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). 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 wishes to address both issues by suggesting a unified theory: *children's interest in specific political topics mainly comes from socialization by their same-gender parent(s) and peers.* Notably, it is argued that interest in *partisan* politics is distinctly transmitted from men to boys.

Among various topics, interest in partisan politics is important because it is correlated with 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" (p. 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 (p. 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 (2019)'s definition. Importantly, this definition emphasizes the notions of cooperation and competition, therefore going beyond Weber (1919)'s 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), p. 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), p. 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.

1.2 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

[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).

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; Lawless and Fox 2010, 2022; 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).

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.

[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), p. 538).

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

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, they can have consequences for at least two types of substantive citizen participation: 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 (2019)'s 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 (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

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

parental encouragement" (Fox and Lawless (2005), p. 654). These two factors still stand in a 2021 follow-up study (Lawless and Fox 2022). 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, eight 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).

1.4 Potential Explanations: The Emergence of Gender Differences

This dissertation answers the following question: *"How do gender differences in interest in different political topics emerge?"* This section reviews the main theories that have been suggested to account for women's lower levels of self-reported political interest. This includes structural, institutional, and individual factors. Overall, no convincing unified theory has been proposed thus far to account for the emergence of this gap.

[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.

1.4.1 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.

[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.

1.4.2 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. However, 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).

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" (p. 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, but it remains unclear whether this underlying factor is more present among men, women, or none of them. 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), 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.

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), p. 1).

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" (p. 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), p. 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 (2009b)'s and Shehata and Amnå (2019)'s 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), p. 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), p. 416). *Gender homophily* refers to the ways in which children of the same gender tend to stick together and

[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.

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 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

[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.

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" (p. 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" (p. 64).

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 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.

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. Niederle and Vesterlund (2007) also find that men are less risk-averse than women and tend to value competition more than women do. 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 (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).

1.6 Hypotheses: Towards a Unified Socialization Theory

This dissertation asks *"How do gender differences in interest in different political topics emerge?"* It hypothesizes that political socialization plays a central role in explaining the emergence of gender differences in political interest, with parents and peers the most important agents of childhood political socialization.

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).*

[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.

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.*

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, the conclusion 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.

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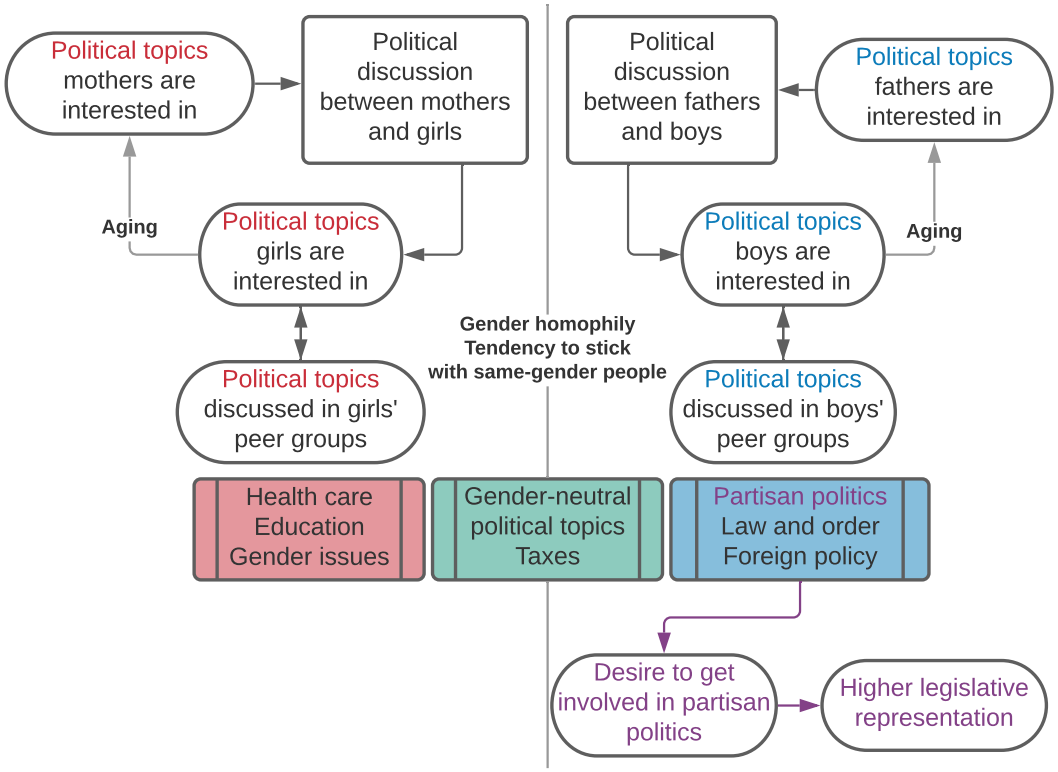

Figure 1.1: Theoretical Framework

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2 Data, Methods and Descriptive Statistics

This chapter details 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. 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, a country 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), but where 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 also 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 do find for many topics apply in North America. Studying the transmission of political interest to children in Canada seems like a promising place to look for explanations of these gender differences.

2.2 Data Collection

Within Canada, this dissertation relies on two main datasets which have been collected for the purposes of this dissertation. However, three other large-scale surveys are 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. Past studies have shown that 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. 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).

Students had to fill a 15-minute online survey questionnaire during classroom time. The survey was hosted on the Qualtrics Web platform and was available in both French and English. 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. Several hundred school boards and schools across Canada were originally contacted to take part in the project, but nonresponse/rejection rate was higher than 90%. This sample should be considered a non-random, convenience sample. Nevertheless, due to the scarcity of available data on school-aged children's political predispositions within Canada, this dataset 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.

Table 2.1: Descriptive statistics, CCPIS data

ID	Public/ Private[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

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

ID	Public/ Private	Language	Province	Ages	Number of students in body	Number of students in sample	Number of classrooms in sample	Number of teachers in sample
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**

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. The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence and Helmreich 1978; Ward et al. 2006) is used 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. Socio-demographic questions are asked to children about gender, language spoken at home, immigrant status, age, and race. These questions are mostly inspired by the Canadian Election Study (Stephenson et al. 2020), except for the question on race, which is based on the 2016 Census (Statistics Canada 2017). The English and French CCPIS questionnaires are available in Appendices I and II.

The following questions are asked about students' interests: "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

[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.

they are taking. The question's phrasing is meant to be easily understood by children and teenagers.

In order to determine the importance of 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)." Questions are then asked about the topics most discussed by parents, peers, teachers and influencers among the five political topics highlighted beforehand.

2.2.2 Datagotchi Post-Election Survey (Datagotchi PES)

The second dataset collected over the course of this dissertation is the Datagotchi post-election survey, which includes 2,228 Quebec adult respondents (Leadership Chair in the Teaching of Digital Social Sciences (CLESSN) 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). For the purposes of this dissertation, the questions of interest which were asked to panel respondents inquired about their level of interest in various 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 III.

2.2.3 Canadian Election Survey (CES)

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. First, Canadian Election Study (CES) data on various aspects of political engagement is analyzed (Stephenson et al. 2022). This 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.

2.2.4 World Values Survey (WVS)

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 and 56 other countries, therefore providing the opportunity for cross-country comparisons on political interest and political engagement. 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).[6]

2.2.5 General Social Survey (GSS)

Finally, microdata from the 2013 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS), cycle 27.2 (Social Identity) are used to complement the CES and WVS data with a less non-political questionnaire which might be more representative of Canadians' overall level of interest in politics (Statistics Canada 2013).

2.3 Variable Description & Descriptive Statistics

2.3.1 CCPIS

Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of CCPIS students by age, gender, language, race, immigrant status, degree of agency and communality, family situation, and the gender of their role models. The gender composition of the sample is roughly balanced, with 50% of girls and 47% of boys. Most respondents are aged 13 to 17, with a large proportion (41%) being exactly 16 years old. This roughly corresponds to the moment where 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). Respondents are mainly white (57%) and Francophone (66%), but several students who speak another language than English or French at home have also filled the survey (25%). 85% of them were born in Canada. Most students live with one mother and one father (72%), with a substantial minority (18%) also having stepparents. Other family arrangements are less common.

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[7] — all items scale well together, with factor loadings above 0.3, a Cronbach's alpha higher than 0.6 and first eigenvalues larger than 1.

Figure 2.4 shows the distribution of students by interest in each of the political topics. 0 is associated with the lowest level of interest and 10 with the highest. International relations, and

[6]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).

[7]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. The scale is an exact replication of the one used by Ward et al. (2006).

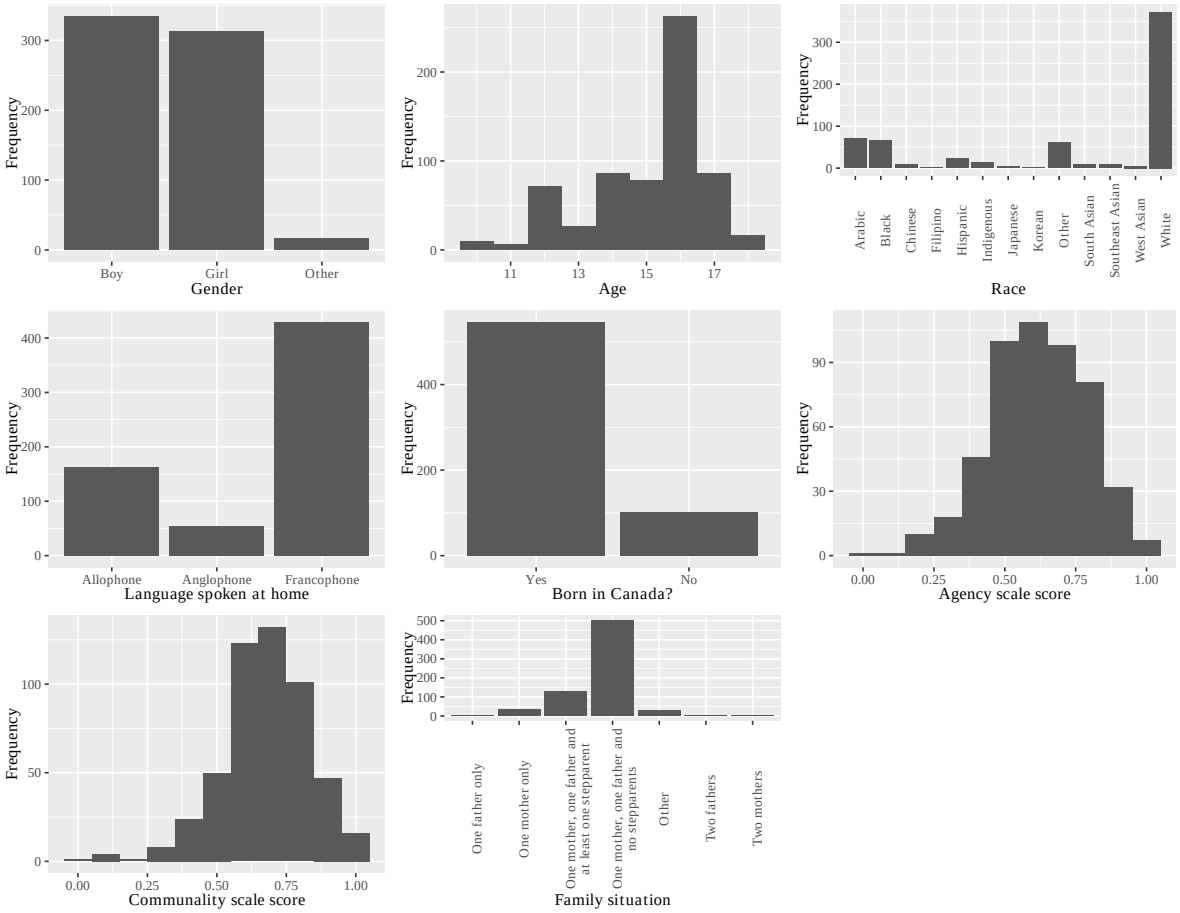

Figure 2.1: CCPIS Descriptive Statistics - General

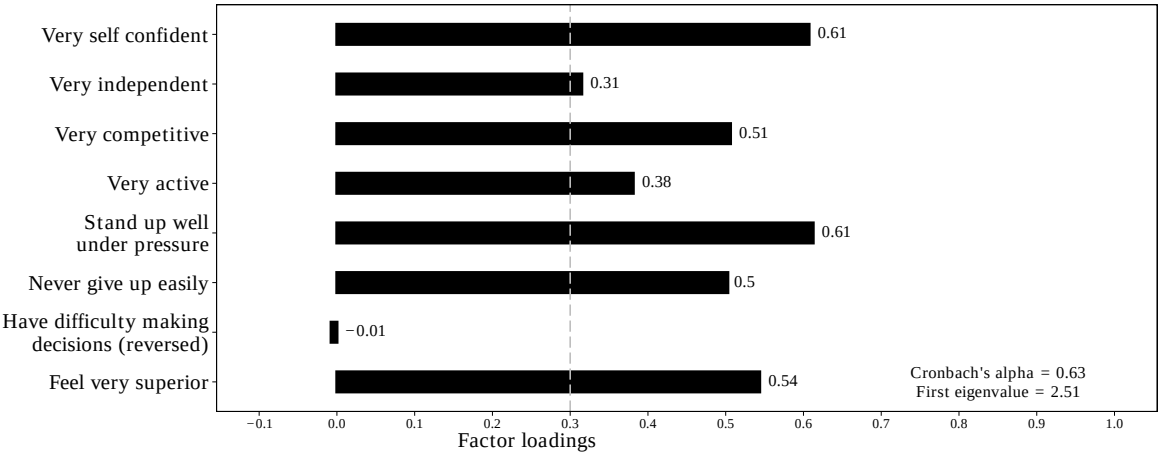

Figure 2.2: CCPIS Factor Analysis: Agency Scale

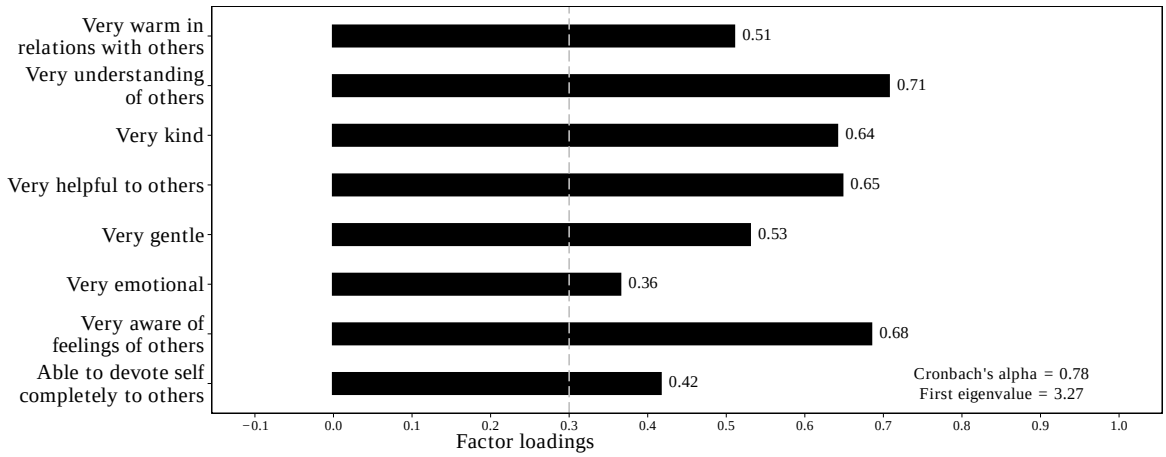

Figure 2.3: CCPIS Factor Analysis: Communality Scale

law and crime are generally well-balanced, with students' mean interest above 5/10 (5.2–5.3). On the other hand, few students report high interest in health care (4.1), education (4.1), or partisan politics (3.5).

2.3.2 Datagotchi PES, CES, WVS and GSS

Figure 2.5 shows descriptive statistics for the Datagotchi PES, which is not a representative sample. This sample includes an over-representation of men (57%), white people (97%), Francophones (94%), university-educated people (71%), and people born in Canada (86%) compared to 2021 Canadian Census data for Quebec (Statistics Canada 2022). 45% of respondents have a yearly household income over $110,000. The average age is 48, with a bimodal distribution centered around 35–40 and 65. Given the mismatch between many of these characteristics — notably gender, level of education and race — and the Quebec population, survey weights are created and used to make the sample more representative of the Quebec population on these two aspects, as well as income, language and age. A raking procedure is used to produce these weights. [Question to Chris: Public-use microdata are not out yet ("Individual PUMF files and hierarchical PUMF files are to be released in Fall 2023 and Winter 2023-2024 respectively, by Statistics Canada, per 2021 Census of Population Data Product Page." https://mdl.library.utoronto.ca/collections/numeric-data/census-canada/2021/microdata) They should be released this fall. Do you know any way to fast-track my access to such data? I might need to rely on 2016 data otherwise.]

Question to Chris: Is it necessary to add 2.6

Figure 2.7 and Figure 2.8 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. While adult Quebeckers (Datagotchi PES) report being more interested in each of the five topics compared

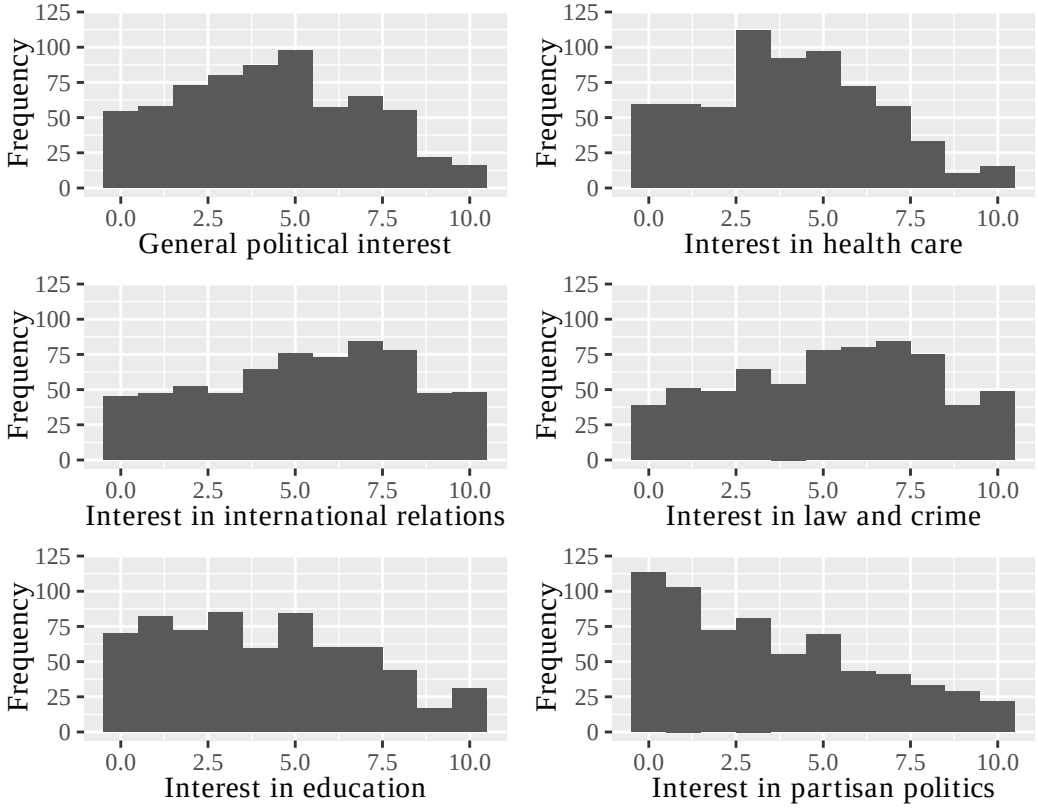

Figure 2.4: CCPIS Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

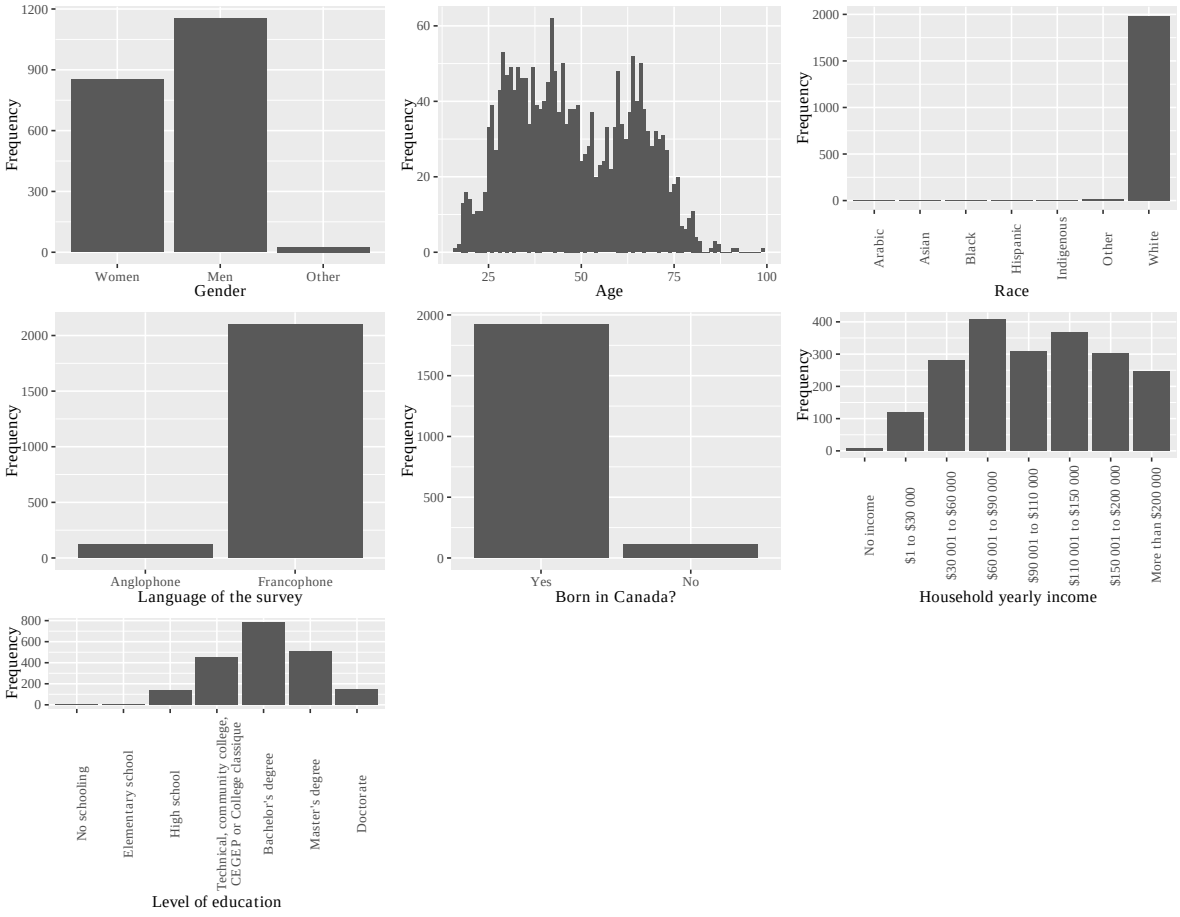

Figure 2.5: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics - General

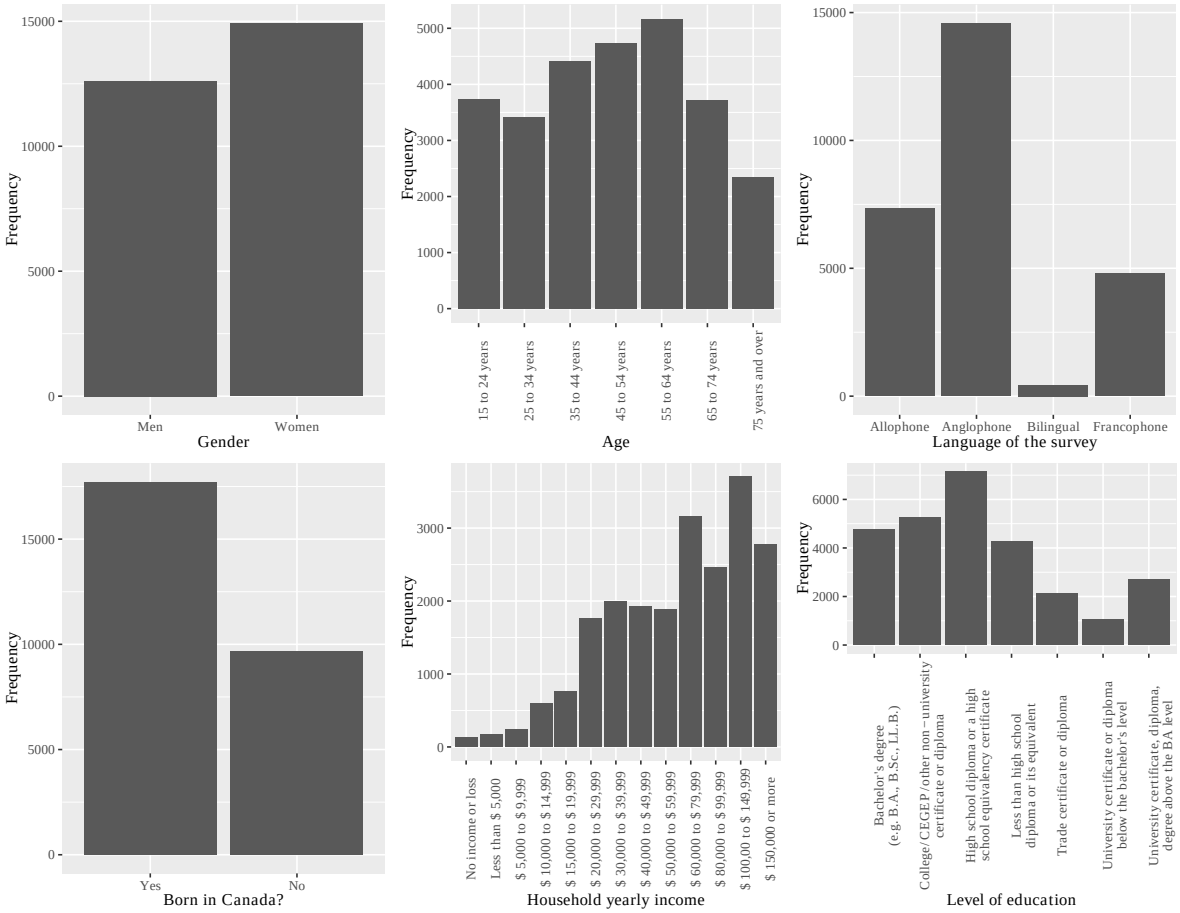

Figure 2.6: 2013 GSS Descriptive Statistics (Wave 27 - Social Identity) - General

with Canadian students (CCPIS), interest in law and crime (5.5/10) is lower than for other topics, followed by law and crime (6.1/10). General political interest (7.4/10) 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.

GSS and WVS respondents are less slightly interested in politics (5.7/10 for both) than those to the 2021 CES (6.4/10), potentially related to the CES's more explicitly political nature. Datagotchi PES respondents score an even higher average general political interest score of 7.4/10, 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.

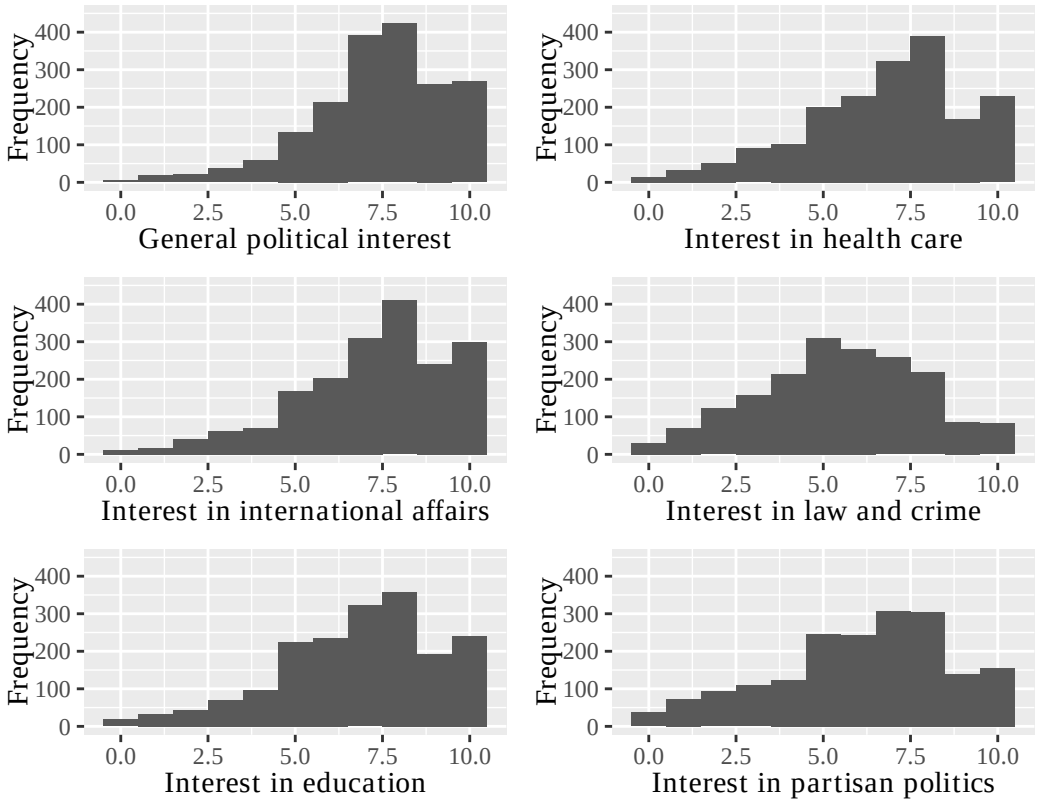

Figure 2.7: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

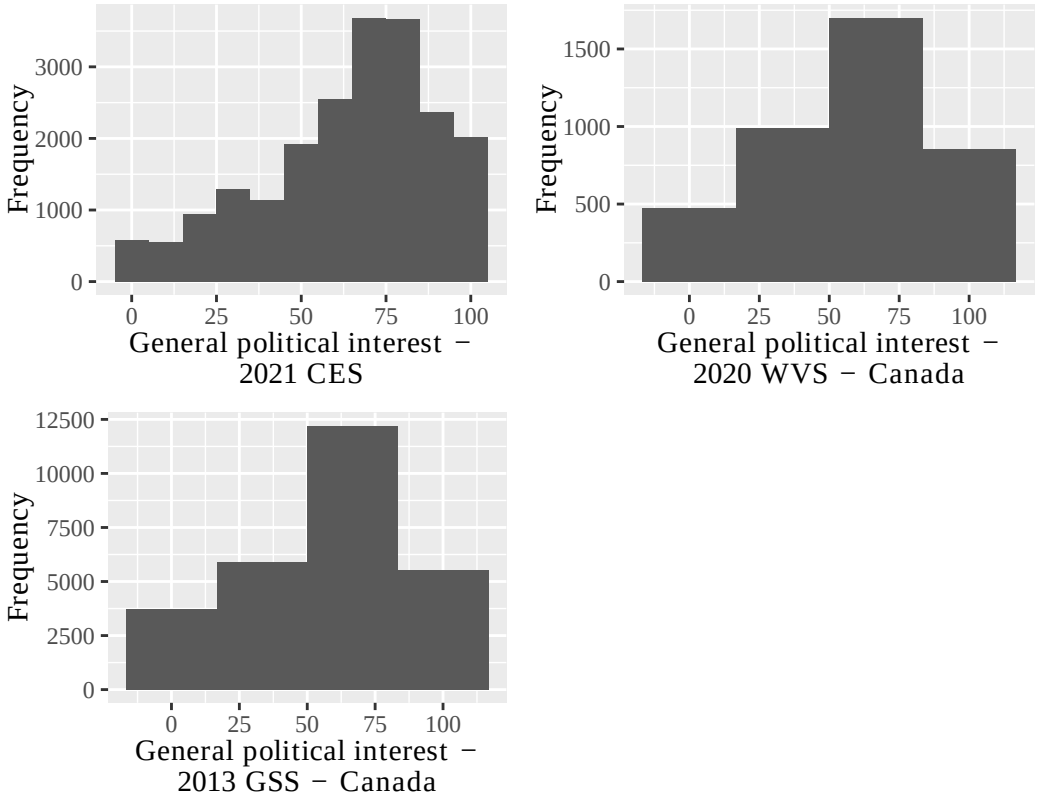

Figure 2.8: CES, WVS and GSS Descriptive Statistics - Political Interest

2.4 Methods

2.4.1 Multilevel Regressions and OLS

For CCPIS data, multilevel regressions with two levels are used to help disentangle classroom-level effects from individual-level effects. While students are clustered within classrooms, which are themselves nested within schools and provinces, the number of schools (8) and provinces (2) in the final sample is too low for multilevel regressions to be conducted, and only the classroom level is kept in the analyses. Simple regression models and multiple regression models are computed, with control variables for the variables highlighted in this chapter's descriptive statistics section.

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 — presumably the individual level.

For the other four datasets, simple and multiple ordinary least squares (OLS) regression are instead performed, with the same control variables.

2.4.2 Note on 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). 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.

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

Before attempting to explain the causes of political interest development among children and teenagers, two basic questions need to be answered: *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?* This chapter explores what studies have found in various countries and then uses Canadian data to provide context-specific answers.

3.1 Political Interest Evolution Over the Life Course

Longitudinal studies conducted in European countries have shown that political interest remains remarkably stable over the life course (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. 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).

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 (2019)'s 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 2 and 5 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. 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).

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. With positive numbers associated with men, the gender gap in political interest has been measured at +2 (Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015), Finland, 16–18 years old); +2 (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); +11 (Lawless and Fox (2013), USA, 18–25 years old); +15 (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba (2001), United States, 18 years old); +15 (Muxel (2002), France, 18–25 years old); +20 (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020), UK, 15 years old); +30 (Fraile and Sánchez-Vítores (2020), UK, 25 years old); +22 (Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero (2022), UK, 30 years old); and +27 (Hyman (1959), Germany, 15–24 years old). Among these results, only Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015)'s 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. However, they do not measure the evolution in interest for various topics.

It seems worthwhile to study political socialization in the period of life where political interest is developed since there seems to be some level of path dependency in individuals' political interest afterwards. A focus on teenagers is also warranted because gender differences seem to become starker at that moment: the early increase in 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) concur, suggesting that "the development of gender roles during early childhood is a crucial phase in the source of the gender gap, deserving further attention from scholars" (p. 89).

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" (p. 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 girls" (p. 153). 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" (p. 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.[1] 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).

> Where people live affects how much interest they have in politics. 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), p. 24).

Gidengil et al. (2004) evaluate the gender gap in political interest between Canadian women and men to be worth 5 percentage points.

[1] 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).

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 CES, WVS and GSS

In order to explore what level of general political interest Canadian men and women report, three datasets are mobilized: the 2021 CES, the WVS's Wave 7 and the 2013 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.

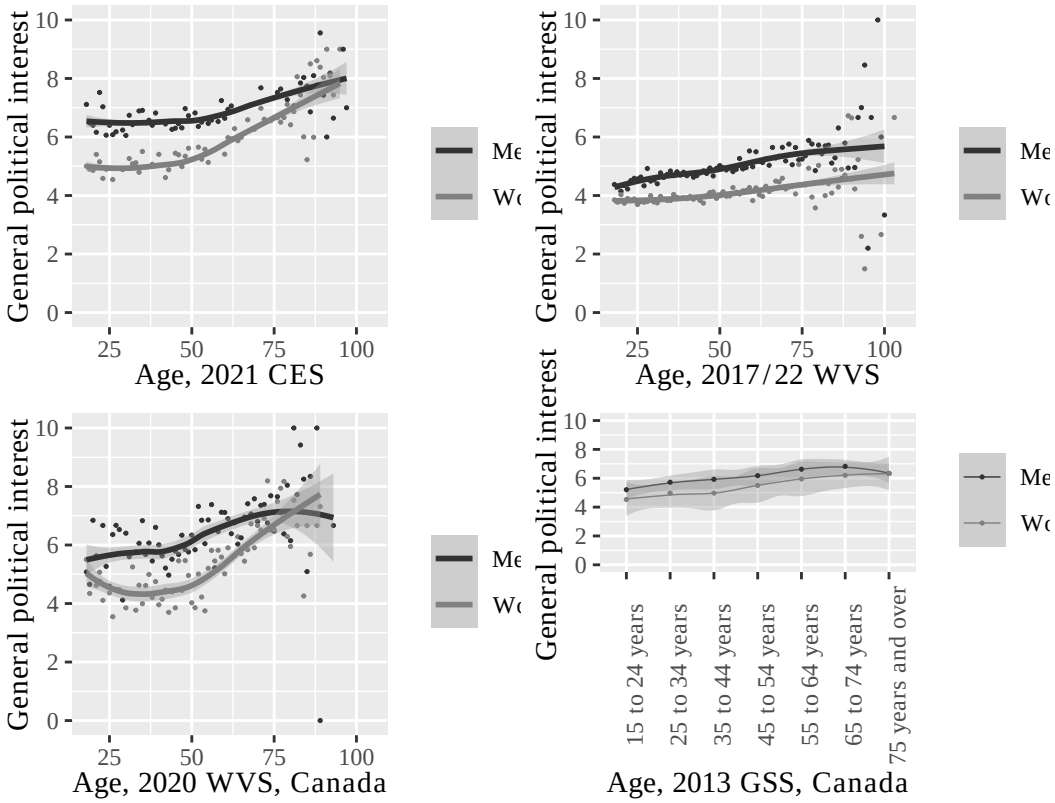

Figure 3.1: Self-Reported Level of General Political Interest by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES, 2020 WVS (Canada) and 2013 Canadian GSS
Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. Dots represent average interest by age and gender. CES, WVS and GSS weights are applied.

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 ($p<0.001$).

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.

[Question to Chris: Should I analyze longitudinal data about gender, race and political interest from 1965-2019 CES and 1981-2022 WVS (see Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3)?]

[Question to Chris: Should I also analyze CES and WVS descriptive statistics by age, gender and ethnicity, and age, gender and immigrant status? If yes, should I do so in this chapter, or simply put them in the Appendix?]

[Question to Chris: Should I analyze time trends among adults for the evolution of internal efficacy, external efficacy, political knowledge, and other measures of political engagement? I do not have such information for children, however. If yes, should I prioritize CES data, Datagotchi PES, GSS, or WVS?]

3.3.2 CCPIS

What kinds of political topics are children and adolescents interested in? Are there gender differences in how interested they are in these topics? CCPIS data 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.

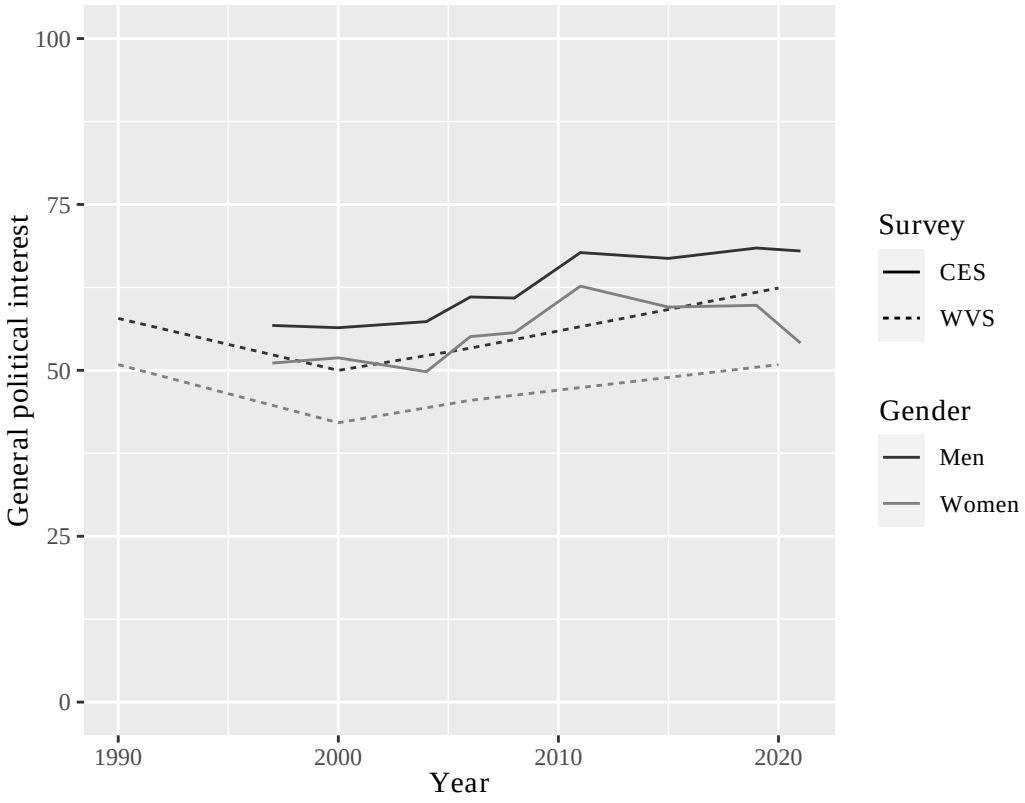

Figure 3.2: General Political Interest by Year and Gender Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES and 2020 WVS (Canada)
Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. CES and WVS weights are applied.

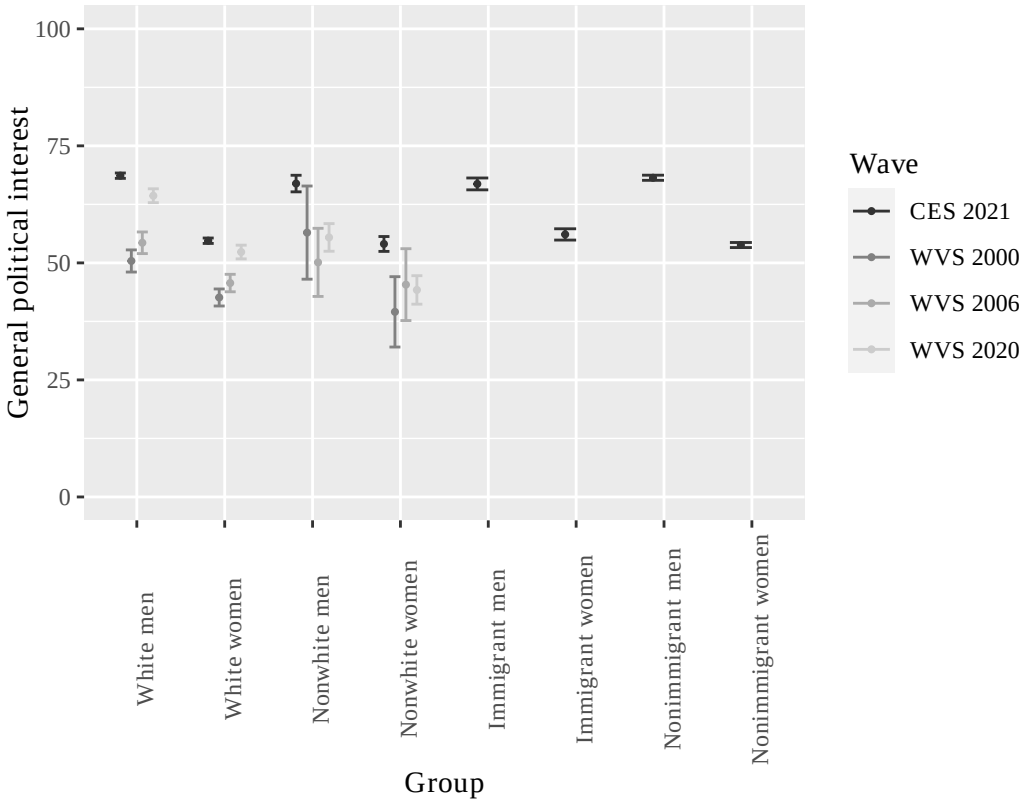

Figure 3.3: General Political Interest by Year, Gender and Race Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES and 2020 WVS (Canada)
Notes: On the y axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. CES and WVS weights are applied.

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 race, immigrant status and language. [Question to Chris: Which variables should I add or remove?]

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
:———————	————————	———————	———————	———————	———————	———————
———	—-:	—:	——-:	—:	—-:	——:
(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)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Race (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)
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):Race (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

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
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
:———	———:	—:	——:	—:	—:	——:
(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)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Race (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)
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):Race (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

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
:———————	———————:	———:	———————:	———:	——:	———————:

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)
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)
Race (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+

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
	(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):Race (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
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 — a substantially large proportion.

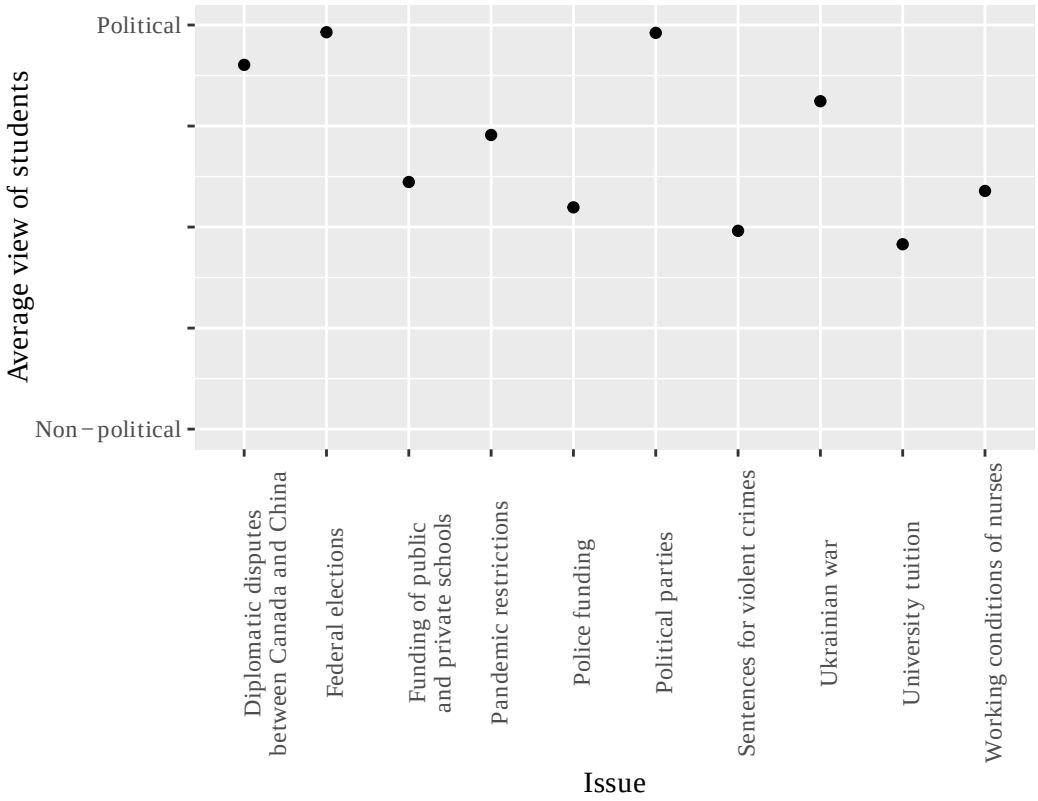

Figure 3.4: Views of Topics as Political or Non-Political By Canadian Students, 2022

[Question to Chris: I could qualitatively analyze the survey question about open-ended definitions of political interest, or use automated textual analysis here (698 respondents, some in French and some in English). Any suggestions?]

3.3.3 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.

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)
Race (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)

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
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)
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):Race (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 significant among Quebeckers aged 75 and over.

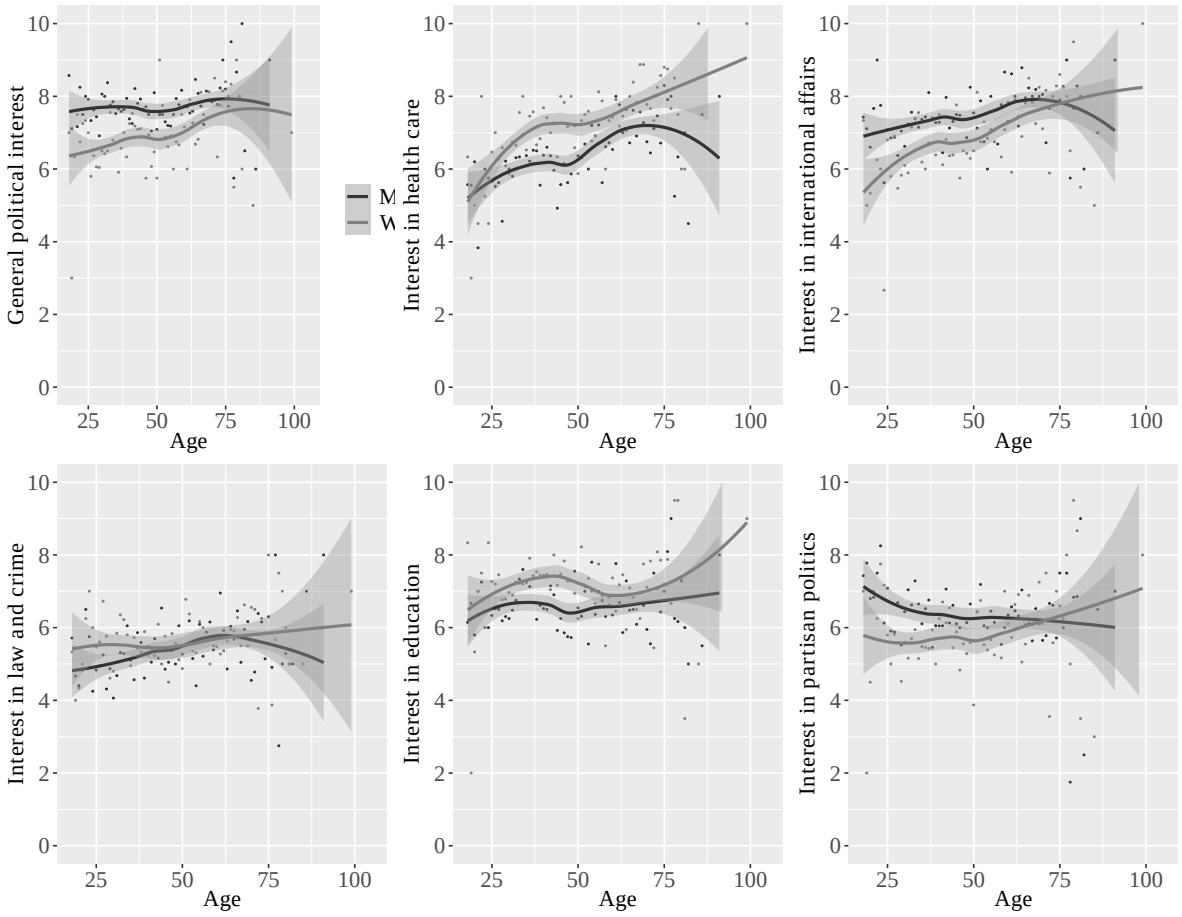

Figure 3.5: Self-Reported Level of Interest in Various Topics by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2022 Datagotchi PES

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.

3.4 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 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.

In the Swedish context, Russo and Stattin (2017) suggested that "political interest is malleable before 18 years of age, and that the greatest scope for change in political interest is between the ages of 13 and 15. It is during this period that parents, teachers, and role models in general can potentially raise youths' interest in political and societal issues" (p. 655). Applying these results to the Canadian context, interest in politics does increase for both women and men after they reach adulthood. This 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.

This chapter has some limitations. First, student data is taken from a convenience sample. Students were not chosen randomly across the Canadian population but were instead part of classes who agreed to be part of the study. Several school boards, schools and classes refused to take part in the study, with an estimated rejection rate above 90%. Most of that data is collected among francophone students. Second, the sample size is relatively small, due to difficulties in accessing the field. 698 observations collected among children aged 10–18 comprise the final dataset. [Question to Chris: I am not sure whether these limitations should be acknowledged here or in the conclusion?]

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

4.1 Political Interest Transmission

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" (p. 413). 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), although Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) find no statistically significant relationship. Prior (2019) estimates a moderately strong Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.3 to 0.4 for parent–child political interest scores.

Parent–child political interest correlations vary by age. Prior (2019) finds very weak 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'.

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 chidlren 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.

4.2 Social Learning (to fill)

4.3 Gender Differences in Transmission

Research has found that the trickle-down effect of political interest from parents to children works in gendered ways. 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 other perspective too, daughters' political interest seems to be influenced mostly by their mothers' political interest, 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 on that front, finding that fathers' potential to transmit political interest to their children is stronger than mothers'. However, where studies disagree the most is whether sons' political interest is influenced mostly by their father's (Beauregard 2008; Owen and Dennis 1988) or mother's (Prior 2019) political interest. Prior (2019)'s findings are more recent and rely on panel data to confirm there is indeed a stronger causal effect of mothers' political interest on their children's political interest, compared with fathers.

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 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, despite more mother–children discussions about non-political topics, 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). Given those findings, it seems reasonable to assume, as Hooghe and Boonen (2015) does, 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.

Other parental characteristics can also affect 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) finds a positive relationship between fathers' income and children's political interest. 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 — but no moderating effect for naturalization.

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 Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013) and Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015) find a positive relationship for fathers, Sanjuan and Mantas (2022) find a positive relationship for mothers, Koskimaa and Rapeli (2015) find a *negative* relationship for mothers, and Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) find null results. [Question to Chris: Should I expand on the last two paragraphs and incldue other variables? Or should I remove them altogether? Not sure which strategy to adopt.]

4.4 Parental Socialization Theory

This thesis makes the argument that children are influenced by same-gender role models. In the case of parents, political interest is more strongly correlated between mothers and daughters and between fathers and sons than any other combination, but it remains unclear if this finding also applies to interest in various political topics. *Parental socialization theory* suggests that parents transmit their interests to their children and that this process is gendered. Hypothesis 1 further describes that expectation.

***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).*

In other words, 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. According to Hypothesis 1, on average, a mother will 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.

4.5 Data Analysis

Several questions are then used to assess the role of parents in transmitting interest to their children. First, the following question is asked: "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". 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)"). Nevertheless, it is possible that children will answer 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.

Relying on children's assessments of what their parents think is commonplace among both studies of parent–child political discussions and of parent–child transmission of political interest (Beauregard 2008; Dostie-Goulet 2009b; Dowse and Hughes 1971; Lawless and Fox 2015; Mayer and Schmidt 2004; Oswald and Schmid 1998; Shehata and Amnå 2019; Shulman and DeAndrea 2014). This practice can be an imperfect metric, since Beauregard (2008) finds that girls tend to rate their parents' political interest more highly than boys do and Stattin and Russo (2022) find that youth's political interest can cause changes in their perceptions of others' political interest.

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 (see Appendix IV), very similar results are found for boys and girls.

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,

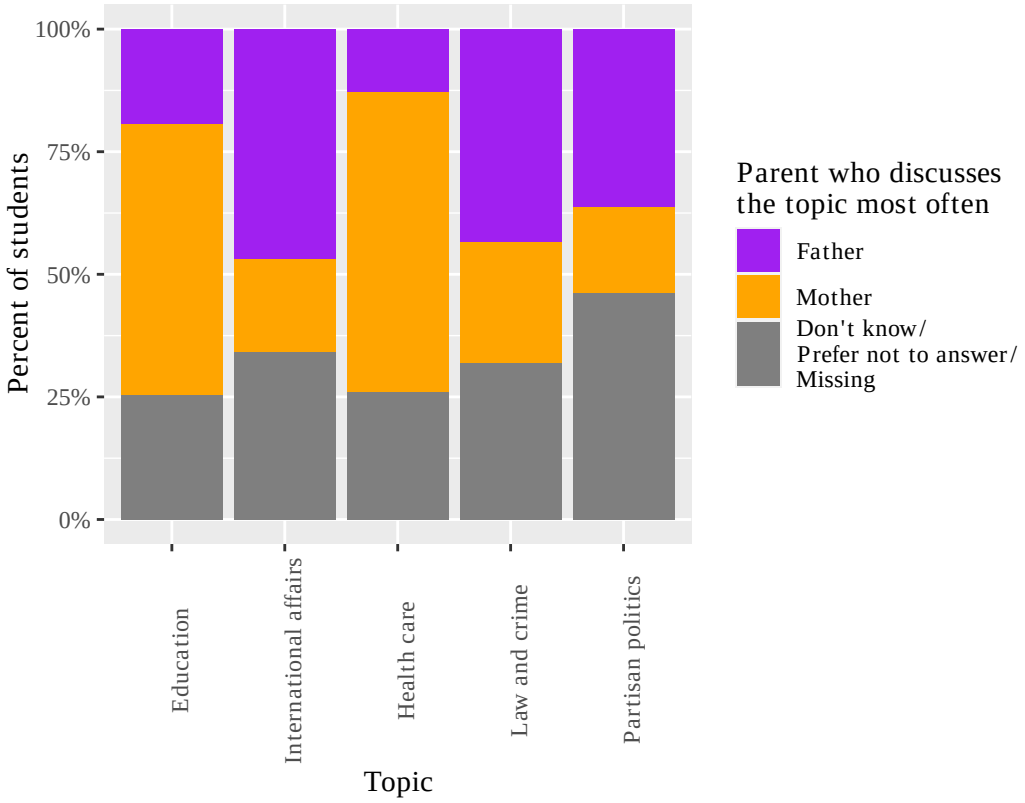

Figure 4.1: Topic most often discussed with parents, 2023 CCPIS data

law and crime, and international affairs. Also in line with the literature, parents seem to talk about politics just as much with their sons as with their 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 (see Appendix IV), very similar results are found for boys and girls.

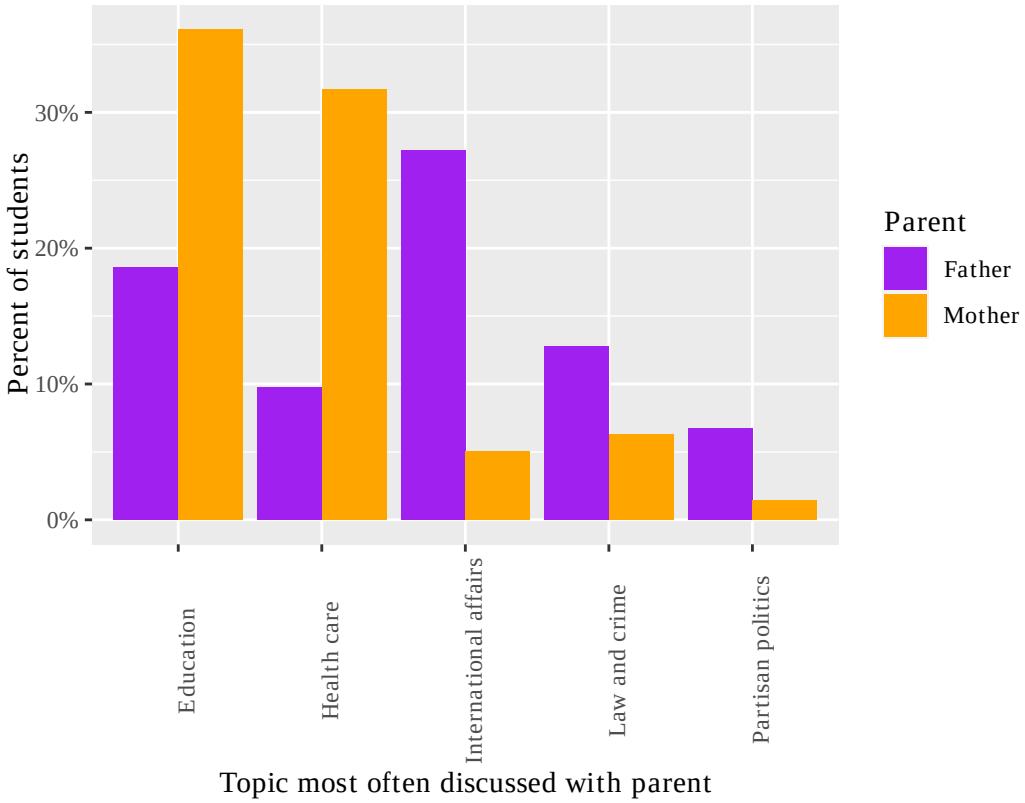

Figure 4.2: Topic most often discussed by mothers and fathers, 2023 CCPIS data

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.

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 know what they are expected to 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.[1] Children's interest in any of the five topics does not seem to be related to the gender of the parent who discusses the topic the most; all relationships are statistically insignificant. Only when aggregated, and only for boys, it seems that the gender of the parent who discusses one topic the most is related to the child's level of interest in that topic.[2]

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
Results among boys						
(Intercept)	1.437	7.825	-3.757	2.568	36.781+	17.051
	(11.191)	(19.394)	(16.316)	(23.200)	(20.133)	(21.989)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.489**	-0.244	-0.380	-0.065	0.180	0.221
	(0.179)	(0.468)	(0.397)	(0.432)	(0.442)	(0.524)
Age	-0.165	-1.156	1.447	-0.417	-5.153+	-2.456
	(1.515)	(2.647)	(2.240)	(3.169)	(2.748)	(3.018)
Age squared	0.013	0.048	-0.050	0.023	0.185+	0.086
	(0.051)	(0.090)	(0.076)	(0.109)	(0.094)	(0.104)
Race (1 = white)	0.463*	0.305	1.082**	0.171	-0.337	0.437
	(0.221)	(0.442)	(0.385)	(0.474)	(0.466)	(0.564)

[1] Students who do not have one parent of either gender are removed from the analysis.
[2] Appendix V shows very similar findings without controls.

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Immigrant	-0.761*	-0.443	-1.025*	-0.310	-1.148+	-1.081
	(0.319)	(0.617)	(0.519)	(0.695)	(0.672)	(0.839)
English spoken at home	-0.220	-0.392	-1.252	0.156	-0.535	0.630
	(0.469)	(0.901)	(0.803)	(0.948)	(0.933)	(1.258)
French spoken at home	-0.077	0.238	-0.882+	0.364	-0.076	0.035
	(0.276)	(0.539)	(0.453)	(0.594)	(0.578)	(0.692)
Agency	3.009***	3.580**		2.976*	1.450	4.552**
	(0.602)	(1.163)		(1.309)	(1.253)	(1.588)
Communality	1.793*	0.476		2.174	3.515*	2.407
	(0.697)	(1.355)		(1.527)	(1.466)	(1.749)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.761	0.482	0.829	0.174	0.425	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.549	2.314	2.413	2.582	2.634	2.821
Num.Obs.	850	178	220	166	187	147
R2 Marg.	0.071	0.087	0.067	0.072	0.100	0.101
Results among girls						
(Intercept)	6.187	-11.514	25.110+	14.368	1.183	28.707
	(8.435)	(14.607)	(14.569)	(15.973)	(13.913)	(24.214)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.022	0.505	0.453	0.297	0.004	0.314
	(0.192)	(0.518)	(0.494)	(0.475)	(0.486)	(0.561)
Age	-0.512	1.587	-3.060	-1.506	0.049	-3.633
	(1.158)	(1.989)	(2.026)	(2.199)	(1.914)	(3.303)
Age squared	0.025	-0.041	0.108	0.059	0.010	0.126
	(0.040)	(0.068)	(0.070)	(0.076)	(0.066)	(0.113)
Race (1 = white)	-0.362	-0.055	-0.424	-0.333	-0.611	0.034
	(0.246)	(0.435)	(0.535)	(0.518)	(0.469)	(0.660)
Immigrant	-0.390	-0.325	-0.528	-1.533+	0.517	-0.220
	(0.354)	(0.628)	(0.777)	(0.835)	(0.667)	(0.876)
English spoken at home	-0.354	-0.567	0.306	-0.849	0.305	0.304
	(0.430)	(0.711)	(0.889)	(0.845)	(0.808)	(1.039)
French spoken at home	0.120	0.213	0.185	-0.262	0.248	0.168
	(0.269)	(0.485)	(0.594)	(0.595)	(0.517)	(0.717)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Agency	-0.386	-0.781	-0.256	0.139	-0.070	0.748
	(0.695)	(1.279)	(1.588)	(1.558)	(1.358)	(1.812)
Communality	1.164	1.856	1.938	1.077	0.115	-0.024
	(0.754)	(1.295)	(1.607)	(1.621)	(1.499)	(2.027)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.769	0.857	0.000	0.674	0.758	0.796
SD (Observations)	2.521	2.172	2.631	2.668	2.416	2.597
Num.Obs.	732	164	144	151	160	113
R2 Marg.	0.026	0.082	0.039	0.046	0.077	0.022

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

Note: Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

4.5.3 Topics Most Often Discussed with Mothers

Table 4.2 shows students' interest in a specific topic depending on it being the topic they most often discuss with their mother(s). For both boys and girls, interest in law and crime is related to their mothers discussing law and crime ($p<0.1$ and $p<0.001$ respectively). If a girl's mother discusses mostly law and crime among the five topics, her interest in law and crime is expected to increase by a large 3.1 points on the 11-point scale. For boys, the expected increase is 1.6 points. For girls, interest in education is also related to their mothers discussing the topic at home ($p<0.01$), but not for boys. If a girl's mother discusses mostly education among the five topics, her interest in this topic is expected to increase by 0.9 points. All other relationships are non-significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 4.2: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's mother

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys						
(Intercept)	7.517	3.188	7.773	18.119	24.785	24.672
	(9.946)	(17.546)	(17.436)	(17.617)	(18.994)	(18.866)
Main topic discussed with mother?	0.059	0.299	1.481*	1.310+	0.301	1.520
	(0.211)	(0.363)	(0.722)	(0.722)	(0.399)	(1.297)
Age	-1.156	-0.567	-1.093	-2.583	-3.688	-3.291

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
	(1.345)	(2.395)	(2.382)	(2.419)	(2.592)	(2.583)
Age squared	0.050	0.031	0.045	0.100	0.139	0.111
	(0.046)	(0.082)	(0.081)	(0.083)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Race (1 = white)	0.388+	0.472	1.246**	-0.027	-0.261	0.207
	(0.218)	(0.420)	(0.439)	(0.451)	(0.468)	(0.506)
Immigrant	-0.570+	-0.169	-1.419*	-0.661	-0.840	-0.787
	(0.313)	(0.599)	(0.629)	(0.647)	(0.667)	(0.712)
English spoken at home	0.227	-0.454	-1.329	0.113	0.970	0.881
	(0.524)	(0.986)	(1.035)	(1.060)	(1.093)	(1.170)
French spoken at home	-0.122	0.047	-1.631**	-0.057	0.265	0.245
	(0.270)	(0.515)	(0.542)	(0.552)	(0.573)	(0.612)
Agency	2.750***	2.860*	3.540**	2.872*	1.477	3.325*
	(0.569)	(1.108)	(1.173)	(1.200)	(1.230)	(1.326)
Communality	2.091***	0.249	4.046**	1.732	3.617**	2.062
	(0.631)	(1.219)	(1.268)	(1.320)	(1.344)	(1.443)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.764	0.876	0.599	0.001	0.692	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.589	2.259	2.424	2.544	2.550	2.811
Num.Obs.	941	188	189	188	188	188
R2 Marg.	0.079	0.081	0.199	0.111	0.123	0.081
Results among girls						
(Intercept)	11.521	-11.420	28.362+	4.925	7.745	42.821**
	(7.923)	(13.409)	(15.184)	(14.939)	(15.046)	(14.364)
Main topic discussed with mother?	0.904***	0.531	1.442*	2.922***	0.717+	3.600
	(0.216)	(0.354)	(0.688)	(0.716)	(0.385)	(2.641)
Age	-1.151	1.820	-3.506+	-0.210	-0.726	-5.449**
	(1.082)	(1.834)	(2.076)	(2.045)	(2.054)	(1.962)
Age squared	0.044	-0.053	0.125+	0.016	0.034	0.182**
	(0.037)	(0.063)	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.067)
Race (1 = white)	-0.355	0.004	-0.174	-0.561	-0.612	-0.456
	(0.234)	(0.427)	(0.479)	(0.490)	(0.467)	(0.480)
Immigrant	-0.452	-0.130	-0.677	-1.981**	0.715	-0.373
	(0.313)	(0.572)	(0.650)	(0.674)	(0.621)	(0.649)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
English spoken at home	-0.627	-0.383	-1.404+	-0.806	-0.090	-0.198
	(0.401)	(0.701)	(0.770)	(0.758)	(0.789)	(0.736)
French spoken at home	-0.113	-0.245	-0.301	-0.627	0.222	0.187
	(0.255)	(0.474)	(0.536)	(0.555)	(0.512)	(0.541)
Agency	0.342	-0.930	1.228	0.519	0.299	1.245
	(0.620)	(1.177)	(1.325)	(1.363)	(1.261)	(1.337)
Communality	0.492	1.310	0.564	0.826	-0.910	0.287
	(0.657)	(1.206)	(1.358)	(1.385)	(1.313)	(1.359)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.627	0.624	0.555	0.210	0.930	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.595	2.224	2.529	2.635	2.370	2.601
Num.Obs.	900	181	179	178	181	181
R2 Marg.	0.034	0.060	0.076	0.146	0.089	0.064

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

Note: Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

4.5.4 Topics Most Often Discussed with Fathers

Table 38 shows students' interest in a specific topic depending on it being the topic they most often discuss with their father(s). Again, for both boys and girls, interest in law and crime is related to their fathers discussing law and crime (p<0.05 and p<0.001 respectively). If a girl's father discusses 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 point. Boys' interest in partisan politics is also related to their fathers discussing the topic at home (p<0.01), but the same result does not apply to girls. If a boy's father discusses mostly partisan politics among the five topics, his interest in this topic is expected to increase by 1.9 points. All other relationships are non-significant at the p<0.05 level.

Table 4.3: Interest in topic most often discussed with one's father

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Results among boys						
(Intercept)	5.353	3.085	0.812	18.145	28.165	33.127+
	(10.025)	(17.260)	(17.961)	(17.816)	(19.195)	(18.514)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Main topic discussed with father?	0.958***	0.199	-0.187	1.204*	0.141	2.652***
	(0.210)	(0.617)	(0.398)	(0.468)	(0.474)	(0.720)
Age	-0.769	-0.505	0.047	-2.622	-4.044	-4.448+
	(1.357)	(2.359)	(2.458)	(2.450)	(2.629)	(2.538)
Age squared	0.035	0.026	0.006	0.098	0.149	0.151+
	(0.046)	(0.081)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.090)	(0.087)
Race (1 = white)	0.371+	0.206	1.258**	0.191	-0.285	0.127
	(0.211)	(0.423)	(0.445)	(0.437)	(0.478)	(0.475)
Immigrant	-0.603+	-0.208	-1.400*	-0.050	-1.107	-0.750
	(0.307)	(0.597)	(0.639)	(0.634)	(0.689)	(0.683)
English spoken at home	0.323	0.307	-1.595	0.551	0.580	0.521
	(0.498)	(0.946)	(1.002)	(0.990)	(1.075)	(1.085)
French spoken at home	-0.005	0.462	-1.495**	0.479	0.075	0.434
	(0.279)	(0.535)	(0.566)	(0.558)	(0.609)	(0.603)
Agency	2.883***	3.122**	2.665*	3.316**	1.562	3.384*
	(0.587)	(1.151)	(1.221)	(1.208)	(1.306)	(1.302)
Communality	1.371*	0.247	3.254*	1.635	3.515*	1.461
	(0.644)	(1.245)	(1.324)	(1.306)	(1.430)	(1.411)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.766	0.678	0.506	0.000	0.546	0.124
SD (Observations)	2.536	2.275	2.451	2.476	2.632	2.664
Num.Obs.	911	182	183	182	182	182
R2 Marg.	0.080	0.068	0.145	0.115	0.094	0.146
Results among girls						
(Intercept)	5.300	1.411	21.839	6.238	-6.377	33.506*
	(7.852)	(12.270)	(14.358)	(13.915)	(14.190)	(14.250)
Main topic discussed with father?	0.684**	0.030	0.332	1.829**	0.381	-0.616
	(0.224)	(0.533)	(0.442)	(0.575)	(0.438)	(0.841)
Age	-0.460	-0.076	-2.678	-0.327	0.855	-4.200*
	(1.075)	(1.681)	(1.972)	(1.909)	(1.943)	(1.954)
Age squared	0.021	0.014	0.096	0.018	-0.018	0.140*
	(0.037)	(0.058)	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.067)	(0.067)
Race (1 = white)	-0.256	0.112	0.240	-0.678	-0.588	-0.502

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
	(0.237)	(0.421)	(0.491)	(0.496)	(0.463)	(0.491)
Immigrant	-0.206	-0.334	-0.647	-1.679*	1.133+	-0.160
	(0.339)	(0.616)	(0.724)	(0.718)	(0.661)	(0.711)
English spoken at home	-0.496	-0.358	-1.313	-1.256	0.639	0.254
	(0.415)	(0.697)	(0.813)	(0.796)	(0.790)	(0.816)
French spoken at home	0.158	0.274	-0.424	-0.299	0.765	0.470
	(0.263)	(0.482)	(0.570)	(0.569)	(0.519)	(0.568)
Agency	0.444	-1.449	0.947	0.502	1.252	0.483
	(0.682)	(1.244)	(1.455)	(1.453)	(1.339)	(1.463)
Communality	1.225+	2.027	1.505	0.275	0.671	1.023
	(0.713)	(1.286)	(1.520)	(1.501)	(1.398)	(1.515)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.748	0.537	0.464	0.000	1.020	0.627
SD (Observations)	2.546	2.186	2.590	2.625	2.293	2.547
Num.Obs.	811	163	161	161	163	163
R2 Marg.	0.030	0.064	0.050	0.108	0.101	0.052

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

Note: Multilevel regression with random effects at the classroom level

Results from Table 36, Table 37 and Table 38 are somewhat intriguing. On the one hand, whichever parent discusses a topic with them has little impact on students' interest in that topic. Moreover, parents' interest in law and crime seems to be transmitted to their children in a consistent way, while interest in health care and international relations seems to have little to do with parents' discussion of these topics at home. It is relevant to note that substantively, daughters seem to be more influenced by their parents' discussion of law and crime than boys: their rating of law and crime increases by 1.6–3.1 points on the 11-point scale, compared with 1–1.7 points for boys.[3]

On the other hand, parental socialization theory partly seems to apply for the transmission of interest in education and partisan politics. Mothers' frequent discussion of — and perhaps higher interest in — education seems to trickle down to their daughters but not their sons, while fathers' discussion of education is unrelated to their children's interest in the topic. The opposite pattern can be observed for partisan politics: fathers' frequent discussion of it — and perhaps higher interest in partisan politics — is associated with their sons' higher interest in the topic, but not their daughters', while mothers' discussion of partisan politics is unrelated

[3]Appendix V reproduces Table 36, Table 37 and Table 38 while adding controls for age, age squared, language, immigrant status and race. The same relationships are found. Mother–daughter international affairs interest transmission also becomes marginally significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

to their children's interest in the topic. Since adult women are generally more interested in education and men in partisan politics, these patterns match with the theory — but nothing similar can be said for international affairs and health care. It may be the case that for these topics other socialization agents have more influence.

[Question to Chris: Should I add predicted probabilities plots in this section?]

[Question to Chris: Would it be relevant for me to add a model where discussion of each issue with parents predicts the child's general political interest (rather than predicting the child's interest in that same issue)?]

Power analysis to make sure father-son and mother-daughter relationships are significant

4.6 Discussion

For parental socialization theory, 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 partisan politics is related to their sons' interest in the topic, while mothers' discussion of education is related to their daughters' interest in the topic. However, other findings show the limitations of this theory, since transmission of interest in health care and international relations does not seem to happen in the family. Moreover, when students are interested in one specific topic, it does not seem that this interest is necessarily related to a parent's gender.

While results are mixed, they highlight the role parents can have on transmitting some forms of interests 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 III reproduce 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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Appendix I: 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)

Appendix II: 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)

Appendix III: 2022 Quebec Datagotchi Post-Election Survey French Questionnaire

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

Attitudes

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

---

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 psy-chologiques 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 |
-
-
-
-
-

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

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) _____

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

Appendix IV: Topic Most Discussed with Parents by Child Gender

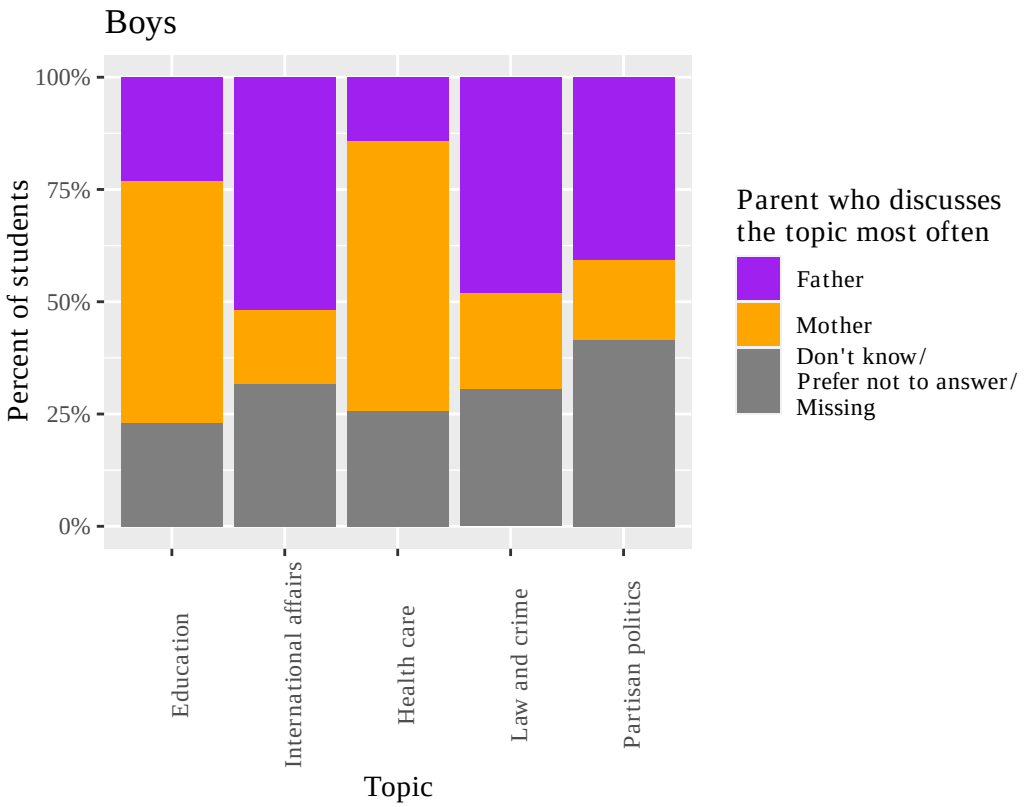

Figure 1: Topic most often discussed with parents, 2023 CCPIS data

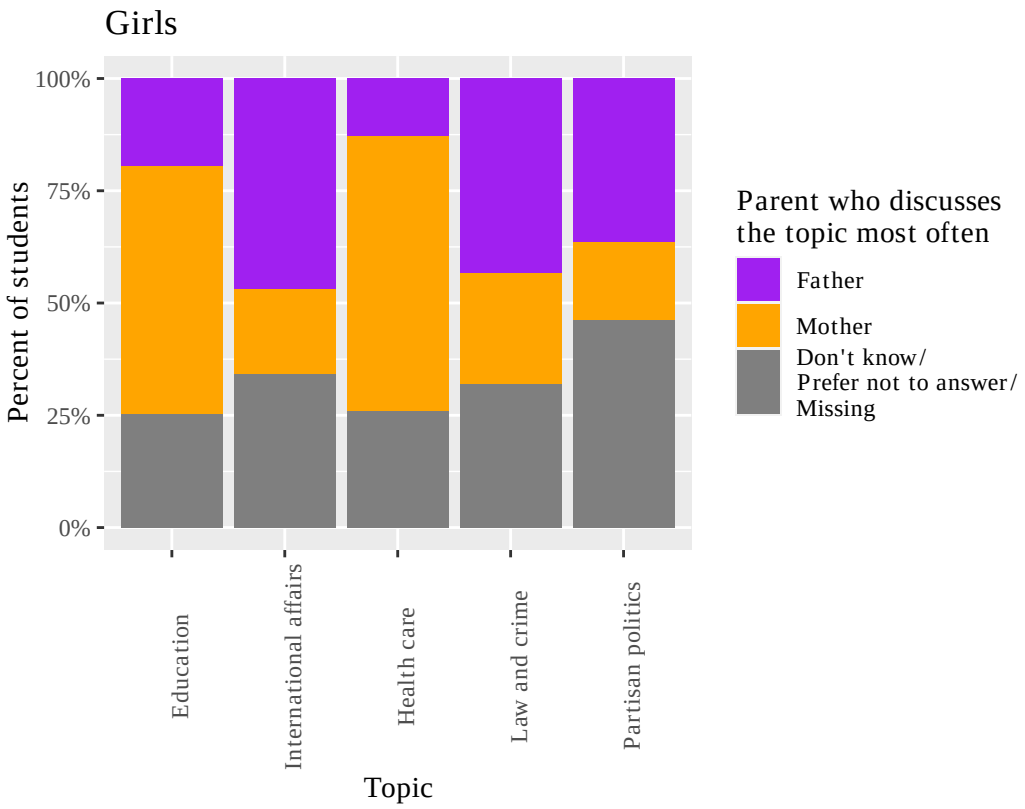

Figure 2: Topic most often discussed with parents, 2023 CCPIS data

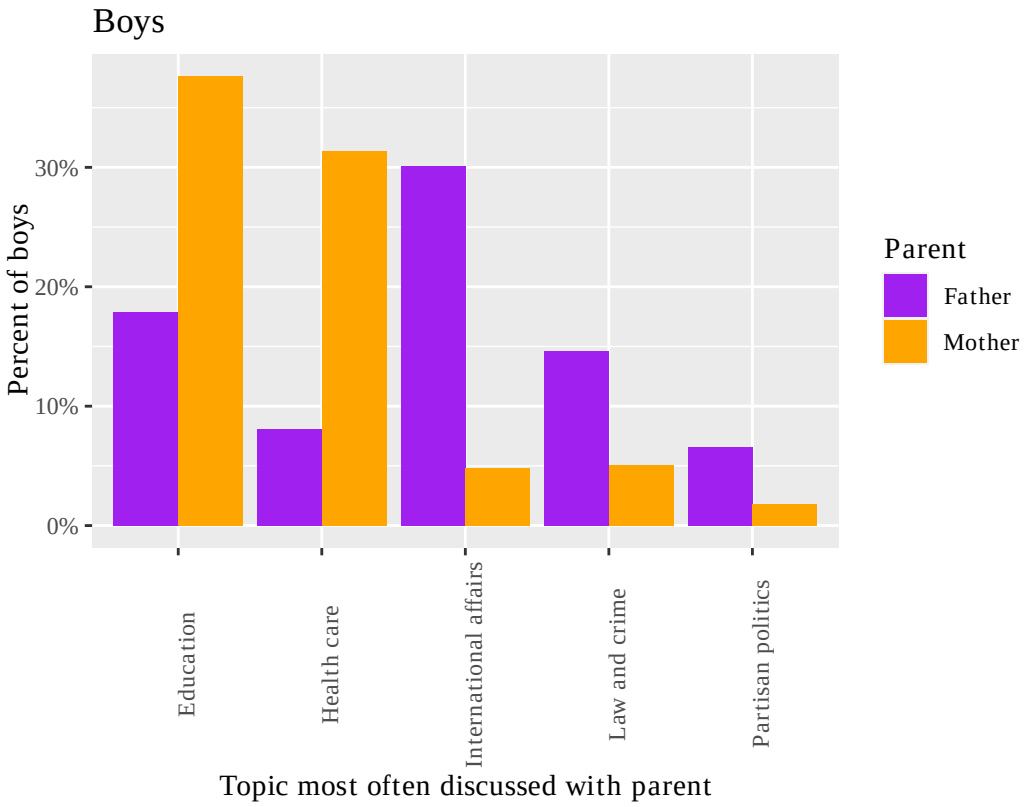

Figure 3: Topic most often discussed with mothers and fathers, 2023 CCPIS data

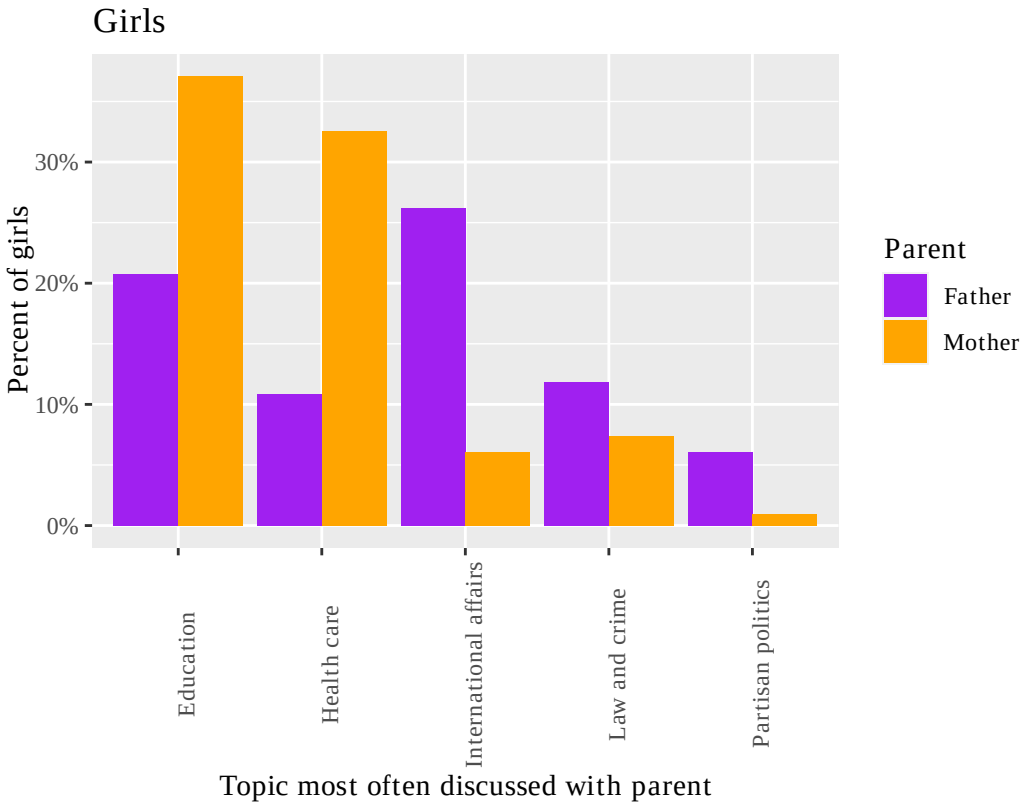

Figure 4: Topic most often discussed with mothers and fathers, 2023 CCPIS data

Appendix V: Political Interest Transmission by Parents (Control Variables Added)

Topics Parents Discuss the Most

Table 36: 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

Topics Most Often Discussed with Mothers

Table 37: 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

Topics Most Often Discussed with Fathers

Table 38: 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

Appendix VI: Political Interest Transmission by Peers (Control Variables Added)

Topics Most Often Discussed with Female Friends

Table 39: 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

Topics Most Often Discussed with Male Friends

Table 40: 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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