains programmes sociaux, mais pas tous. Parmi les améliorations suivantes des programmes sociaux, lesquels vous semblent les plus importantes ? Vous devez attribuer 100 points. Donnez plus de points aux améliorations que vous considérez comme plus importantes et moins de points à celles que vous considérez comme moins importantes. Le gouvernement devrait…

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Améliorer les soins à domicile pour les personnes âgées
Augmenter les prestations offertes aux familles
Augmenter le nombre de places dans les services de garde
Améliorer la qualité du réseau d'éducation
Améliorer l'accès au réseau de la santé
Améliorer la lutte à la pauvreté

62. Selon vous, quel est le meilleur…

Veuillez inscrire votre réponse dans l'encadré.	Cochez la case si vous n'en connaissez aucun.
Question ouverte Livre canadien de tous les temps?	Je n'en connais aucun

- Album de musique canadien de tous les temps? |
- Film canadien de tous les temps? |
- Journal quotidien canadien de tous les temps? |
-

63. Nous souhaitons savoir si les gens connaissent mieux certains types de personnalités publiques que d'autres au Canada. Sans consulter d'autres sources, veuillez nommer une personnalité publique francophone canadienne travaillant:

Veuillez inscrire votre réponse dans l'encadré.	Cochez la case si vous n'en connaissez aucun.

Veuillez inscrire votre réponse dans l'encadré.	Cochez la case si vous n'en connaissez aucun.
Question ouverte Dans les médias (ex.: animateur/animatrice, journaliste, …)	Je n'en connais aucun

- Comme chanteur/chanteuse |
- Comme acteur/actrice |
- Comme écrivain/écrivaine |
-

64. Nous souhaitons savoir si les gens connaissent mieux certains types de personnalités publiques que d'autres au Canada. Sans consulter d'autres sources, veuillez nommer une personnalité publique anglophone canadienne travaillant:

Veuillez inscrire votre réponse dans l'encadré.	Cochez la case si vous n'en connaissez aucun.
Question ouverte Dans les médias (ex.: animateur/animatrice, journaliste, …)	Je n'en connais aucun

- Comme chanteur/chanteuse |
- Comme acteur/actrice |

- Comme écrivain/écrivaine |
-

65. Combien d'amis avez-vous de chacun des groupes suivants? Par "amis", nous référons à des personnes que vous appréciez et connaissez bien, mais qui ne sont pas des membres de votre famille.

	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 ou plus
Des gens de langue maternelle francophone				

-
-
-

Des gens de langue maternelle anglophone

-
-
-
-
- Des gens d'une autre langue maternelle |
-
-
-
-

66. Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, comment évaluez-vous vos compétences dans les langues suivantes ?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Le français
L'anglais

D Political Interest Transmission by Parents (Control Variables Added)

D.1 Topics Parents Discuss the Most

Table D.1: Interest in topic by gender of parent who discusses that topic the most

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	4.631***	6.333***	5.504***	4.260***	4.601***
	(0.379)	(0.251)	(0.222)	(0.340)	(0.286)
Health care (1 = mother)	-0.411				
	(0.401)				
International affairs (1 = mother)		-0.332			
		(0.401)			
Law and crime (1 = mother)			-0.242		
			(0.381)		
Education (1 = mother)				0.286	
				(0.379)	
Partisan politics (1 = mother)					-0.182
					(0.480)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.705	0.820	0.349	0.649	0.582
SD (Observations)	2.361	2.483	2.638	2.694	2.973
Num.Obs.	241	225	228	252	192
R2 Marg.	0.004	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.001
:———————	———————	———————	———————	———-	———————
——	:	-:	:	:	—:
Results among girls					
(Intercept)	4.138***	5.057***	5.652***	4.602***	3.449***
	(0.424)	(0.240)	(0.265)	(0.423)	(0.279)

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Health care (1 = mother)	0.158				
	(0.442)				
International affairs (1 = mother)		-0.118			
		(0.415)			
Law and crime (1 = mother)			0.047		
			(0.397)		
Education (1 = mother)				-0.434	
				(0.445)	
Partisan politics (1 = mother)					0.110
					(0.475)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.665	0.345	0.492	0.849	0.360
SD (Observations)	2.376	2.687	2.777	2.599	2.748
Num.Obs.	237	199	212	228	156
R2 Marg.	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.004	0.000
:———————	———	————————	———	——-	———
——	:	-:	:	:	—:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

D.2 Topics Most Often Discussed with Mothers

Table D.2: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's mother

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	4.093***	5.981***	5.077***	4.339***	4.210***
	(0.227)	(0.208)	(0.167)	(0.249)	(0.207)
Health care	0.355				
	(0.303)				

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
International affairs		1.113			
		(0.733)			
Law and crime			1.747*		
			(0.677)		
Education				0.253	
				(0.335)	
Partisan politics					1.519
					(1.231)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.706	0.631	0.000	0.567	0.537
SD (Observations)	2.377	2.722	2.706	2.744	2.931
Num.Obs.	275	277	278	277	277
R2 Marg.	0.005	0.008	0.023	0.002	0.005
:———————	————:	——————-:	————:	———-:	——————:
Results among girls					
(Intercept)	4.046***	4.739***	5.226***	3.834***	3.136***
	(0.225)	(0.202)	(0.196)	(0.277)	(0.167)
Health care	0.278				
	(0.310)				
International affairs		1.226+			
		(0.644)			
Law and crime			3.057***		
			(0.620)		
Education				0.881**	
				(0.338)	
Partisan politics					2.864+
					(1.579)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.691	0.590	0.438	0.974	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.370	2.651	2.761	2.579	2.719
Num.Obs.	270	267	265	267	267
R2 Marg.	0.003	0.013	0.084	0.024	0.012
:———————	————:	——————-:	————:	———-:	——————:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

D.3 Topics Most Often Discussed with Fathers

Table D.3: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's father

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	4.275***	5.838***	4.987***	4.479***	4.110***
	(0.194)	(0.215)	(0.175)	(0.219)	(0.215)
Health care	-0.206				
	(0.499)				
International affairs		0.557			
		(0.343)			
Law and crime			1.013*		
			(0.424)		
Education				0.037	
				(0.405)	
Partisan politics					1.887**
					(0.644)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.650	0.370	0.000	0.614	0.626
SD (Observations)	2.336	2.730	2.677	2.715	2.849
Num.Obs.	278	281	281	281	280
R2 Marg.	0.001	0.009	0.020	0.000	0.030
:———————	————:	——————-:	————:	———-:	————:
Results among girls					
(Intercept)	4.057***	4.816***	5.213***	4.052***	3.167***
	(0.205)	(0.238)	(0.214)	(0.261)	(0.185)
Health care	0.383				
	(0.444)				
International affairs		-0.018			
		(0.371)			
Law and crime			1.559**		
			(0.507)		
Education				0.036	
				(0.395)	
Partisan politics					0.199
					(0.653)

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
SD (Intercept Class)	0.704	0.674	0.537	0.994	0.290
SD (Observations)	2.341	2.678	2.787	2.578	2.724
Num.Obs.	259	257	256	257	257
R2 Marg.	0.003	0.000	0.035	0.000	0.000
:———————	———————:	———————-:	———————:	———————-:	———————:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

E Political Interest Transmission by Peers (Control Variables Added)

E.1 Topics Most Often Discussed with Female Friends

Table E.1: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's female friends

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	-0.009	13.435	13.722	-2.720	-17.730
	(18.237)	(17.524)	(16.447)	(18.508)	(19.181)
Health care	-0.488				
	(0.645)				
Age	-0.054	-1.319	-1.903	-0.224	2.666
	(2.535)	(2.448)	(2.294)	(2.572)	(2.679)
Age squared	0.004	0.043	0.065	0.020	-0.094
	(0.088)	(0.085)	(0.080)	(0.089)	(0.093)
Race (1 = white)	-0.162	0.796	-0.178	-0.516	0.345
	(0.547)	(0.565)	(0.515)	(0.540)	(0.612)
Immigrant	-1.125	-1.352	-0.092	-1.278	-1.028
	(0.839)	(0.846)	(0.780)	(0.835)	(0.922)
English spoken at home	-0.439	-1.140	-0.657	1.554	0.819
	(1.320)	(1.283)	(1.194)	(1.327)	(1.403)
French spoken at home	0.370	-0.534	0.262	0.803	1.229
	(0.802)	(0.799)	(0.740)	(0.801)	(0.874)
Agency	4.059*	1.161	3.824*	2.434	2.181
	(1.706)	(1.688)	(1.536)	(1.643)	(1.825)
Communality	2.593	3.612*	3.847*	5.945***	2.040
	(1.687)	(1.662)	(1.523)	(1.665)	(1.799)
International affairs		0.168			

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
		(0.553)			
Law and crime			1.522*		
			(0.670)		
Education				1.297**	
				(0.479)	
Partisan politics					0.172
					(1.256)
Results among girls					
SD (Intercept Class)	0.801	0.000	0.439	1.059	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.397	2.503	2.272	2.347	2.740
Num.Obs.	116	116	116	116	116
R2 Marg.	0.085	0.096	0.161	0.230	0.094
:————————	————:	——————-:	————:	———-:	——————:
(Intercept)	-7.187	12.921	-8.833	-6.657	35.292*
	(13.199)	(14.961)	(16.039)	(14.911)	(14.656)
Health care	0.303				
	(0.466)				
Age	1.111	-1.313	1.865	1.137	-4.333*
	(1.843)	(2.093)	(2.249)	(2.077)	(2.046)
Age squared	-0.027	0.046	-0.060	-0.028	0.146*
	(0.064)	(0.073)	(0.078)	(0.072)	(0.071)
Race (1 = white)	0.261	0.184	-0.455	-0.038	-0.141
	(0.465)	(0.526)	(0.547)	(0.515)	(0.538)
Immigrant	-0.337	-1.058	-2.367**	0.426	-0.220
	(0.634)	(0.740)	(0.760)	(0.697)	(0.749)
English spoken at home	-0.109	-1.613+	-0.934	0.559	-0.342
	(0.771)	(0.850)	(0.902)	(0.868)	(0.841)
French spoken at home	0.061	-0.397	-0.362	0.888	-0.036
	(0.541)	(0.628)	(0.643)	(0.593)	(0.640)
Agency	-0.522	1.366	2.103	-0.336	1.597
	(1.331)	(1.538)	(1.561)	(1.458)	(1.580)
Communality	1.514	1.023	-0.048	-0.279	-1.041
	(1.377)	(1.551)	(1.616)	(1.523)	(1.600)
International affairs		1.813**			
		(0.639)			

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Law and crime			0.522		
			(0.568)		
Education				0.330	
				(0.447)	
Partisan politics					4.166*
					(1.602)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.704	0.449	0.826	0.966	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.156	2.532	2.517	2.341	2.640
Num.Obs.	136	134	134	136	136
R2 Marg.	0.067	0.106	0.107	0.057	0.104
:————————	————:	————————-:	————:	———-:	————————:

Note: ‸ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ‸ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

E.2 Topics Most Often Discussed with Male Friends

Table E.2: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's male friends

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys					
(Intercept)	-8.307	0.569	10.252	0.908	-11.642
	(15.056)	(15.175)	(15.430)	(17.084)	(17.410)
Health care	-0.649				
	(0.698)				
Age	1.120	0.143	-1.284	-0.474	1.695
	(2.068)	(2.083)	(2.123)	(2.343)	(2.391)
Age squared	-0.034	-0.008	0.046	0.030	-0.061
	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.081)	(0.082)
Race (1 = white)	0.294	1.238**	-0.245	-0.245	0.491
	(0.433)	(0.456)	(0.448)	(0.498)	(0.533)
Immigrant	-0.702	-1.312+	-1.443*	-1.311+	-0.792
	(0.644)	(0.694)	(0.670)	(0.740)	(0.785)

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
English spoken at home	-1.069	-1.513	-0.422	0.388	0.180
	(0.893)	(0.919)	(0.899)	(1.008)	(1.063)
French spoken at home	0.211	-0.785	0.026	0.446	0.914
	(0.559)	(0.584)	(0.573)	(0.634)	(0.671)
Agency	3.410**	3.650**	3.281**	1.659	3.254*
	(1.175)	(1.244)	(1.220)	(1.343)	(1.429)
Communality	1.854	3.826**	2.880*	3.863**	2.400
	(1.277)	(1.356)	(1.294)	(1.464)	(1.534)
International affairs		1.128**			
		(0.392)			
Law and crime			1.333**		
			(0.431)		
Education				0.874+	
				(0.516)	
Partisan politics					1.430
					(0.900)
Results among girls					
SD (Intercept Class)	0.753	0.222	0.000	0.793	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.232	2.430	2.387	2.562	2.800
Num.Obs.	171	172	171	171	171
R2 Marg.	0.100	0.216	0.150	0.125	0.094
:————————	————:	——————-:	————:	———-:	——————:
(Intercept)	-23.389	22.422	7.096	-0.350	41.624*
	(15.133)	(18.476)	(18.125)	(16.385)	(17.237)
Health care	-0.210				
	(0.779)				
Age	3.392	-2.511	-0.549	0.192	-5.234*
	(2.092)	(2.559)	(2.504)	(2.261)	(2.377)
Age squared	-0.102	0.086	0.031	0.008	0.172*
	(0.072)	(0.088)	(0.086)	(0.078)	(0.082)
Race (1 = white)	0.319	-0.563	-0.586	-0.157	-0.083
	(0.525)	(0.632)	(0.633)	(0.572)	(0.621)
Immigrant	-0.284	-0.590	-2.081*	0.852	-0.031
	(0.643)	(0.780)	(0.787)	(0.682)	(0.760)

	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
English spoken at home	-0.339	-1.374	-0.189	0.717	-0.312
	(0.764)	(0.927)	(0.890)	(0.852)	(0.863)
French spoken at home	-0.021	0.189	0.324	0.911	0.450
	(0.583)	(0.707)	(0.707)	(0.617)	(0.691)
Agency	-0.162	1.243	-0.123	0.242	2.051
	(1.410)	(1.698)	(1.705)	(1.480)	(1.685)
Communality	0.126	0.769	0.559	-1.241	-0.120
	(1.445)	(1.744)	(1.737)	(1.566)	(1.685)
International affairs		0.679			
		(0.597)			
Law and crime			-0.595		
			(0.541)		
Education				0.485	
				(0.551)	
Partisan politics					2.332+
					(1.268)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.499	0.610	0.283	0.898	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.204	2.650	2.674	2.277	2.651
Num.Obs.	115	114	113	115	115
R2 Marg.	0.088	0.086	0.100	0.104	0.108
:————————	————:	————————-:	————:	———-:	————————:

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Note: ^^ Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

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