# Introduction {.unnumbered}

**Gender Differences in Political Interest: A Theoretical Framework**

Alexandre Fortier-Chouinard

## Table of contents

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, recent studies (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004) 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, such as health care and education. In parallel, studies have found parents and peers play an important role in children's political socialization (Dostie-Goulet 2009; 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 by men and 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.

## Conceptual Definitions

Before digging deeper into concepts such as political interest and political ambition, it is important to define what is understood by *politics*. Politics is a contested concept (Gallie

1956). It has been defined in multiple ways by various authors. For Weber (1919), "[t]he concept is extremely broad and comprises any kind of leadership in action" (p. 1). A more recent and comprehensive definition is provided by Heywood (2007) (p. 34): "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." Other sources have variously described politics as the art of government, as public affairs in general, as the non-violent resolution of disputes, or as power and the distribution of resources (Heywood 2007).

In this dissertation, for the sake of clarity, *politics* is defined according to Heywood's main definition. Politics is therefore not necessarily related with the notion of leadership, and it is more than a partisan game. It includes actions that preserve the policy status quo as well as actions which aim at disrupting it, including contentious politics and interest groups which seek to influence the rules — from the international level to the local level.

Throughout this dissertation, the umbrella term *political engagement* is used to describe forms of commitment to politics through attitudes and actions — 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, intending to vote, voting, or working with interest groups or voluntary associations which seek to influence policy at any level — international, national, provincial, local, school board, and so on. *Political interest*, or being aware of politics and caring about it, is this study's main variable of interest. Unless otherwise specified, it refers to self-reported interest in politics in general — and studies show that women and men tend to think about partisan politics more specifically when they answer survey questions on political interest (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020). This measure therefore has a bias towards *partisan politics*, which is defined as interest in political parties — their leaders, inner workings and the competition between parties that happens in political institutions and on the campaign trail — as opposed to policies and society issues themselves. Only when studies explicitly measure interest in partisan politics, this dissertation uses *interest in partisan politics* instead of *political interest*. *Political ambition* refers to ambition to run for political office (Fox and Lawless 2005). Unless otherwise specified, when *political discussion* and *political efficacy* are mentioned in this dissertation, they also refer to concepts which are likely tilted towards partisan politics.

*Gender* is understood here as "sets of socially constructed meanings of masculinities and femininities, derived from context-specific identifications of sex, that is, male and female, men and women" (Beckwith 2010, 160). While gender is viewed as 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). 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 (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.

While this dissertation focuses on the gender gap in self-reported political interest, different groups of women also differ on political interest. In the Dominican Republic, Spierings (2012) finds that Protestant women report levels of political interest similar to men and higher than Catholic women, while Mestizo women report lower levels of political interest than Indigenous women.

## 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), to participate in demonstrations and political rallies (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010), to donate money to political candidates (conflicting evidence from Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) and Tolley, Besco, and Sevi (2022)), to express high levels of political trust (conflicting evidence from Dassonneville et al. (2012) and Schoon and Cheng (2011)), to win elections when they run for office (Golder et al. 2017; Sevi, Arel-Bundock, and Blais 2019), and to express interest in local politics (Coffé 2013; Hayes and Bean 1993).[1]

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[2] (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

[1] 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.

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

2010; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997); to vote in second-order elections[3] (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 (Fox and Lawless 2004, 2005; Lawless and Fox 2010, 2022; Tolley 2023).

Finally, research suggests women are more politically engaged on 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 2004), to give correct answers to knowledge questions on government services and social issues (Ferrin, Fraile, and García-Albacete 2018; Norris, Lovenduski, and Campbell 2004; Stolle and Gidengil 2010), and to 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, are the ones that matter the most for the daily conduct of politics in the country. The overall influence of women in Canadian politics is therefore limited.

## Consequences from the Point of View of Democratic Theory

Many 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.

### 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 politics (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Ferrin et al. 2020). Still, per Heywood (2007)'s definition, partisan politics is only one way in 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

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

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,[4] since partisan politics is only the means through which relevant issues are 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). It therefore 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).

### Running for Elected Political Office

Studies find men have more political ambition than women. For instance, there are twice as many men than women who seek to be nominated as candidates in Canadian elections (Tolley 2023). This might be due to the fact that women "are more than twice as likely as men to consider themselves 'not at all qualified' to run for office (29% of women, compared to 14% of men) [and] are roughly 22% less likely than men to report parental encouragement" (Fox and Lawless 2005, 654). 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,[5] 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. At the time of writing, while the Canadian federal cabinet is gender-balanced, nine out of ten provincial premiers and most of their ministers are men. Ten years earlier, Tolley (2011) also found that women represented less than 25% of Canadian legislators at the federal, provincial and municipal levels, and only 15% of mayors.

Women's lower level of political ambition is not the only factor contributing to their legislative under-representation. 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. Still, women are not discriminated against at the polls by Canadian voters (Sevi, Arel-Bundock, and Blais 2019) and are *more* likely than men to win elections at the municipal level when they run (Lucas et al. 2021). An international study also finds voters discriminate against *men*

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

[5]Studies have also found that highly visible politicians are covered more negatively by the media (Fernandez-Garcia 2016), 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). These factors could also help to explain women's lower political ambition and representation.

candidates by 2 percentage points (Schwarz and Coppock 2022). Moreover, Canadian elites discriminate against men when it comes to providing advice to political aspirants (Dhima 2022).

## 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 overall levels of self-reported political interest. This includes structural, institutional, and individual factors. The conclusion is that no convincing unified theory has been proposed thus far to account for the emergence of this gap.

### Structural Factors

#### Women's Political Under-Representation

Women politicians' relative absence in politics might explain part of the gender gap in political interest. Mayer and Schmidt (2004) and Bos et al. (2022) 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 due to the fact that citizens in these four countries, like almost all countries in the world, are represented by a majority of men legislators (Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline 2023). Bühlmann and Schädel (2012)'s study of 33 European countries finds political interest is higher among men than women in all countries, but this gap is smaller in those 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.[6] Still, predicted probabilities show that women would be significantly less interested in politics even in a country whose parliament has reached gender parity.

#### Society Values and Culture

Broad cultural differences between countries and through time also 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

[6]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.

also play a role in shaping countries' 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.

### Institutional Factors

#### Political Institutions

Electoral systems could also have an influence on 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.

### Individual Factors

#### Life-cycle events

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

#### 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 with 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).

### Employment

Second, labour force participation could have a different impact on political interest for women compared with men, as was commonly hypothesized when women started to enter the labour force (Bashevkin 1993). Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1999) explains 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.

## Biology

### 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% Weinschenk et al. (2019), 57% (Klemmensen et al. 2012, Denmark), and 62% (Bell, Schermer, and Vernon 2009, Canada and the United States).

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, the implication of these numbers is that 38 to 76% of the variability in political interest within these populations likely comes from environmental factors. A recent study also finds that "family socialization can compensate for (genetic) individual differences and foster increased political engagement," including political interest (Rasmussen et al. 2021, 1).

### Socialization

While life-cycle events do not seem to have an effect on gender differences in political interest, some individual factors instead focus on socialization and, as biological studies themselves admit, find promising results. 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).

### Partisan political interest and interest in other political topics

First, women might simply be interested in those aspects of politics that are not viewed as "typical" politics. 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). While Alozie, Simon, and Merrill (2003) decide to use a broader 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 without relying on a measure as broad as the one used by Alozie, Simon, and Merrill (2003). 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 2004; 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.[7] This therefore leads women to report lower levels of political interest overall.

### Gender and personality traits

Second, gender might affect some personality traits that are relevant for 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. Women MPs have also been found to be less likely to resort to adversarial language in the United Kingdom (Shaw 2002). These differences seem to be politically relevant, since a recent British study by R. Campbell and Winters (2008) shows that men's higher *partisan 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. Some studies have also shown that men are more likely to engage in verbal aggressiveness during debates, while women tend to believe that arguing is hostile and combative. Beliefs about gender differences in agency and communality also lead people to think men are better than women in negotiating, something that is then internalized by women which behave according to gender-based expectations, according to a United States study and a literature review (Kray, Thompson, and Galinsky 2001; Schneider 2017).

[7] This mental association might be culture-specific to some degree. Conceptions of politics cannot be based on partisan politics in other situations such as Northwest Territories' and Nunavut's non-partisan legislative assemblies, but also in authoritarian one-party regimes.

## Alternative Explanations: Towards a Unified Socialization Theory of Gender Differences in Political Interest

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. Interest in *partisan politics* stemming from men being more assertive and less communal than women seems to explain the endurance of gender differences in interest in various political topics through life. The findings of Rancer and Dierks-Stewart (1985) suggest agency and communality develop as a result of socialization, but two other theories rooted in *political* socialization could also be mobilized to explain the relationship between gender and political interest: *gender homophily theory* and *parental socialization theory*. Both theories point to a broad influence of same-gender role models in socialization.

### Gender Homophily Theory

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

### Parental Socialization Theory

*Parental socialization theory* suggests that parents transmit political interest to their children and that this process is gendered, as political interest is more strongly correlated between mothers[8] and daughters and between fathers and boys than any other combination (Beauregard 2008; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Owen and Dennis 1988).

[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.

## Transmission of Political Interest through Childhood Socialization

Children's political interest has been found to be influenced by four main agents of socialization: parents, peers, media, and schools. Before making formal hypotheses about their gendered effects, this dissertation assesses their role in transmitting political interest to children.

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

### Parents

### Peers

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.

### 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.

### 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 have an effect on youth political interest. The quantity of class group projects and membership in 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 increases 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 slight 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).[9]

### Summary

Overall, studies generally find parents, peers, media and schools play an important role in the transmission of political interest. Mothers and fathers, despite speaking to their children about politics as much regardless of gender, have different influences on them that also vary based on children's gender. However, studies have not tested whether peers, teachers or media personalities also have a stronger influence on political interest when they share the child's gender. For peers, gender homophily theory provides a strong reason to believe this would also be the case. Also, most of these findings imply definitions of politics that implicitly emphasize partisan politics over other aspects, but without formally hinting at it. Deconstructing by topic parents and peers' influence on political interest therefore seems relevant.

## Hypotheses

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 agency vs. communality contribute to women's interest in health care and men's interest in partisan politics,[10] a broader application of socialization theory that includes parents and peers would provide a more comprehensive understanding of who influences girls and boys in how much interest they have in varied aspects of politics. Gender homophily and parental socialization both suggest that children are influenced by same-gender models, but these theories need to be further specified. Parental socialization

[9] Among adults, Karpowitz and Mendelberg (2014) and Beauvais (2020) also show that women 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.

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

predicts a parent's political interest influences political interest more strongly for their same-gender children than other-gender children, but it is not clear if this applies to interest in political topics other than partisan politics. 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 emphasizes agency/communality leading to interest in different political topics, and the other suggests the transmission of political interest by same-gender 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 models have the same impact on interest transmission for each political topic.

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

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

According to Hypothesis 1, on average, a mother will have more transmission potential of her interest in specific political topics to her daughters than sons through political discussion, for example. This reinforces gender gaps in interest in individual political topics. Hypothesis 2 uses the same logic for same-gender peers. Hypotheses 1 and 2 are summarized in Figure 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 and peers.*

Research conducted so far has spent little time analyzing the gendered effects of citizenship education programs. Studies generally find positive effects of such programs on political interest (Dassonneville et al. 2012; Mahéo 2019; Neundorf, Niemi, and Smets 2016), but whether the effects are different for boys and girls is unknown. Another underlying question is left unanswered: can citizenship education programs increase all kinds of political interest, or only interest in some political topics? Does the answer to that question largely depend on program characteristics?

***Hypothesis 3****: Citizenship education programs increase political interest more strongly for girls than boys across all political topics.*

## Chapters

2. Data and Methods

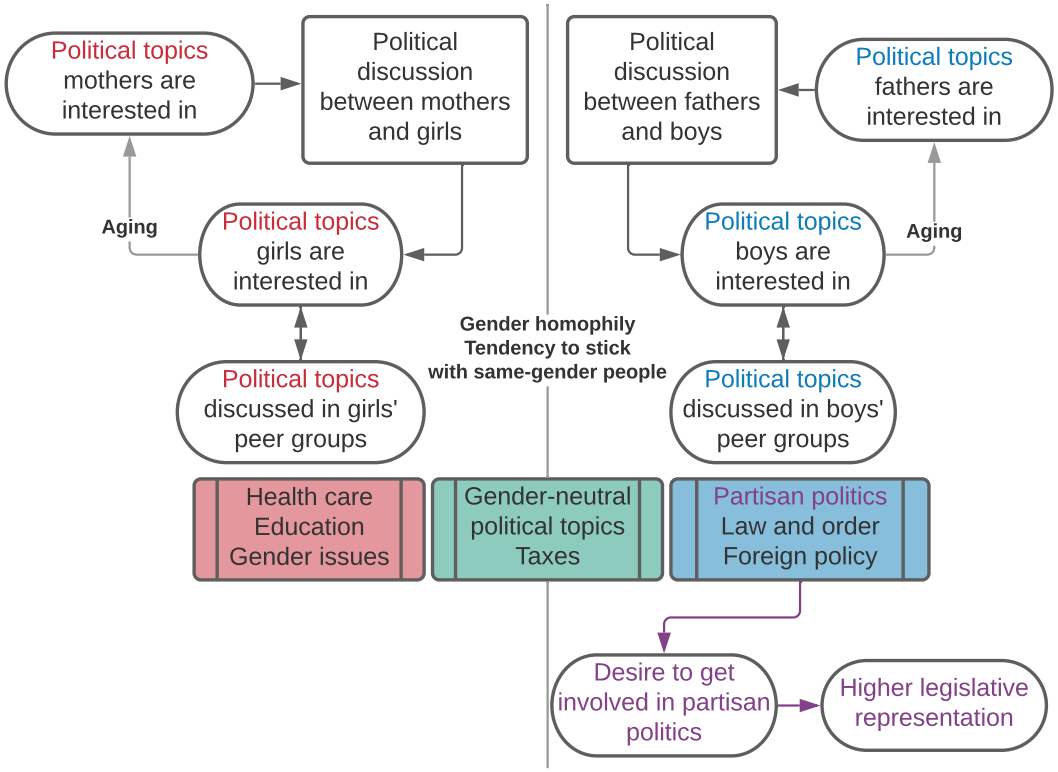


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

3. Gender and Political Interest Development: Canadian Trends from Childhood to Adulthood
4. Parent–Child Political Interest Transmission: Do Moms Influence their Daughters and Dads Influence their Sons?
5. Homophily and Political Interest: How Do Peer Groups Create Gendered Political Interests?
6. Teachers, Influencers and Political Interest: School and Social Media as Other Venues of Acquisition
7. Conclusion

## References


Alozie, Nicholas O., James Simon, and Bruce D. Merrill. 2003. "Gender and Political Orientation in Childhood." *The Social Science Journal* 40 (1): 1–18.

Althof, Wolfgang, and Marvin W. Berkowitz. 2006. "Moral Education and Character Education: Their Relationship and Roles in Citizenship Education." *Journal of Moral Education* 35 (4): 495–518.

Arceneaux, Kevin, Martine Johnson, and Hermine H. Maes. 2012. "The Genetic Basis of Political Sophistication." *Twin Research and Human Genetics* 15 (1): 34–41.

Ashe, Jeanette, and Kennedy Stewart. 2012. "Legislative Recruitment: Using Diagnostic Testing to Explain Underrepresentation." *Party Politics* 18 (5): 687–707.

Atkeson, Lonna Rae, and Ronald B. Rapoport. 2003. "The More Things Change the More they Stay the Same: Examining Gender Differences in Political Attitude Expression, 1952–2000." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (4): 495–521.

Bashevkin, Sylvia. 1993. *Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada*. Oxford University Press.

Beauregard, Katrine. 2008. "L'intérêt politique chez les adolescents selon les sexes." Université de Montréal.

———. 2014. "Gender, Political Participation and Electoral Systems: A Cross-National Analysis." *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (3): 617–34.

Beauvais, Edana. 2020. "The Gender Gap in Political Discussion Group Attendance." *Politics & Gender* 16 (2): 315–38.

Beckwith, Karen. 2010. "A Comparative Politics of Gender Symposium Introduction: Comparative Politics and the Logics of a Comparative Politics of Gender." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 159–68.

Bell, Edward, Julie Aitken Schermer, and Philip A Vernon. 2009. "The Origins of Political Attitudes and Behaviours: An Analysis Using Twins." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 42 (4): 855–79.

Bennett, Linda L. M., and Stephen Earl Bennett. 1989. "Enduring Gender Differences in Political Interest: The Impact of Socialization and Political Dispositions." *American Politics Quarterly* 17 (1): 105–22.

Bhatti, Yosef, Kasper M. Hansen, Elin Naurin, Dietlind Stolle, and Hanna Wass. 2019. "Can you Deliver a Baby and Vote? The Effect of the First Stages of Parenthood on Voter Turnout." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 29 (1): 61–81.

Blankenship, Glen. 1990. "Classroom Climate, Global Knowledge, Global Attitudes, Political Attitudes." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 18 (4): 363–86.

Bos, Angela L., Jill S. Greenlee, Mirya R. Holman, Zoe M. Oxley, and J. Celeste Lay. 2022. "This One's for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialization Limits Girls' Political Ambition and Interest." *American Political Science Review* 116 (2): 484–501.

Bourque, Susan C., and Jean Grossholtz. 1974. "Politics an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female Participation." *Politics & Society* 4 (2): 225–66.

Bühlmann, Marc, and Lisa Schädel. 2012. "Representation Matters: The Impact of Descriptive Women's Representation on the Political Involvement of Women." *Representation* 48 (1): 101–14.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action*. Harvard University Press.

Campbell, David E. 2007. "Sticking Together: Classroom Diversity and Civic Education." *American Politics Research* 35 (1): 57–78.

Campbell, Rosie, and Kristi Winters. 2008. "Understanding Men's and Women's Political Interests: Evidence from a Study of Gendered Political Attitudes." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 18 (1): 53–74.

Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, and Esther Duflo. 2004. "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment in India." *Econometrica* 72 (5): 1409–43.

Cicognani, Elvira, Bruna Zani, Bernard Fournier, Claire Gavray, and Michel Born. 2012. "Gender Differences in Youths' Political Engagement and Participation. The Role of Parents and of Adolescents' Social and Civic Participation." *Journal of Adolescence* 35 (3): 561–76.

Coffé, Hilde. 2013. "Women Stay Local, Men Go National and Global? Gender Differences in Political Interest." *Sex Roles* 69 (5-6): 323–38.

Coffé, Hilde, and Catherine Bolzendahl. 2010. "Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation." *Sex Roles* 62 (5-6): 318–33.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2017. "The Difference that Power Makes: Intersectionality and Participatory Democracy." *Investigaciones Feministas* 8 (1): 19–39.

Dassonneville, Ruth, and Filip Kostelka. 2021. "The Cultural Sources of the Gender Gap in Voter Turnout." *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (3): 1040–61.

Dassonneville, Ruth, Ellen Quintelier, Marc Hooghe, and Ellen Claes. 2012. "The Relation Between Civic Education and Political Attitudes and Behavior: A Two-Year Panel Study Among Belgian Late Adolescents." *Applied Developmental Science* 16 (3): 140–50.

Dawes, Christopher, David Cesarini, James H. Fowler, Magnus Johannesson, Patrik K. E. Magnusson, and Sven Oskarsson. 2014. "The Relationship Between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 888–

903.

Dhima, Kostanca. 2022. "Do Elites Discriminate against Female Political Aspirants? Evidence from a Field Experiment." *Politics & Gender* 18 (1): 126–57.

Dolan, Kathleen. 2011. "Do Women and Men Know Different Things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge." *The Journal of Politics* 73 (1): 97–107.

Donato, Katharine M., Chizuko Wakabayashi, Shirin Hakimzadeh, and Amada Armenta. 2008. "Shifts in the Employment Conditions of Mexican Migrant Men and Women: The Effect of US Immigration Policy." *Work and Occupations* 35 (4): 462–95.

Dostie-Goulet, Eugénie. 2009. "Social Networks and the Development of Political Interest." *Journal of Youth Studies* 12 (4): 405–21.

Easton, Rob. 2022. "'Historic' Census Data Sheds Light on Number of Trans and Non-Binary People for First Time." *CBC*, July. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/census-data-trans-non-binary-statscan-1.6431928.

Fernandez-Garcia, Núria. 2016. "Framing Gender and Women Politicians Representation: Print Media Coverage of Spanish Women Ministers." In *Gender in Focus: (New) Trends in Media*, edited by Carl Cerqueira, Rosa Cabecinhas, and Sara Isabel Magalhaes, 141–60. CECS-Publicações/eBooks.

Ferrin, Monica, Marta Fraile, and Gema García-Albacete. 2018. "Is It Simply Gender?: Content, Format, and Time in Political Knowledge Measures." *Politics & Gender* 14: 162–85.

Ferrin, Monica, Marta Fraile, Gema M. Garcıa-Albacete, and Raul Gomez. 2020. "The Gender Gap in Political Interest Revisited." *International Political Science Review* 41 (4): 473–89.

Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. "Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 264–80.

———. 2005. "To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 642–59.

Fraile, Marta. 2014. "Do Women Know Less About Politics than Men? The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge in Europe." *Social Politics* 21 (2): 261–89.

Fraile, Marta, and Raul Gomez. 2017. "Bridging the Enduring Gender Gap in Political Interest in Europe: The Relevance of Promoting Gender Equality." *European Journal of Political Research* 56 (3): 601–18.

Fraile, Marta, and Irene Sánchez-Vítores. 2020. "Tracing the Gender Gap in Political Interest over the Life Span: A Panel Analysis." *Political Psychology* 41 (1): 89–106.

Gallie, Walter Bryce. 1956. "Essentially Contested Concepts." In *The Importance of Language*, 167–98. Cornell University Press.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Janine Giles, and Melanee Thomas. 2008. "The Gender Gap in Self-Perceived Understanding of Politics in Canada and the United States." *Politics & Gender* 4 (4): 535–61.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Matthew Hennigar, André Blais, and Neil Nevitte. 2005. "Explaining the Gender Gap in Support for the New Right: The Case of Canada." *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (10): 1171–95.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Brenda O'Neill, and Lisa Young. 2010. "Her Mother's Daughter? The In-

fluence of Childhood Socialization on Women's Political Engagement." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 31 (4): 334–55.

Golder, Sona N., Laura B. Stephenson, Karine van der Straeten, André Blais, Damien Bol, Philipp Harfst, and Jean-François Laslier. 2017. "Votes for Women: Electoral Systems and Support for Female Candidates." *Politics & Gender* 13 (1): 107–31.

Hatemi, Peter K., Rose McDermott, J. Michael Bailey, and Nicholas G. Martin. 2012. "The Different Effects of Gender and Sex on Vote Choice." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (1): 76–92.

Hayes, Bernadette C., and Clive S. Bean. 1993. "Gender and Local Political Interest: Some International Comparisons." *Political Studies* 41 (4): 672–82.

Heywood, Andrew. 2007. *Politics. Fifth Edition.* Red Globe Press.

Holt, Kristoffer, Adam Shehata, Jesper Strömbäck, and Elisabet Ljungberg. 2013. "Age and the Effects of News Media Attention and Social Media use on Political Interest and Participation: Do Social Media Function as Leveller?" *European Journal of Communication* 28 (1): 19–34.

Hooghe, Marc. 2022. "Political Socialization." In *Handbook on Politics and Public Opinion*, edited by Thomas Rudolph, 99–110. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1995. "Gender Effects on Political Discussion: The Political Networks of Men and Women." In *Citizens, Politics and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign.* Cambridge University Press.

Infante, Dominic A., and Andrew S. Rancer. 1996. "Argumentativeness and Verbal Aggressiveness: A Review of Recent Theory and Research." *Annals of the International Communication Association* 19 (1): 319–52.

Inglehart, Margaret L. 1981. "Political Interest in West European Women: An Historical and Empirical Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 14 (3): 299–326.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World.* Cambridge University Press.

Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline. 2023. "Monthly Ranking of Women in National Parliaments." https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=4&year=2023.

Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi. 1981. *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and their Parents.* Princeton University Press.

Karpowitz, Christopher F., and Tali Mendelberg. 2014. *The Silent Sex.* Princeton University Press.

Kay, Barry J., Ronald D. Lambert, Steven D. Brown, and James E. Curtis. 1987. "Gender and Political Activity in Canada, 1965–1984." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 20 (4): 851–63.

Kittilson, Miki Caul, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. 2010. "Engaging Citizens: The Role of Power-Sharing Institutions." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 990–1002.

Klemmensen, Robert, Peter K. Hatemi, Sara B. Hobolt, Axel Skytthe, and Asbjørn S. Nørgaard. 2012. "Heritability in Political Interest and Efficacy Across Cultures: Denmark and the United States." *Twin Research and Human Genetics* 15 (1): 15–20.

Klofstad, Casey A. 2007. "Talk Leads to Recruitment: How Discussions about Politics and Current Events Increase Civic Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 60 (2): 180–

91.

Kostelka, Filip, André Blais, and Elisabeth Gidengil. 2019. "Has the Gender Gap in Voter Turnout Really Disappeared?" *West European Politics* 42 (3): 437–63.

Kray, Laura J., Leigh Thompson, and Adam Galinsky. 2001. "Battle of the Sexes: Gender Stereotype Confirmation and Reactance in Negotiations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80 (6): 942–58.

Kuhn, Hans Peter. 2004. "Gender Differences in Political Interest Among Adolescents from Brandenburg." In *Democratic Development?: East German, Israeli and Palestinian Adolescents*, edited by Hilke Rebenstorf. Springer Science & Business Media.

Landemore, Hélène. 2013. *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of the Many*. Princeton University Press.

Langton, Kenneth P., and M. Kent Jennings. 1968. "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 62 (3): 852–67.

Laniado, David, Yana Volkovich, Karolin Kappler, and Andreas Kaltenbrunner. 2016. "Gender Homophily in Online Dyadic and Triadic Relationships." *EPJ Data Science* 5 (19): 1–23.

Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge University Press.

———. 2022. "It Takes More than a Candidate: The Invincible Gender Gap in Political Ambition."

Livingstone, Sonia, Magdalena Bober, and Ellen J. Helsper. 2005. "Active Participation or Just More Information? Young People's Take-Up of Opportunities to Act and Interact on the Internet." *Information, Community & Society* 8 (3): 287–314.

Lucas, Jack, Reed Merrill, Kelly Blidook, Sandra Breux, Laura Conrad, Gabriel Eidelman, Royce Koop, Daniella Marciano, Zack Taylor, and Salomé Vallette. 2021. "Women's Municipal Electoral Performance: An Introduction to the Canadian Municipal Elections Database." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 54 (1): 125–33.

Lupia, Arthur, and Tasha S. Philpot. 2005. "Views from Inside the Net: How Websites Affect Young Adults' Political Interest." *The Journal of Politics* 67 (4): 1122–42.

Mahéo, Valérie-Anne. 2019. "Get-Out-The-Children's-Vote: A Field Experiment On Families' Mobilization and Participation in the Election."

Mahony, Pat. 1985. *Schools for the Boys?: Co-Education Reassessed*. London: Hutchinson Publishing Group.

Matsuno, Emmie, and Stephanie L. Budge. 2017. "Non-Binary/Genderqueer Identities: A Critical Review of the Literature." *Current Sexual Health Reports* 9 (3): 116–20.

Maurissen, Lies, Ellen Claes, and Carolyn Barber. 2018. "Deliberation in Citizenship Education: How the School Context Contributes to the Development of an Open Classroom Climate." *Social Psychology of Education* 21 (4): 951–72.

Mayer, Jeremy D., and Heather M. Schmidt. 2004. "Gendered Political Socialization in Four Contexts: Political Interest and Values Among Junior High School Students in China, Japan, Mexico, and the United States." *The Social Science Journal* 41 (3): 393–407.

McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (1): 415–44.

Mercier, Hugo, and Hélène Landemore. 2012. "Reasoning is for Arguing: Understanding the Successes and Failures of Deliberation." *Political Psychology* 33 (2): 243–58.

Neundorf, Anja, Richard G. Niemi, and Kaat Smets. 2016. "The Compensation Effect of Civic Education on Political Engagement: How Civics Classes Make Up for Missing Parental Socialization." *Political Behavior* 38 (4): 921–49.

Neundorf, Anja, Kaat Smets, and Gema M. Garcia-Albacete. 2013. "Homemade Citizens: The Development of Political Interest During Adolescence and Young Adulthood." *Acta Politica* 48 (1): 92–116.

Norris, Pippa, Joni Lovenduski, and Rosie Campbell. 2004. "Gender and Political Participation." London: The Electoral Commission.

O'Neill, Brenda, Elisabeth Gidengil, Melanee Thomas, and Amanda Bittner. 2017. "Motherhood's Role in Shaping Political and Civic Participation." In *Mothers and Others. The Role of Parenthood in Politics*, edited by Melanee Thomas and Amanda Bittner, 268–87. UBS Press Vanconver.

Ondercin, Heather L., and Daniel Jones-White. 2011. "Gender Jeopardy: What is the Impact of Gender Differences in Political Knowledge on Political Participation?" *Social Science Quarterly* 92 (3): 675–94.

Owen, Diana, and Jack Dennis. 1988. "Gender Differences in the Politicization of American Children." *Women & Politics* 8 (2): 23–43.

Pattie, Charles J., and Ronald J. Johnston. 2009. "Conversation, Disagreement and Political Participation." *Political Behavior* 31 (2): 261–85.

Phillips, Anne. 1992. "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?" *Political Studies* 40: 68–82.

Prior, Markus. 2010. "You've Either Got It or you Don't? The Stability of Political Interest over the Life Cycle." *The Journal of Politics* 72 (3): 747–66.

———. 2019. *Hooked: How Politics Captures People's Interest.* Cambridge University Press.

Rancer, Andrew S., and Kathi J. Dierks-Stewart. 1985. "The Influence of Sex and Sex-Role Orientation on Trait Argumentativeness." *Journal of Personality Assessment* 49 (1): 69–70.

Rasmussen, Stig Hebbelstrup Rye, Aaron Weinschenk, Chris Dawes, Jacob vB Hjelmborg, and Robert Klemmensen. 2021. "Parental Transmission and the Importance of the (Non-Causal) Effects of Education on Political Engagement: Missing the Forest for the Trees." PsyArXiv.

Rayment, Erica Jane. 2020. "Women in the House: The Impact of Elected Women on Parliamentary Debate and Policymaking in Canada." PhD thesis, University of Toronto (Canada).

Rheault, Ludovic, Erica Rayment, and Andreea Musulan. 2019. "Politicians in the Line of Fire: Incivility and the Treatment of Women on Social Media." *Research & Politics* 6 (1): 1–7.

Rosenthal, Cindy Simon, Jocelyn Jones, and James A Rosenthal. 2003. "Gendered Discourse in the Political Behavior of Adolescents." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (1): 97–104.

Sabella, Bernard. 2004. "Gender Differences in Political Interest Among Palestinian Youngsters in the West Bank." In *Democratic Development?: East German, Israeli and Palestinian Adolescents*, edited by Hilke Rebenstorf. Springer Science & Business Media.

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba. 1999. ""What Happened at Work Today?": A Multistage Model of Gender, Employment, and Political Participation." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (1): 29–53.

Schneider, Andrea Kupfer. 2017. "Negotiating While Female." *SMU Law Review* 70 (3): 695–719.

Schoon, Ingrid, and Helen Cheng. 2011. "Determinants of Political Trust: A Lifetime Learning Model." *Developmental Psychology* 47 (3): 619–31.

Schwarz, Susanne, and Alexander Coppock. 2022. "What Have We Learned about Gender from Candidate Choice Experiments? A Meta-Analysis of Sixty-Seven Factorial Survey Experiments." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (2): 655–68.

Sevi, Semra, Vincent Arel-Bundock, and André Blais. 2019. "Do Women Get Fewer Votes? No." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 52 (1): 201–10.

Shaw, Sylvia. 2002. "Language and Eender in Political Debates in the House of Commons." PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

Shehata, Adam, and Erik Amnå. 2019. "The Development of Political Interest Among Adolescents: A Communication Mediation Approach using Five Waves of Panel Data." *Communication Research* 46 (8): 1055–77.

Shrum, Wesley, Neil H. Cheek Jr., and Saundra MacD. 1988. "Friendship in School: Gender and Racial Homophily." *Sociology of Education* 61 (4): 227–39.

Spierings, Niels. 2012. "The Inclusion of Quantitative Techniques and Diversity in the Mainstream of Feminist Research." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19 (3): 331–47.

Stehlé, Juliette, François Charbonnier, Tristan Picard, Ciro Cattuto, and Alain Barrat. 2013. "Gender Homophily from Spatial Behavior in a Primary School: A Sociometric Study." *Social Networks* 35 (4): 604–13.

Stolle, Dietlind, and Elisabeth Gidengil. 2010. "What Do Women Really Know? A Gendered Analysis of Varieties of Political Knowledge." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (1): 93–109.

Stolle, Dietlind, and Marc Hooghe. 2011. "Shifting Inequalities: Patterns of Exclusion and Inclusion in Emerging Forms of Political Participation." *European Societies* 13 (1): 119–42.

Thelwall, Mike. 2009. "Homophily in MySpace." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 60 (2): 219–31.

Themistokleous, Sotiris, and Lucy Avraamidou. 2016. "The Role of Online Games in Promoting Young Adults' Civic Engagement." *Educational Media International* 53 (1): 53–67.

Thomas, Melanee. 2013. "Barriers to Women's Political Participation in Canada." *University of New Brunswick Law Journal* 64 (1): 218–33.

Thomas, Melanee, and Marc André Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32 (1): 153–66.

Tolley, Erin. 2011. "Do Women "Do Better" in Municipal Politics? Electoral Representation Across Three Levels of Government." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue*

*Canadienne de Science Politique* 44 (3): 573–94.

———. 2023. "Gender Is Not a Proxy: Race and Intersectionality in Legislative Recruitment." *Politics & Gender* 19 (2): 373–400.

Tolley, Erin, Randy Besco, and Semra Sevi. 2022. "Who Controls the Purse Strings? A Longitudinal Study of Gender and Donations in Canadian Politics." *Politics & Gender* 18 (1): 244–72.

Tsai, Meng-Jung, and Chin-Chung Tsai. 2010. "Junior High School Students' Internet Usage and Self-Efficacy: A Re-Examination of the Gender Gap." *Computers & Education* 54 (4): 1182–92.

Verba, Sidney, Nancy Burns, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1997. "Knowing and Caring About Politics: Gender and Political Engagement." *The Journal of Politics* 59 (4): 1051–72.

Weber, Max. 1919. *Politics as a Vocation*. Munich: Duncker & Humblot.

Weinschenk, Aaron C., and Christopher T. Dawes. 2017. "The Relationship Between Genes, Personality Traits, and Political Interest." *Political Research Quarterly* 70 (3): 467–79.

Weinschenk, Aaron C., Christopher T. Dawes, Christian Kandler, Edward Bell, and Rainer Riemann. 2019. "New Evidence on the Link Between Genes, Psychological Traits, and Political Engagement." *Politics and the Life Sciences* 38 (1): 1–13.

Willoughby, Teena. 2008. "A Short-Term Longitudinal Study of Internet and Computer Game Use by Adolescent Boys and Girls: Prevalence, Frequency of Use, and Psychosocial Predictors." *Developmental Psychology* 44 (1): 195–204.