The Roots of Political Interests

How Gender Still Shapes Childhood Socialization

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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Context: A Gender Gap in Political Interest?

Conceptual Definitions

- **Politics**: "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" (Heywood 2019, 34)

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- Links between the 3 concepts

Gender: "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)

- These socially constructed meanings revolve around communion for women & agency for men

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- They typically associate politics with partisan politics & (to a lesser extent) foreign policy

How do people conceptualize political interest?

- They typically associate politics with partisan politics & (to a lesser extent) foreign policy
- But they often do not associate politics with health care politics or education politics

Why Do Different Definitions of Politics Matter?

Table 1. Men's and women's interest in politics and political issues

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cohort	Interest	Education	NHS	Foreign policy	Partisan politics	Law and order
18–24	–0.294***		0.372***	–0.423***	–0.300**	–0.306**
25–34	–0.522***		0.284***	–0.413***	–0.370***	
35–44	–0.480***	0.407***	0.403***	–0.387***	–0.364***	
45–54	–0.400***			–0.373***		
55–64	–0.321***		0.182*	–0.305***	–0.174**	
65+	–0.273**			–0.329**		
All	–0.391***	0.147***	0.243***	–0.359***	–0.240***	–0.075*

*** p = >.001; ** p = >.01; * p = >.05. Weighted data: *N for each age cohort*: 18–24 year olds – 236; 25–34 year olds – 500; 35–44 year olds – 433; 45–54 year olds – 341; 55–64 year olds – 1003; 65 and over – 367; All – 2,887.

Figure 1: Political interests by gender (R. Campbell and Winters 2008)

- Agentic vs. communal topics

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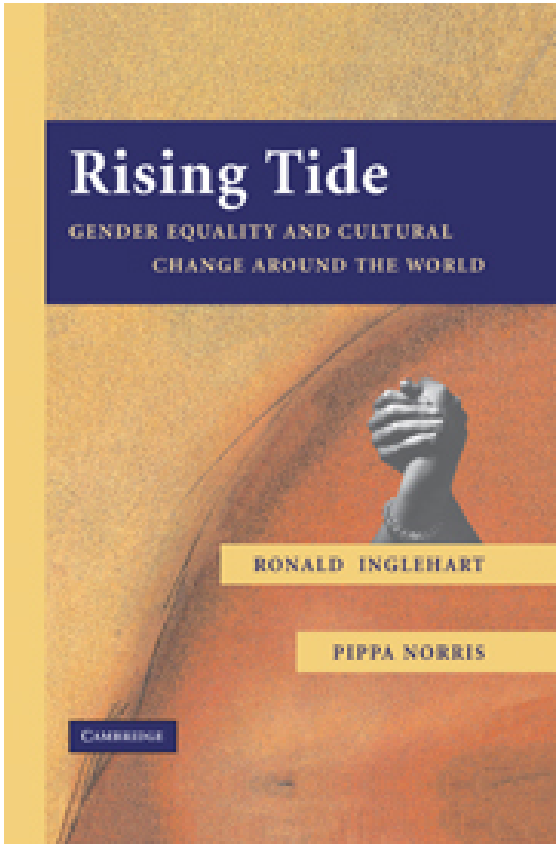
- Agentic vs. communal topics
- Also: Ferrin et al. (2020); Ferrín and García-Albacete (2023); Keeling (2023); Kuhn (2004); Sabella (2004); Tormos and Verge (2022) — but no Canadian studies

Sources of the Gender Gap in Self-Reported Political Interest



Structural factors (Inglehart and Norris 2003)

Politics & Gender, 4 (2008), 535–561. Printed in the U.S.A.

The Gender Gap in Self-Perceived Understanding of Politics in Canada and the United States

Elisabeth Gidengil
McGill University
Janine Giles
University of Calgary
Melanee Thomas
McGill University

Despite the gains women have made since the advent of second-wave feminism, women remain less confident than men of their ability to understand politics. This gender gap has remained unchanged for decades, yet it has attracted surprisingly little scholarly attention in recent years. This article uses data from the 2000 American and 2004 Canadian election studies to assess whether differences in women's and men's socioeconomic resources help to explain the gender gap. We also examine whether there are differences in the ways that socioeconomic resources affect women's and men's self-perceived ability to understand politics. We focus particular attention on the effects of parenthood on women's confidence in their understanding of politics. Finally, we consider the role of feminism and gender role conceptions.

Life-cycle events (Gidengil, Giles, and Thomas 2008)

The Origins of Political Attitudes and Behaviours: An Analysis Using Twins

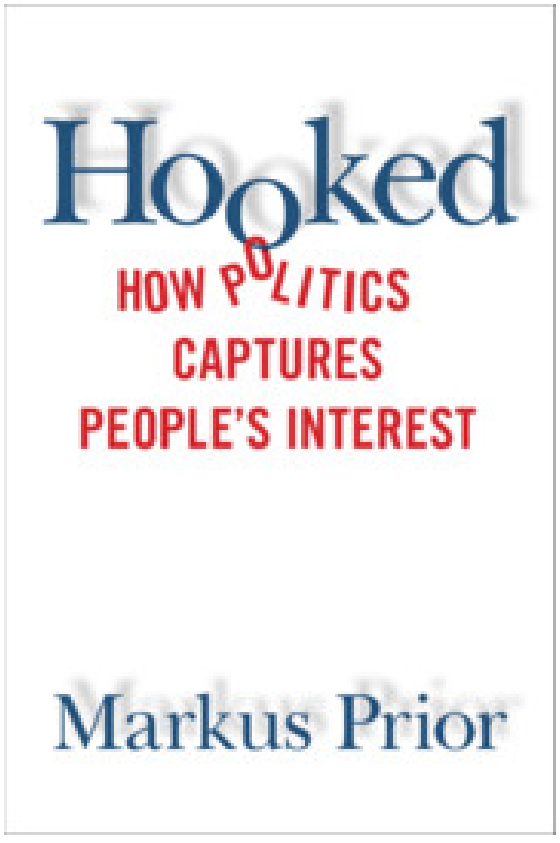
EDWARD BELL *Brescia University College*
JULIE AITKEN SCHERMER *University of Western Ontario*
PHILIP A. VERNON *University of Western Ontario*

1. Introduction

In what must surely rank as one of the strangest episodes in the entire history of science, two generations of our immediate forebears in the social sciences managed to virtually ignore the "Darwinian" theory of biological evolution and to exclude from their purview any sustained consideration of the role of biological factors in the shaping of human behaviour. (Corning, 1971: 321)

The curious practice Corning describes above has continued through a third generation of political scientists and sociologists and is now reaching into a fourth. Although bio-evolutionary perspectives are now mainstream in psychology and the paradigm is beginning to have a major impact in the emerging fields of behavioural economics and neuroeconomics, most political scientists and sociologists are still "missing the revolution" (Barkow, 2006). Some change is on the horizon in those disciplines, but the general picture there is one of splendid isolation from the concepts, methods and findings of evolutionary biology and behavioural genetics.[1]

Genetics (Bell, Schermer, and Vernon 2009)



Prior (2019)

Homemade citizens: The development of political interest during adolescence and young adulthood

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*Corresponding author.

Abstract Despite being among the most important indicators of political participation, relatively little is known about the origins and the development of political interest over the lifespan. The formative years between childhood and adulthood are generally considered a crucial phase in which future electors form and strengthen political habits. The aim of this research is to better understand this important stage by examining the way in which parental socialization and life-cycle events affect the formation and growth of political interest during adolescence and young adulthood. While parental influences are expected to take place during childhood and persist over-time, life-cycle events are considered to influence development in early adulthood for those adolescents who did not grow up in a highly politicized environment. We assess these assumptions by applying latent growth curve modeling and using the German Socio-Economic Panel, which spans from 1984 to 2007. Our findings confirm strong parental socialization effects on interest levels during teenage years. While life-cycle events are not found to strongly affect the development of political interest during the formative years, the transition to adulthood is indeed a more critical period for those individuals who did not acquire high levels of interest from their family.
Acta Politica (2013) **48,** 92–116. doi:10.1057/ap.2012.23;
published online 19 October 2012

Keywords: political interest; young adulthood; parental socialization; life-cycle events; latent growth curve analysis; panel data

Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete (2013)

A more robust explanation for the Canadian context: socialization


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Theoretical Framework: Socialization Agents & Political Interest Transmission

- Significant relationship between the political interest of children and their parents' and peers' political interest (Beauregard 2008; Janmaat, Hoskins, and Pensiero 2022; Neundorf, Smets, and Garcia-Albacete 2013; Prior 2019; Shehata and Amnå 2019)

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- *Causal* link between parents' and children's political interest — less clarity for peers

How Does Socialization Influence the Transmission of Political Interests?

- **Social learning theory**: Children learn by observing their parents & peers, modelling their behaviour, attitudes, habits & values after them

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- **Gender homophily theory**: Children of the same gender tend to stick together & become friends (& discuss issues together)
- **Research question:** ***What are the differences in political interests between men and women, how do they get reproduced over time, and why?***

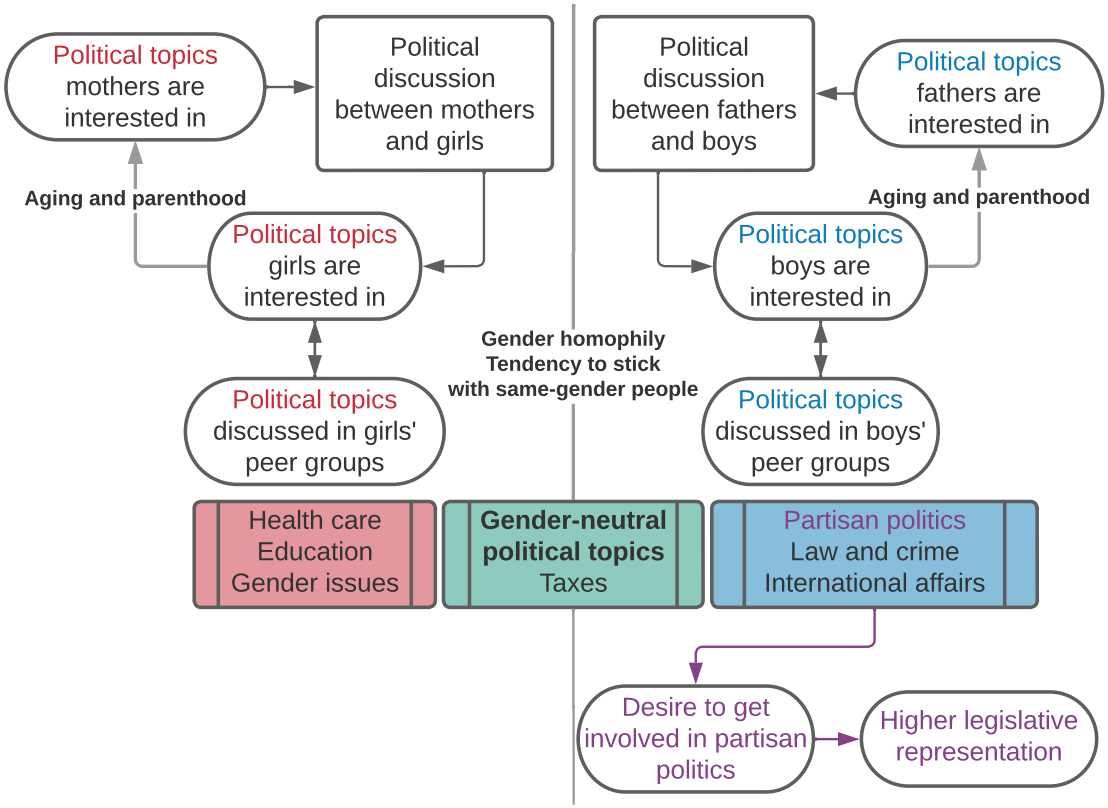
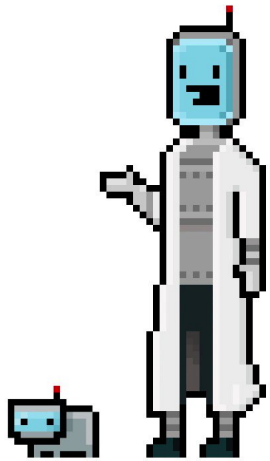


Figure 2: Theoretical Framework

- Women's lower legislative representation has consequences for their substantive representation (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Donato et al. 2008; Rayment 2020), especially in contexts where people's preferences are not set in stone (Mansbridge, 1999)

Data & Methods

Children Political Interest Survey (CPIS): Survey of 698 children & teenagers (8–18) in 8 Quebec & Ontario schools in 2022–23



DATAGOTCHI

2022 QUEBEC GENERAL ELECTION

(Leadership Chair in the Teaching of Digital Social Sciences 2023)

CES EEC

Canadian Election Study | Étude électorale canadienne

WVS

(Stephenson et al. 2022; Haerpfer et al. 2022)
Where necessary, I apply raking weights based on gender, age, education, region, etc.

Measuring children's interest in different political topics: how?

- Multilevel regressions, classroom fixed effects, controls for SES

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  - Law and crime (i.e., police funding, sentences for violent crimes)
  - Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools)
  - Partisan politics (i.e., federal elections, political parties)

Results

Time Trends & Aging

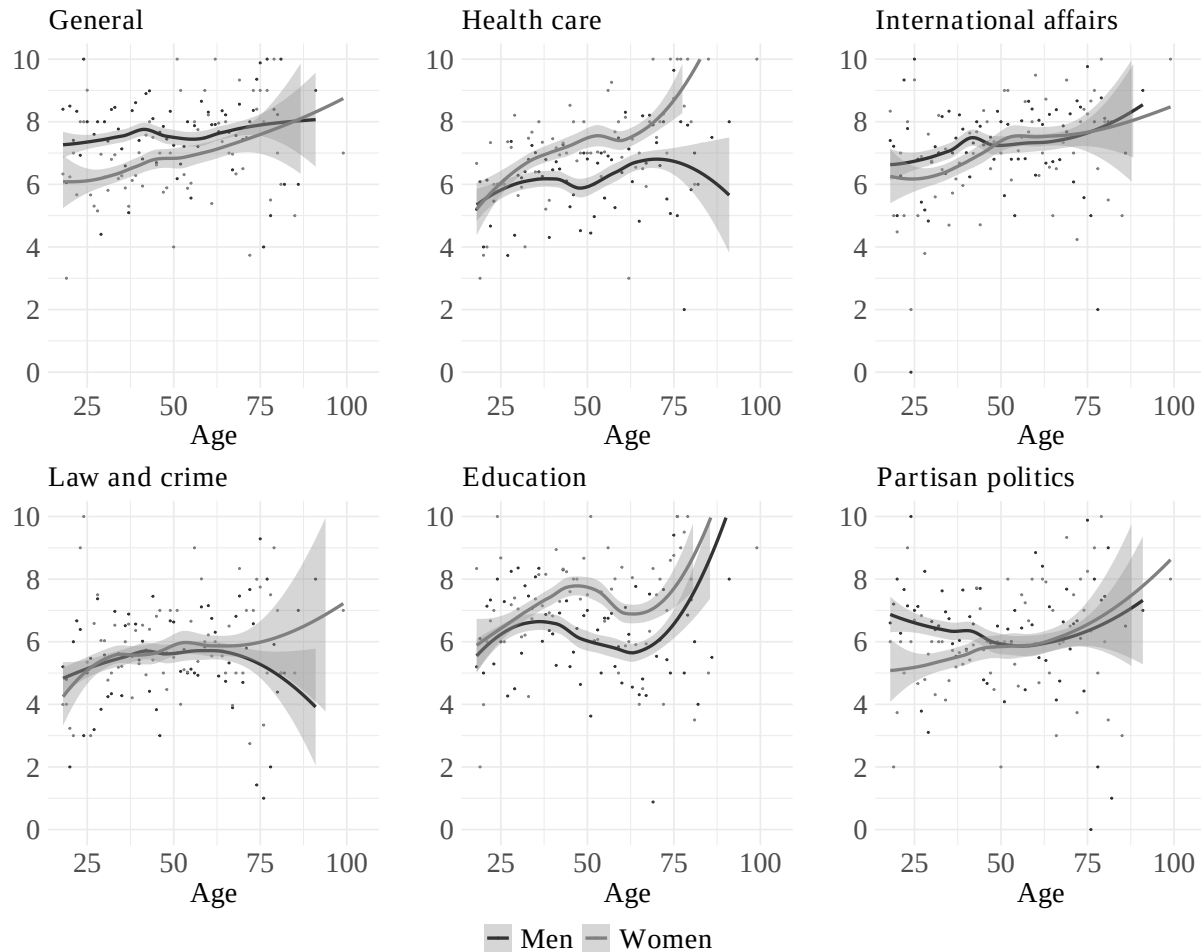

Figure 3: Self-Reported Level of Interest in Various Topics by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2022 Datagotchi PES

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. 95% confidence intervals represented by shaded areas. Datagotchi PES weights are applied.

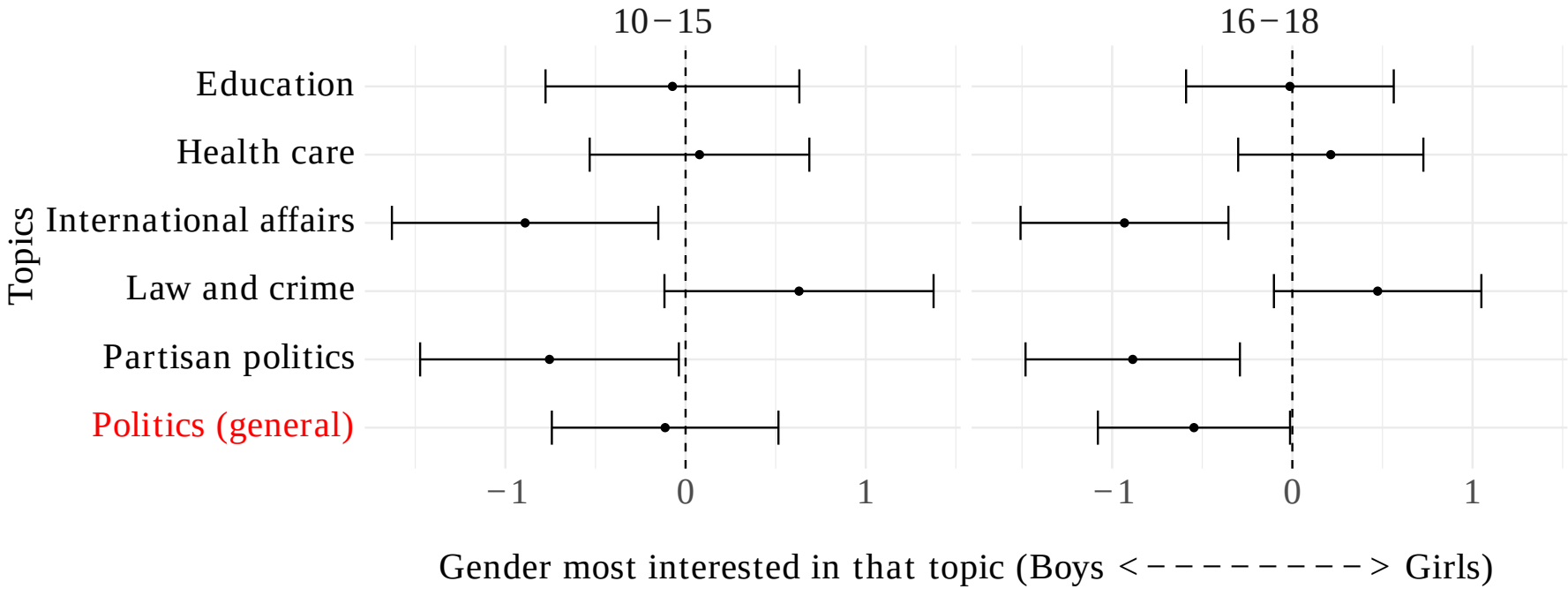

Figure 4: Gender Differences in Interest for Specific Political Topics by Age Group Among Canadian Children, 2022 CPIS

Notes: No controls are added.

Parents & Peers

- For each of the following topics, which parent do you discuss most often with?
  - Health care
    - My mother
    - My father
    - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
  - International affairs
  - Law and crime
  - Education
  - Partisan politics

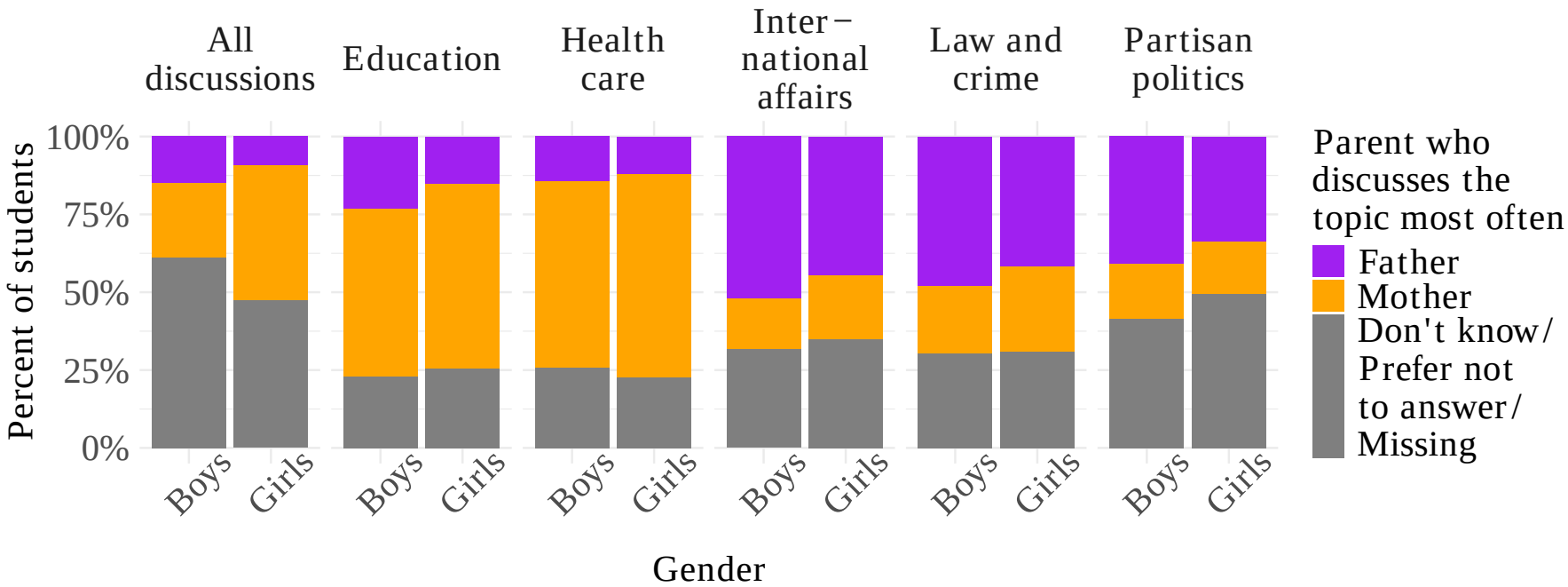

Figure 5: Topic Most Often Discussed with Parents by Child Gender, 2022 CPIS data

Table 1: Interest in Topic by Gender of Parent who Discusses that Topic the Most (With Interactions)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	8.760	10.988	-3.757	10.621	31.363*	37.670+
	(8.739)	(15.860)	(16.316)	(16.266)	(14.909)	(19.217)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.651***	-0.388	-0.380	-0.345	0.232	-0.088
	(0.161)	(0.399)	(0.397)	(0.390)	(0.388)	(0.487)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.757	0.657	0.829	0.385	0.394	0.001
SD (Observations)	2.642	2.339	2.413	2.629	2.694	2.977
Num.Obs.	1107	233	220	222	246	186
R2 Marg.	0.021	0.029	0.067	0.015	0.041	0.049
Girls						
(Intercept)	12.388+	10.465	25.279+	11.236	17.735	44.466*
	(7.185)	(11.106)	(13.521)	(13.799)	(11.679)	(19.529)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.232	0.194	-0.009	-0.019	-0.383	-0.123
	(0.176)	(0.450)	(0.431)	(0.416)	(0.449)	(0.481)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.657	0.604	0.001	0.656	0.679	0.170
SD (Observations)	2.684	2.380	2.739	2.787	2.595	2.716
Num.Obs.	992	226	192	203	221	150
R2 Marg.	0.017	0.035	0.020	0.029	0.054	0.038

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

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

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

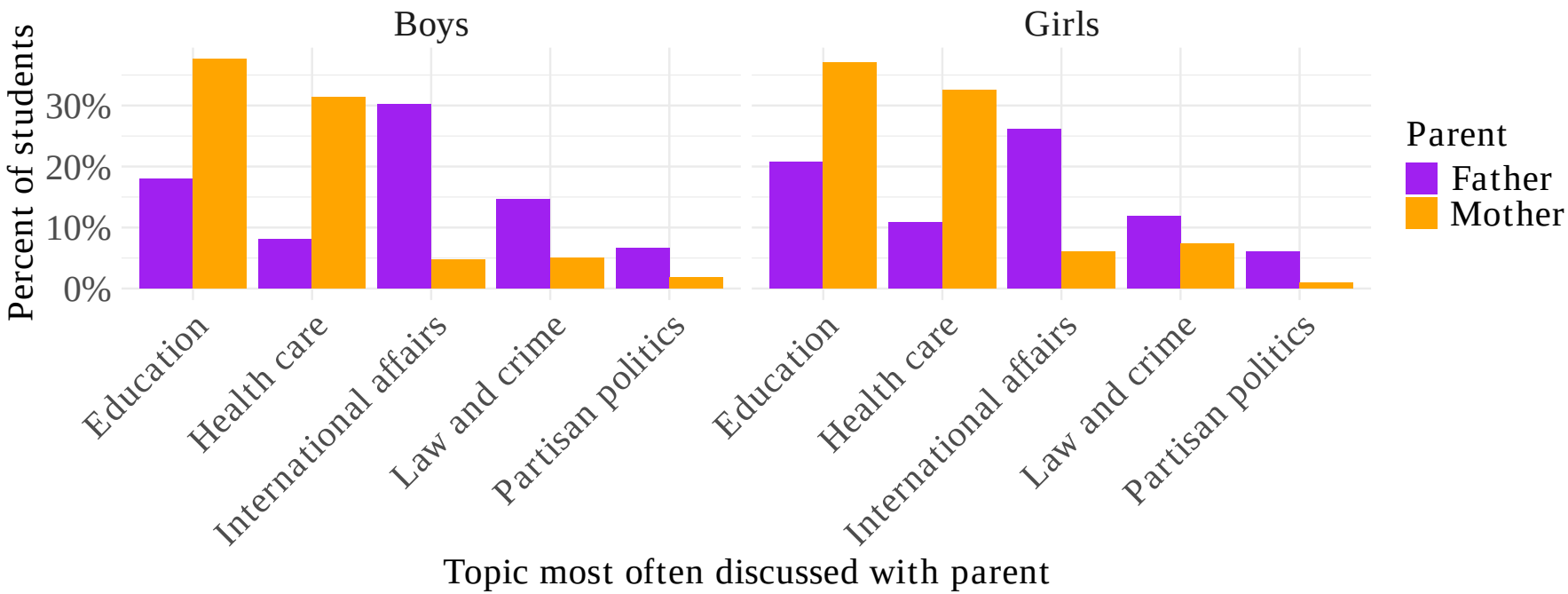

Figure 6: Topic Most Often Discussed by Mothers and Fathers, 2022 CPIS

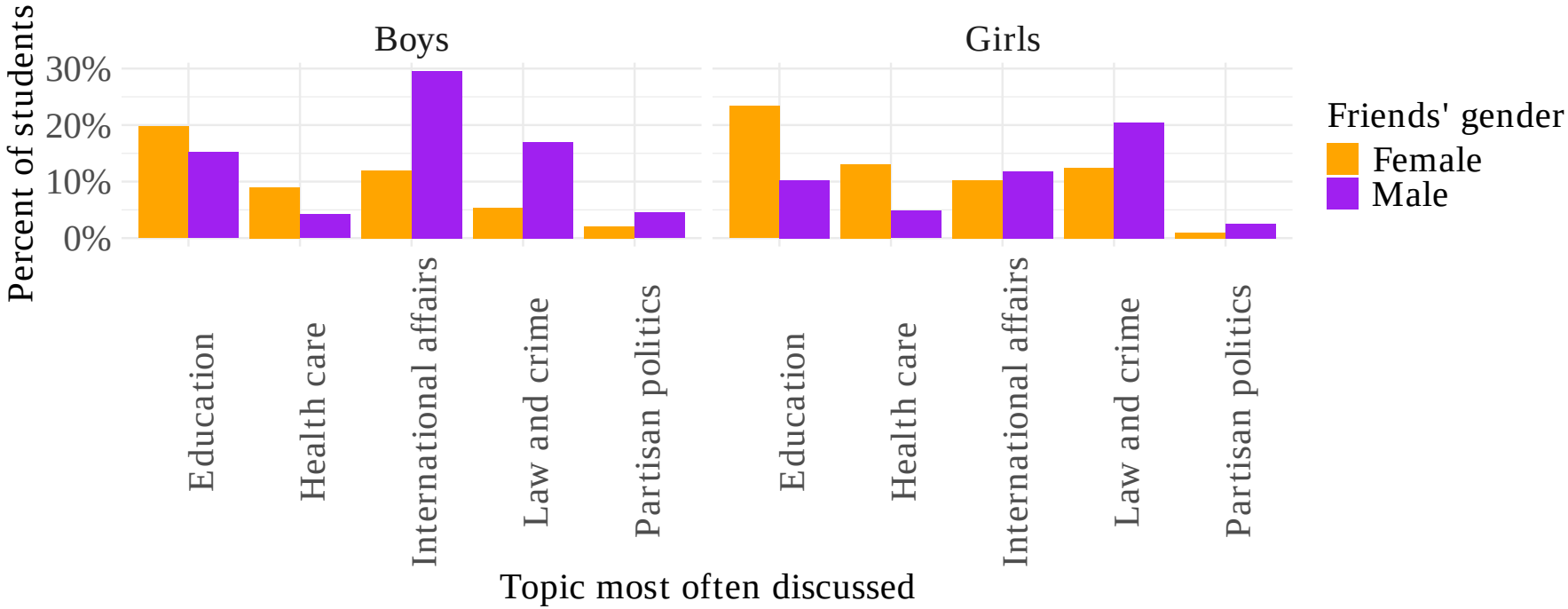

Figure 7: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with Friends by Child Gender and Friends' Gender, 2022 CPIS

Table 2: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with Socialization Agents

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	6.011	-17.012	-15.964	31.164	33.365	8.199
	(12.054)	(24.194)	(17.744)	(20.788)	(22.838)	(23.231)
Topic most discussed with mother?	-0.279	0.997+	-0.243	0.021	-0.729	0.401
	(0.288)	(0.558)	(0.815)	(1.338)	(0.600)	(1.612)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.768**	1.431	0.310	1.291*	-0.420	2.111+
	(0.292)	(1.313)	(0.458)	(0.607)	(0.764)	(1.057)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.664*	-0.433	-0.647	2.471**	1.797**	1.122
	(0.298)	(0.766)	(0.489)	(0.857)	(0.606)	(2.141)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.594+	-2.723*	0.857+	0.167	-0.085	2.240
	(0.315)	(1.209)	(0.481)	(0.670)	(0.778)	(1.468)
Topic most discussed by teacher?	0.326	1.481	1.133*	-0.284	-0.443	-0.003
	(0.298)	(0.967)	(0.471)	(1.201)	(0.660)	(1.359)
Topic most discussed by social media influencer?	0.703*	0.864	0.115	0.316	0.618	-1.216
	(0.295)	(0.667)	(0.456)	(0.712)	(1.161)	(2.173)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.940	1.185	0.000	1.057	0.182	0.951
SD (Observations)	2.369	2.266	1.993	2.100	2.665	2.472
Num.Obs.	458	90	92	92	92	92

Table 3: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with Socialization Agents

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Girls						
(Intercept)	-26.389+	-9.169	-38.483	3.836	-23.826	-1.653
	(15.858)	(23.812)	(31.457)	(27.142)	(26.186)	(28.375)
Topic most discussed with mother?	0.729*	0.259	1.667	1.769+	1.798**	
	(0.318)	(0.555)	(1.689)	(0.958)	(0.623)	
Topic most discussed with father?	0.454	0.226	-0.130	1.935*	0.564	-0.059
	(0.311)	(0.822)	(0.713)	(0.721)	(0.711)	(1.010)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.468	-0.060	0.852	-0.401	0.656	2.236
	(0.320)	(0.637)	(0.856)	(0.762)	(0.611)	(2.535)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.647*	-0.788	-0.177	-0.228	0.213	3.291**
	(0.307)	(0.833)	(0.760)	(0.607)	(0.756)	(1.112)
Topic most discussed by teacher?	0.085	-0.902	-0.070	-0.763	0.233	2.856***
	(0.308)	(1.193)	(0.785)	(0.751)	(0.602)	(0.775)
Topic most discussed by social media influencer?	0.812**	1.418*	-0.444	1.494*	-1.910+	1.737
	(0.309)	(0.648)	(0.703)	(0.672)	(0.977)	(1.525)
SD (Intercept Class)	1.069	0.000	0.442	0.001	0.872	0.720
SD (Observations)	2.372	2.186	2.607	2.328	2.259	2.170
Num.Obs.	387	78	77	76	78	78

Conclusion

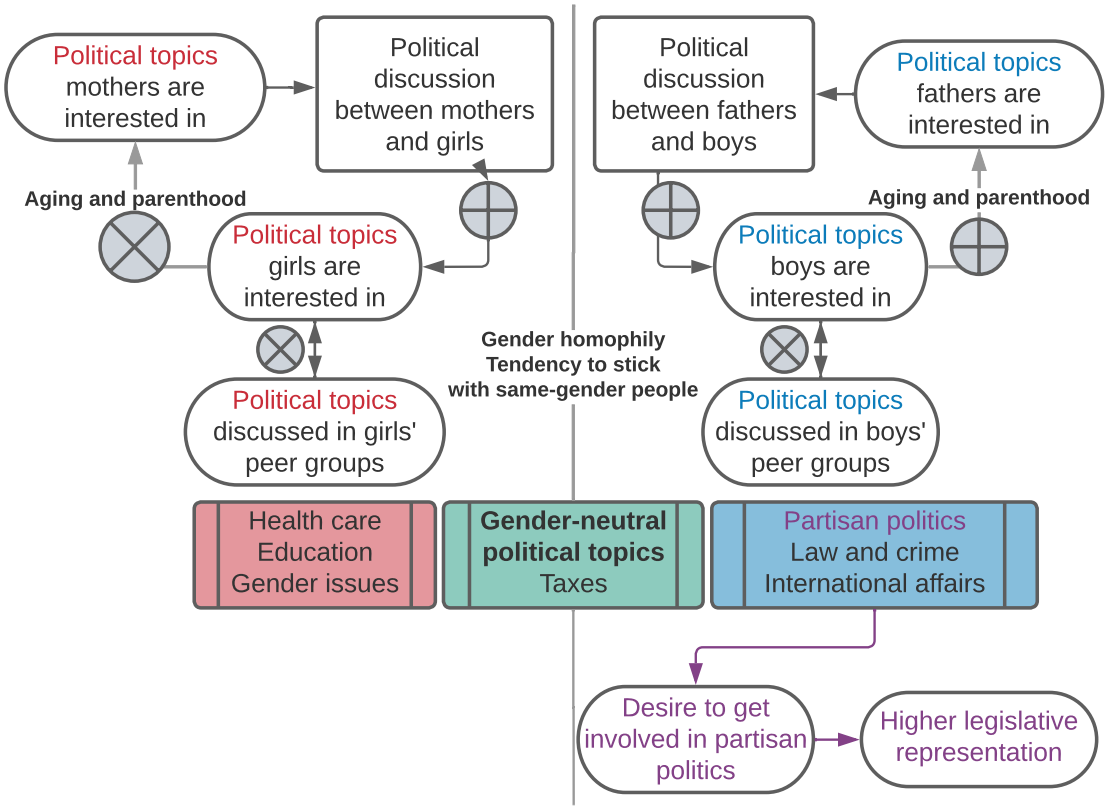

Figure 8: Theoretical Framework Reassessed

- Social learning theory mostly corroborated: parents & peers influence political interest development — but gender congruence does not play the expected role for peers, only for parents

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- Children discuss different political topics with peers & parents based on their gender
- The development of interest in some topics (e.g., partisan politics) starts before adolescence, while this development starts well into adulthood for other topics
- How children develop their interests matters for their future political engagement

THANKS!

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Appendix

Data, Additional Tables & Figures

CPIS

Table 4: Descriptive statistics, CPIS data

ID	Type[1]	Lang.	Prov.	Age[2]	Students in body	Students in sample	Classrooms	Teachers[3]
1	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	450	133	5	2
2	Public	French	Quebec	12–17	690	196	10	2
3	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	670	78	3	1
4	Private	French	Quebec	12–17	900	253	12	3
5[4]	Private	English	Ontario	14–18	—	5	3	2
6	Public	French	Quebec	5–12	—	14	1	1
7	Private	English	Ontario	5–14	—	4	3	1
8[5]	Public	English	Ontario	14–18	15	15	1	1
					Total	**698**	**38**	**13**

[1]Three public bodies from different school boards.
[2]Age groups of schools, not selected classrooms.
[3]Some teachers taught multiple classes; all students surveyed.
[4]Mixed on-site/online school.
[5]School board-level body.

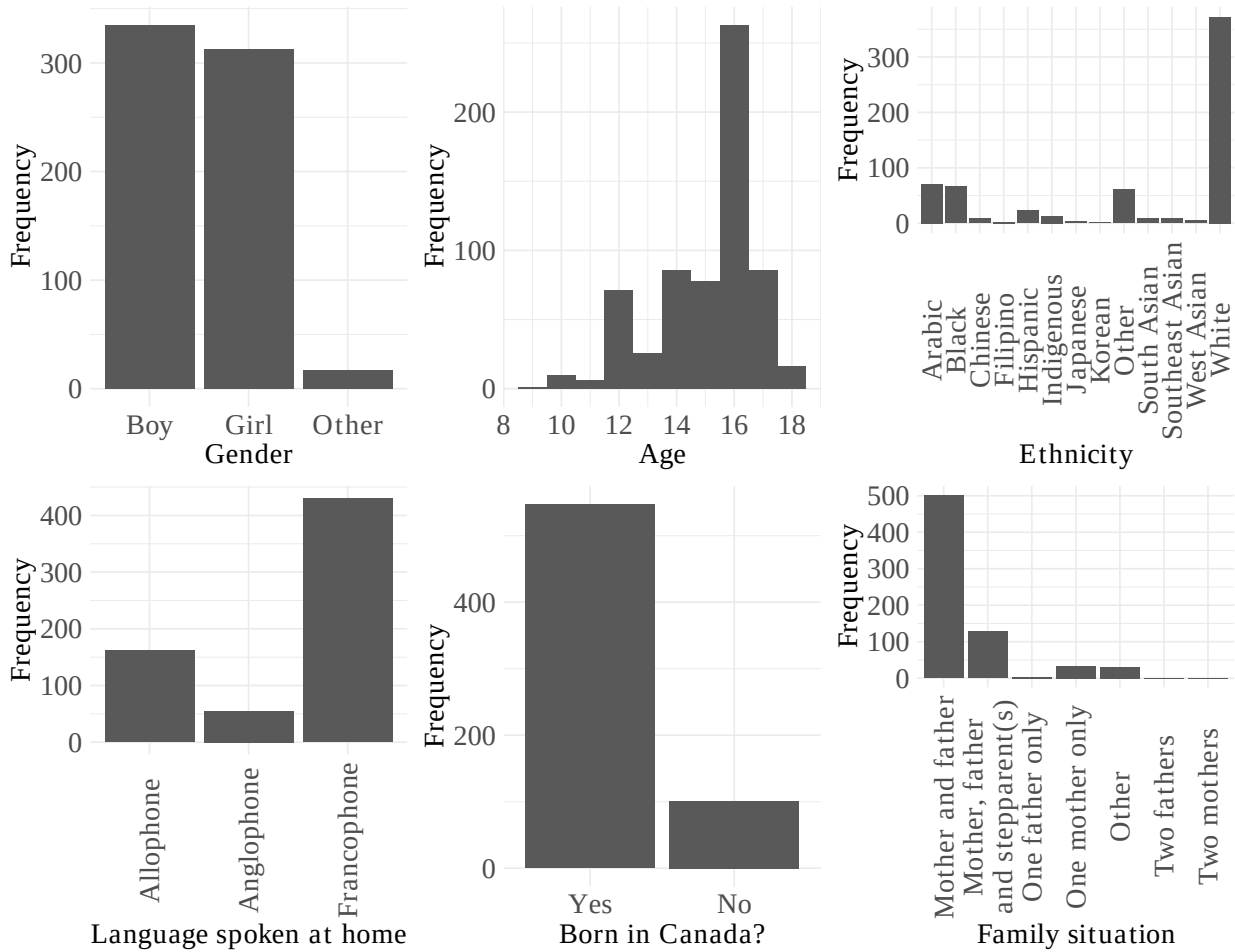

Figure 9: CPIS Descriptive Statistics — General

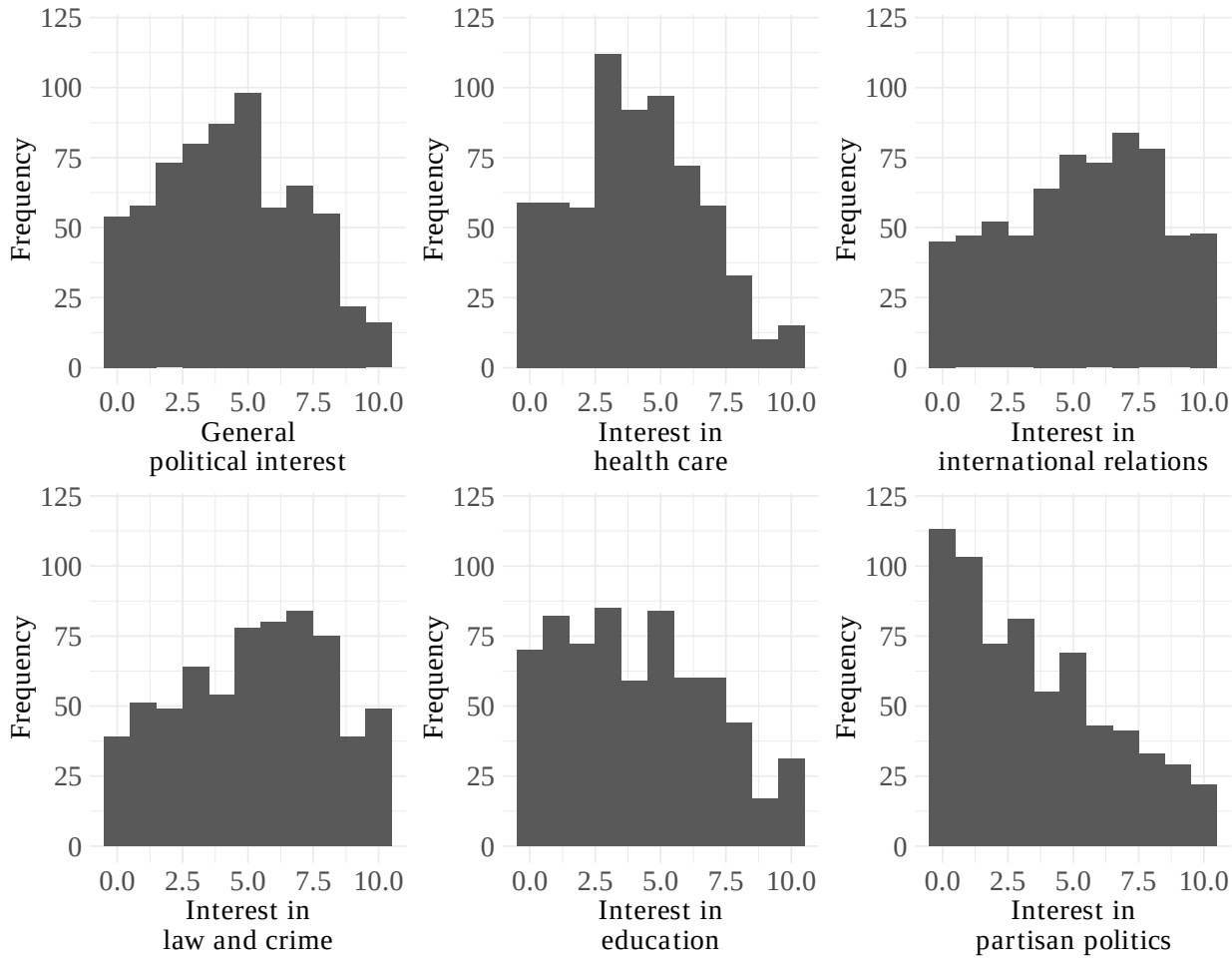

Figure 10: CPIS Descriptive Statistics — Political Interest

Table 5: Interest in Topic by Gender, CPIS

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Without Controls						
(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 = girl)	-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
With Controls						
(Intercept)	1.413	1.138	4.458***	2.838*	0.218	4.246**
	(1.337)	(1.187)	(1.315)	(1.254)	(1.436)	(1.309)
Gender (1 = girl)	-0.432*	0.128	-0.973***	0.492*	-0.122	-0.809***
	(0.212)	(0.201)	(0.232)	(0.237)	(0.229)	(0.236)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.598	0.470	0.442	0.318	0.665	0.408
SD (Observations)	2.476	2.375	2.738	2.811	2.680	2.792
Num.Obs.	579	584	581	581	584	581
R2 Marg.	0.031	0.022	0.070	0.024	0.030	0.045

$+$ p $<$ 0.1, * p $<$ 0.05, ** p $<$ 0.01, *** p $<$ 0.001

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Controls: Socio-economic variables

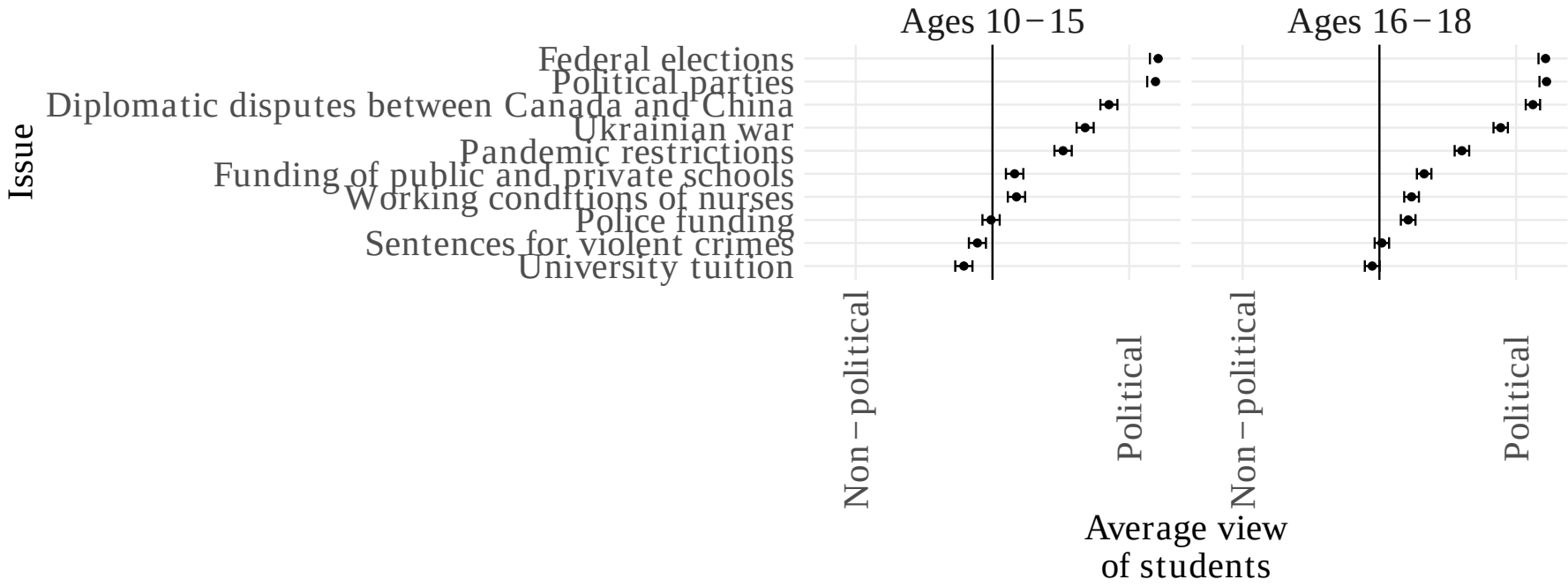

Figure 11: Views of Topics as Political or Non-Political By Canadian Students By Age Group, 2022 CPIS

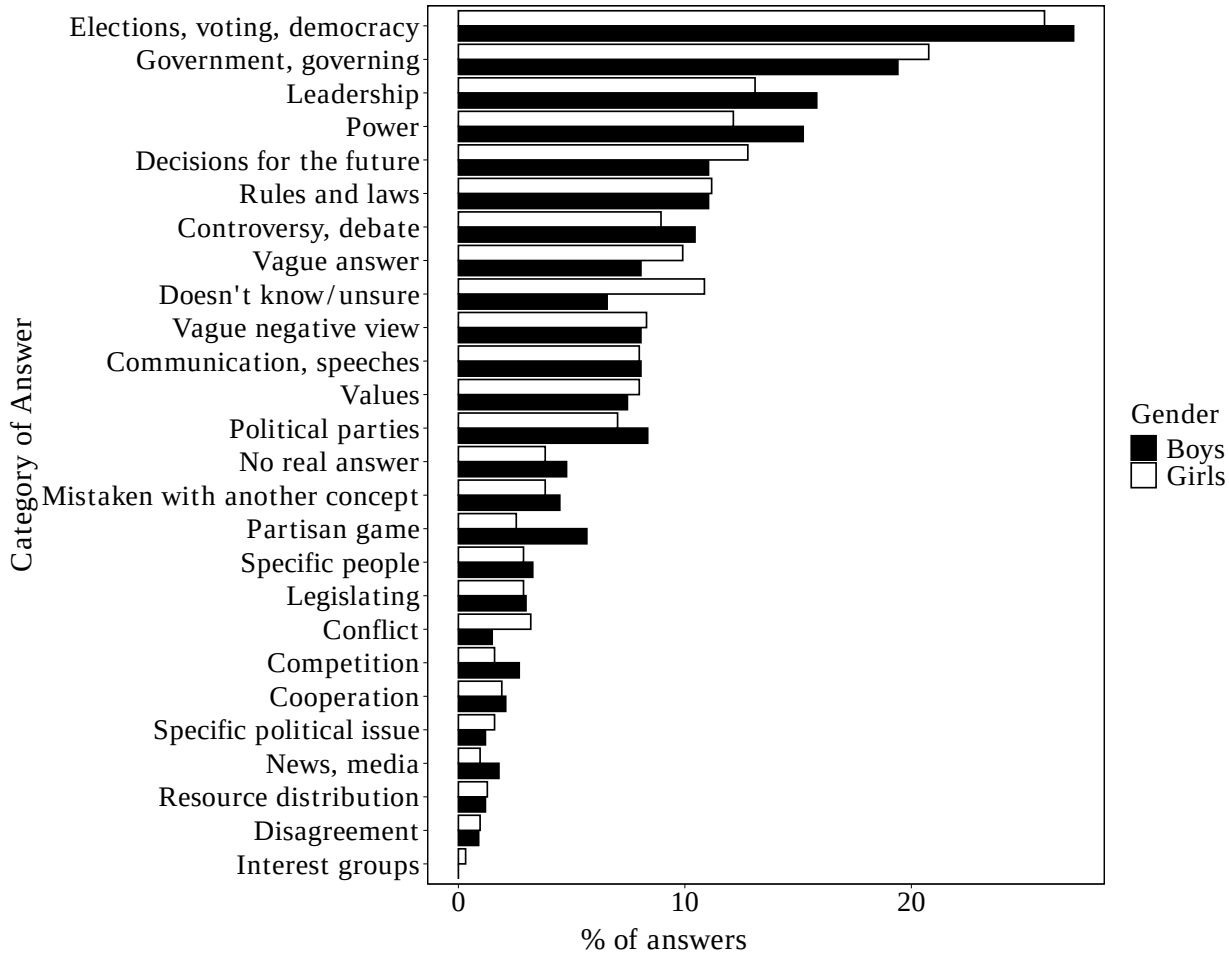

Figure 12: Unprompted Definitions of Politics by Students, 2022 CPIS

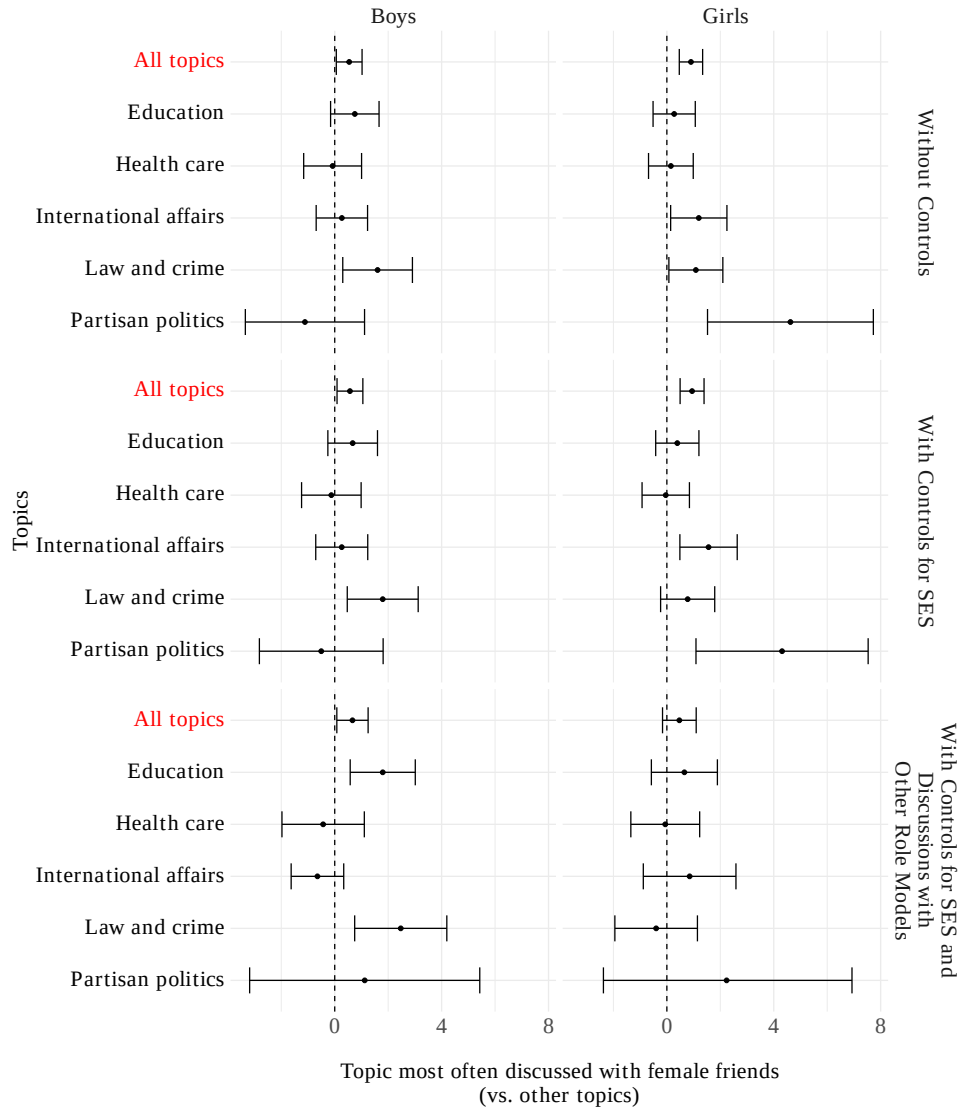

Figure 13: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Female Friends, 2022 CPIS

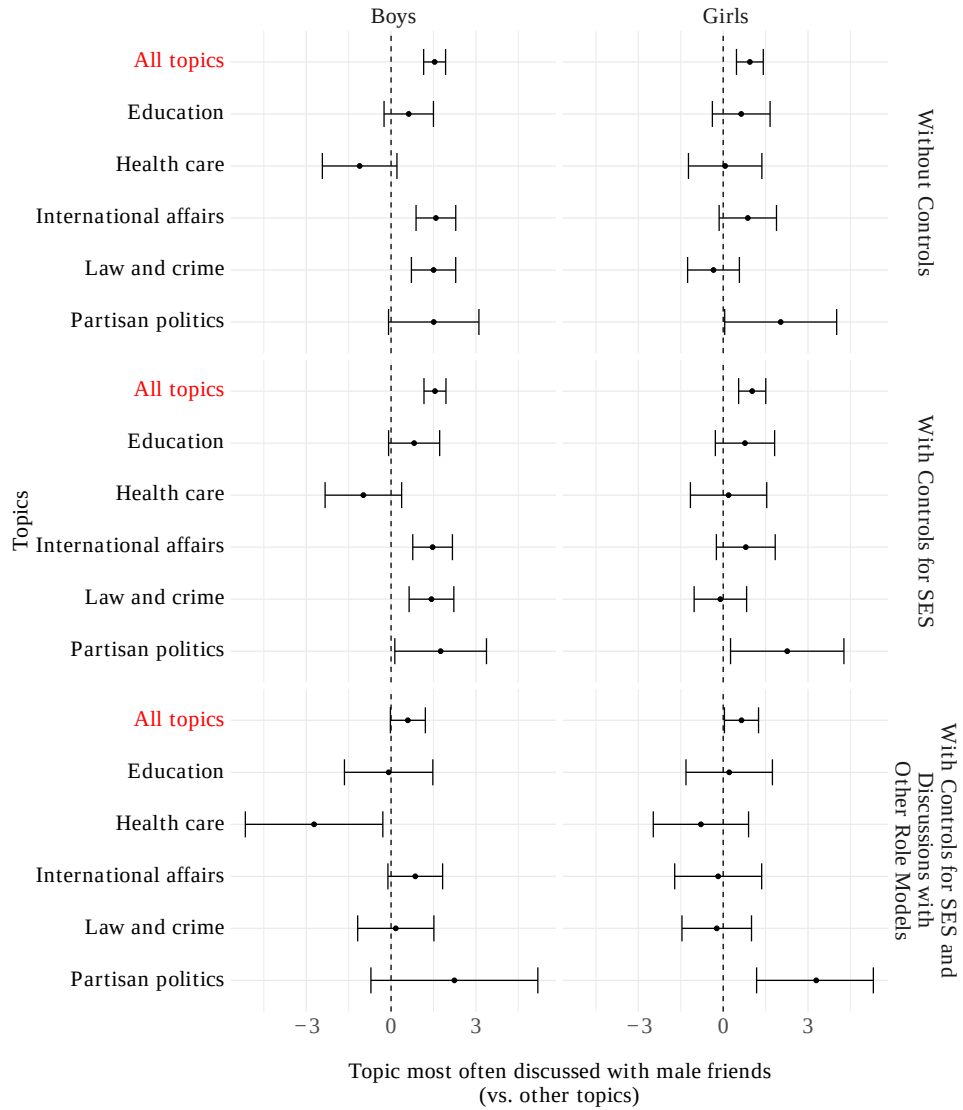

Figure 14: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Male Friends, 2022 CPIS

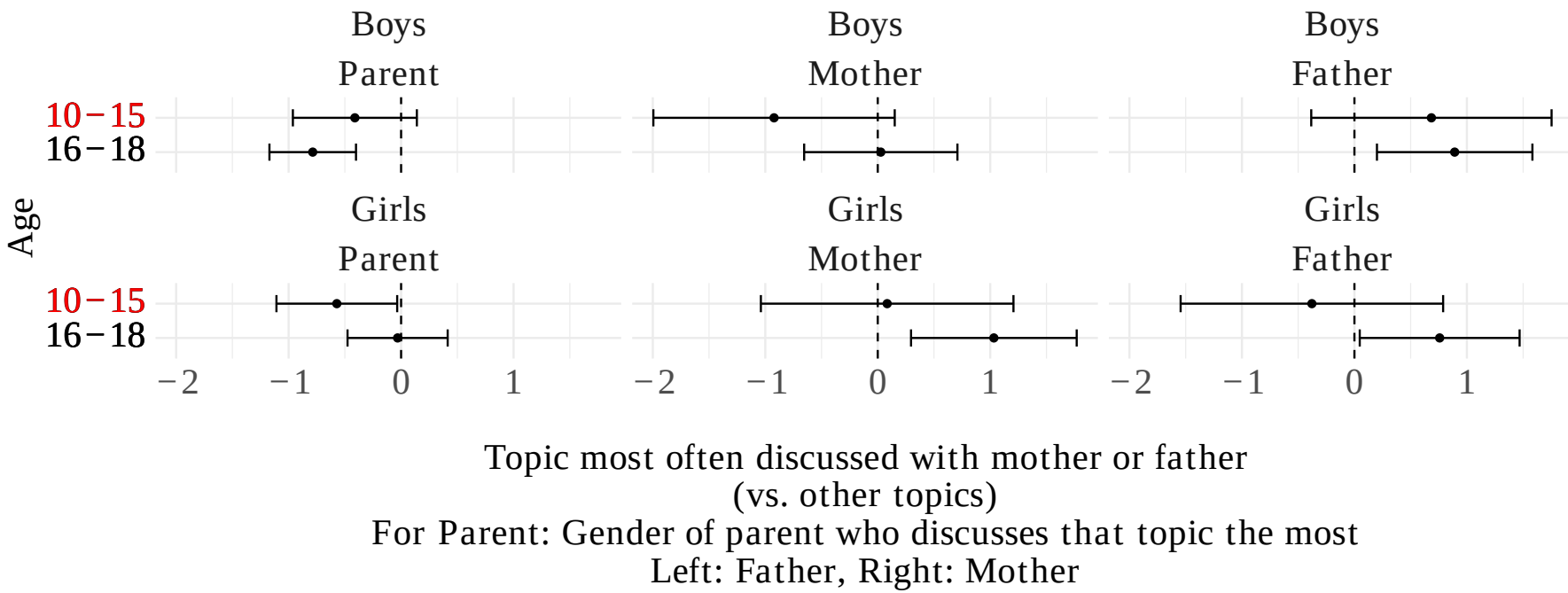

Figure 15: Interest in Topics by Gender, Age and Discussion with Parents, 2022 CPIS

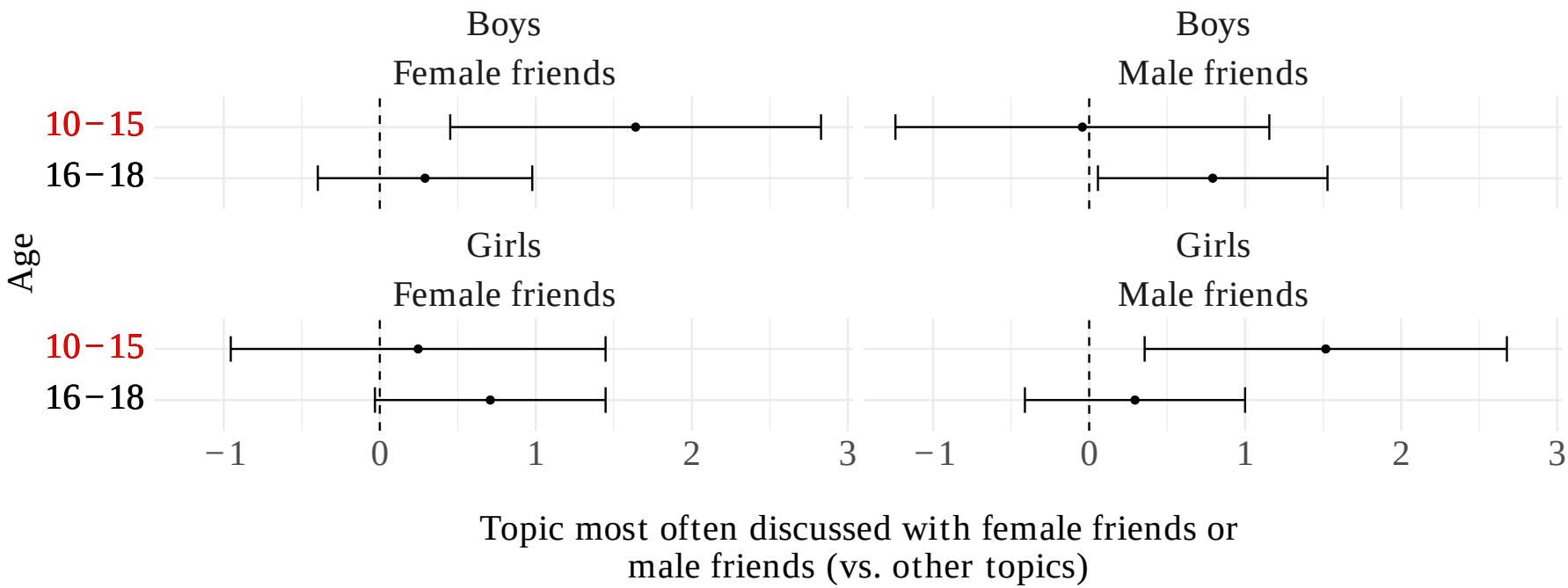

Figure 16: Interest in Topics by Gender, Age and Discussion with Peers, 2022 CPIS

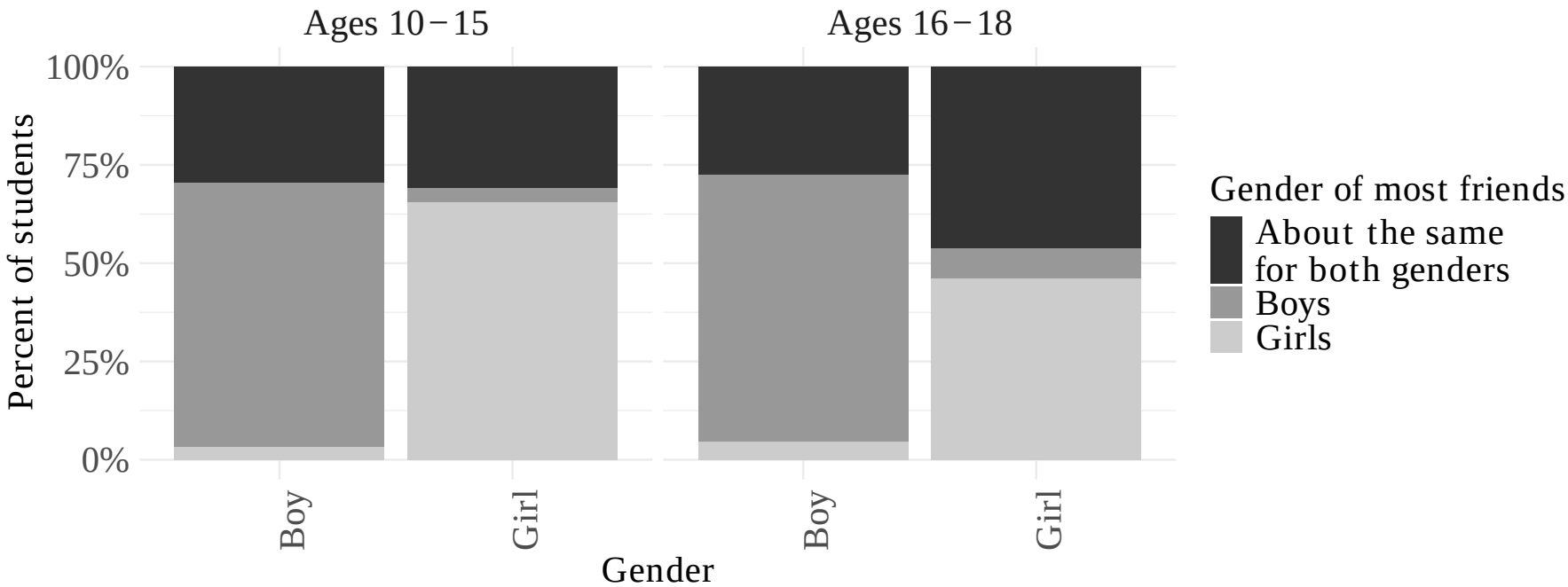

Figure 17: Children's Friends by Gender and Age Group, 2022 CPIS

Datagotchi PES

- Qualtrics survey sent to the Datagotchi panel

- Qualtrics survey sent to the Datagotchi panel
- Datagotchi panel: emails obtained via the Datagotchi app during the 2022 Quebec election

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1. OBVIA (International Observatory on the Societal Impacts of AI and Digital Technologies)

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1. OBVIA (International Observatory on the Societal Impacts of AI and Digital Technologies)
2. A grant by the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (CFI)

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- `anesrake` package (normally used to weight results from the American National Election Studies) (Pasek 2018) with default settings
- After raking, the Quebec population percentages match with sample percentages within 10 percentage points — and typically less than 5 — for each category of the five variables

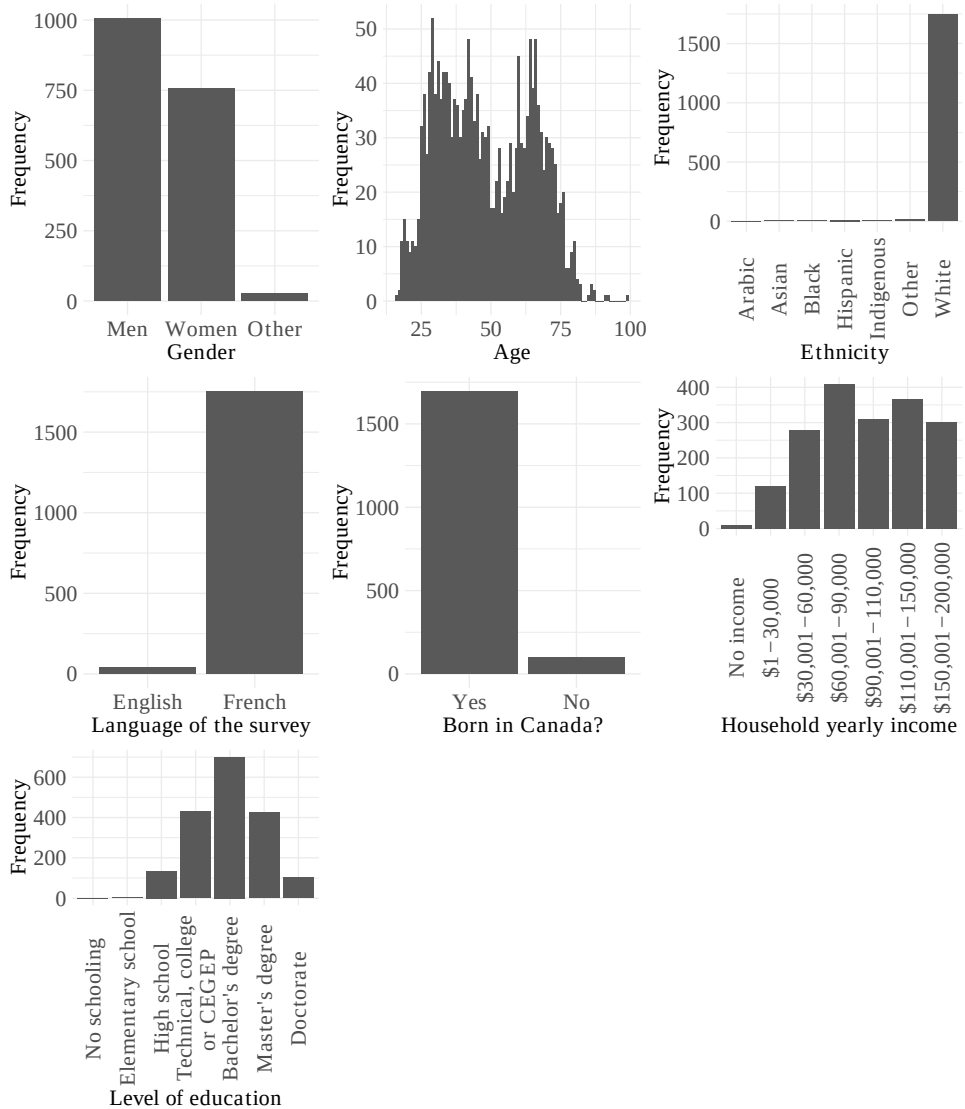

Figure 18: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics — General

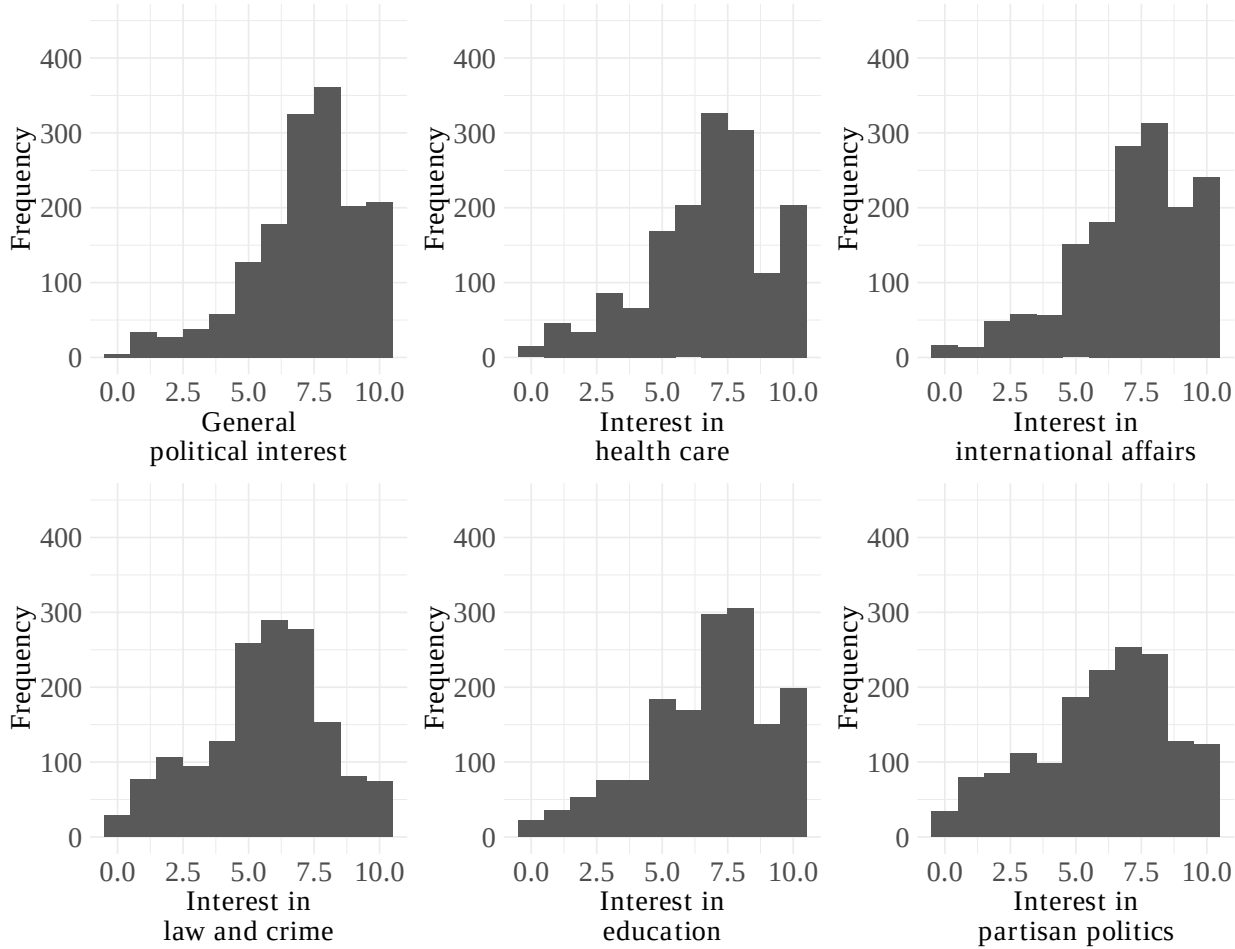

Figure 19: Datagotchi PES Descriptive Statistics — Political Interest

Table 6: Interest in Topic by Gender, Datagotchi PES

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Without Controls						
(Intercept)	7.724***	6.449***	7.453***	5.421***	6.586***	6.334***
	(0.064)	(0.075)	(0.071)	(0.079)	(0.075)	(0.084)
Gender (1 = women)	-0.877***	0.690***	-0.592***	0.104	0.517***	-0.645***
	(0.097)	(0.116)	(0.109)	(0.121)	(0.116)	(0.128)
Num.Obs.	1575	1575	1575	1575	1575	1575
R2	0.049	0.022	0.018	0.000	0.013	0.016
R2 Adj.	0.048	0.022	0.018	0.000	0.012	0.015
Log.Lik.	-3254.524	-3523.301	-3437.633	-3591.294	-3524.218	-3687.310
With Controls						
(Intercept)	7.438***	4.079***	5.903***	6.100***	3.987***	4.653***
	(0.615)	(0.596)	(0.610)	(0.763)	(0.615)	(0.696)
Gender (1 = women)	-0.872***	0.838***	-0.331**	0.168	0.759***	-0.662***
	(0.098)	(0.116)	(0.119)	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.136)
Num.Obs.	1575	1575	1575	1575	1575	1575
R2	0.067	0.121	0.044	0.016	0.119	0.034
R2 Adj.	0.062	0.116	0.039	0.010	0.114	0.029
Log.Lik.	-3239.313	-39068.770	-39105.751	-3579.255	-39119.704	-39313.305

$+$ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Without controls: Ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions

With controls: OLS for Politics (general) and Law and Crime; Weighted least squares (WLS) for other regressions

Controls: Socio-economic variables

CES, WVS and GSS

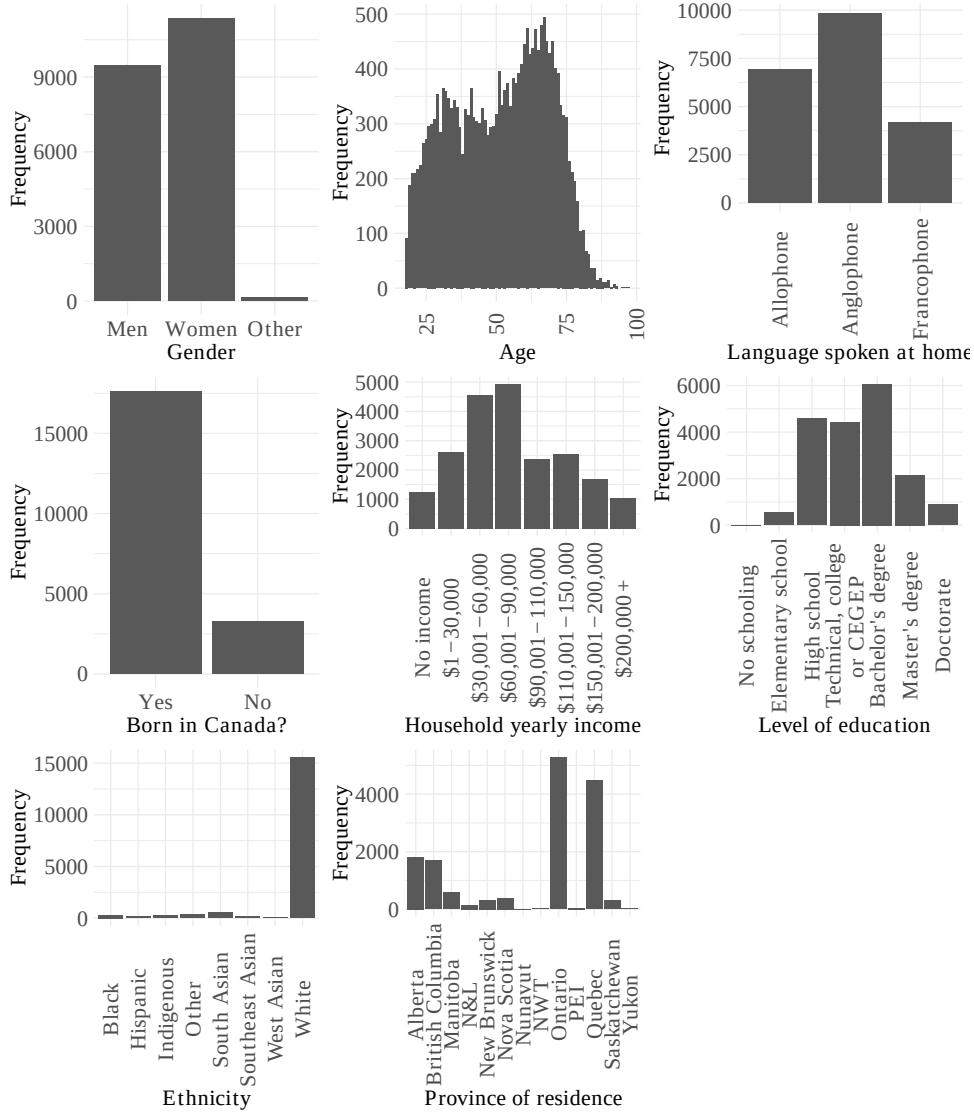

Figure 20: 2021 CES Descriptive Statistics - General

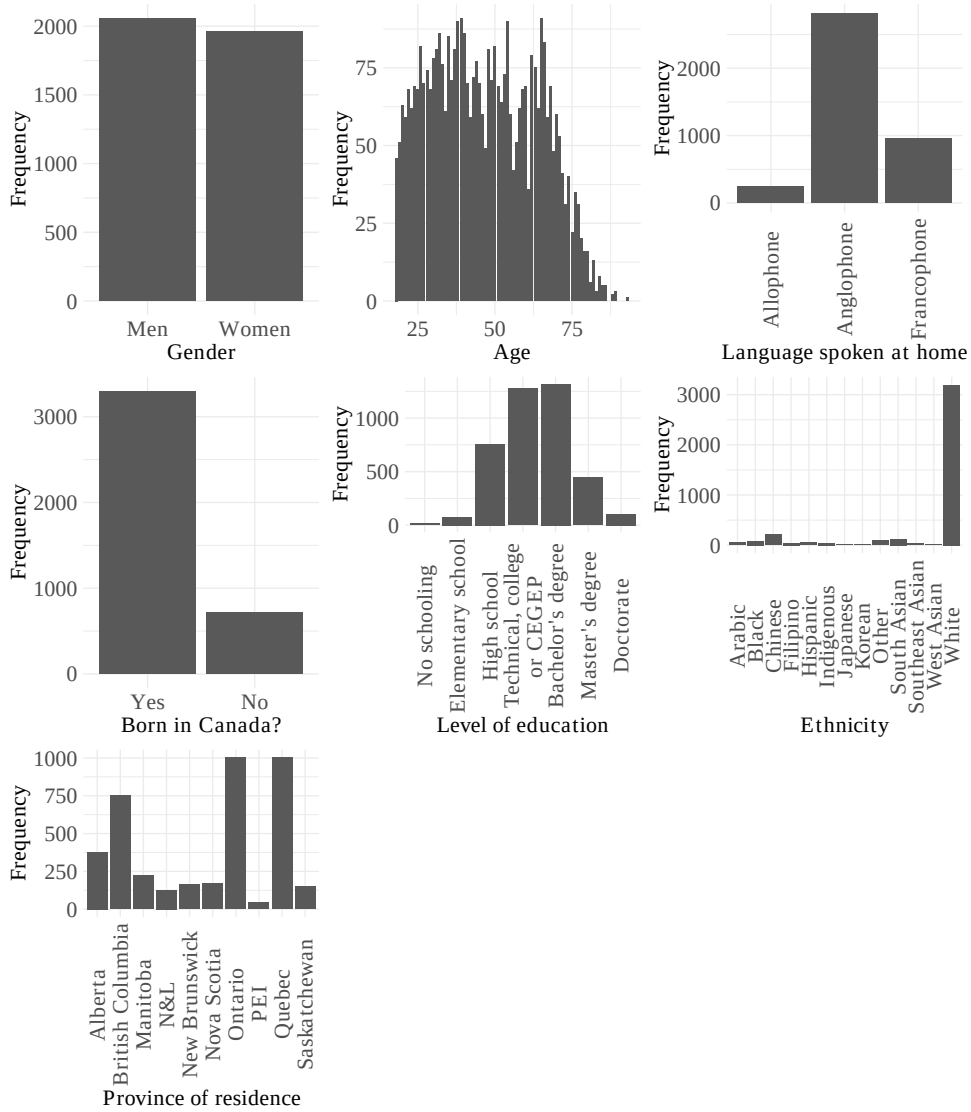

Figure 21: 2020 WVS Descriptive Statistics — General

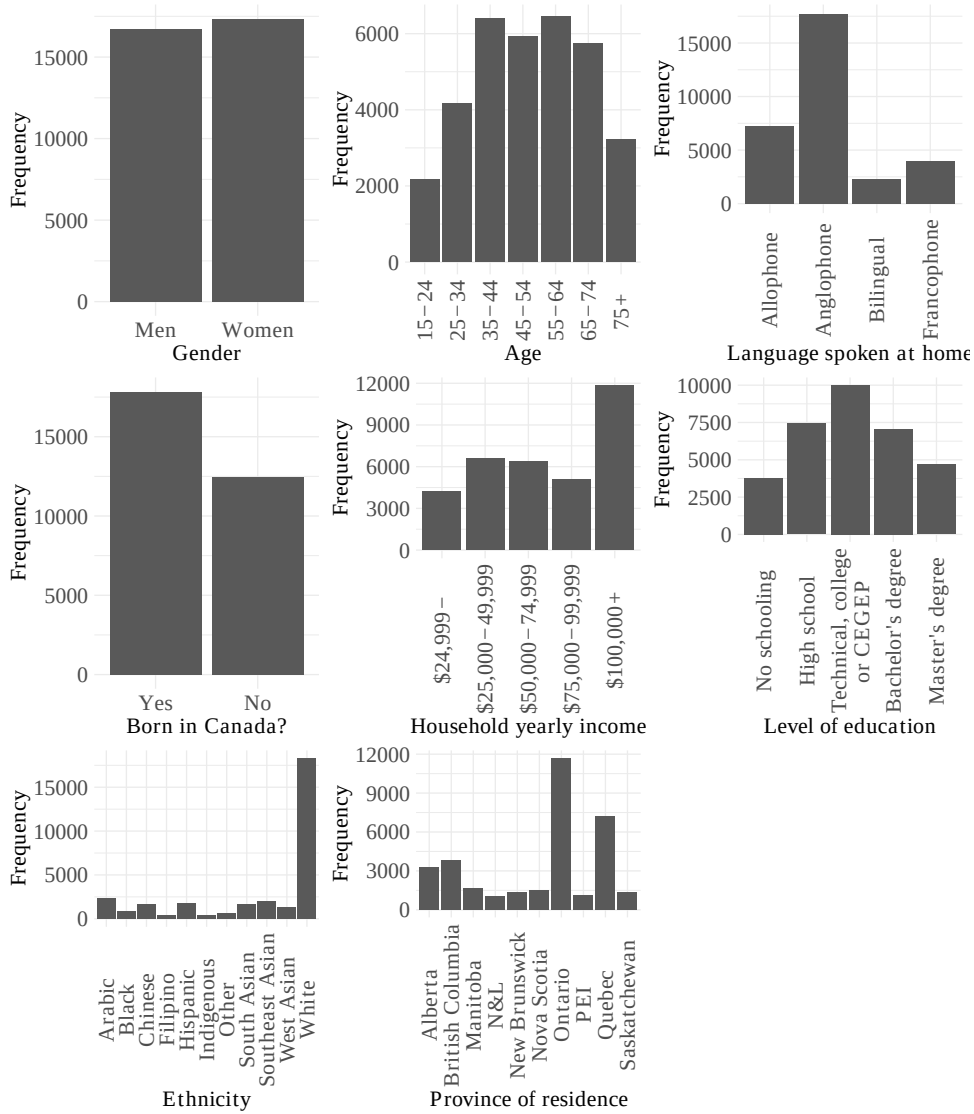

Figure 22: 2020 GSS Descriptive Statistics (Cycle 35 - Social Identity) — General

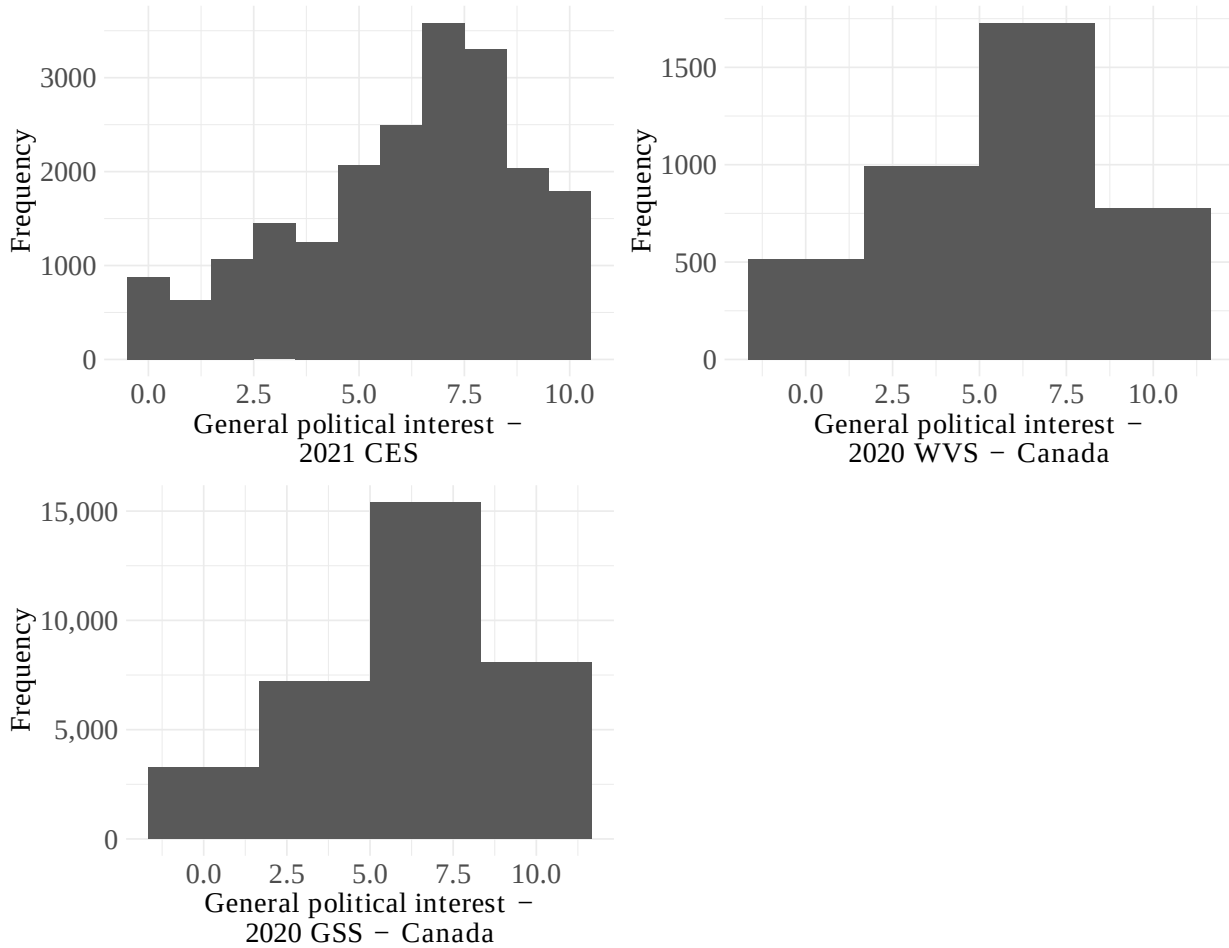

Figure 23: CES, WVS and GSS Descriptive Statistics — Political Interest

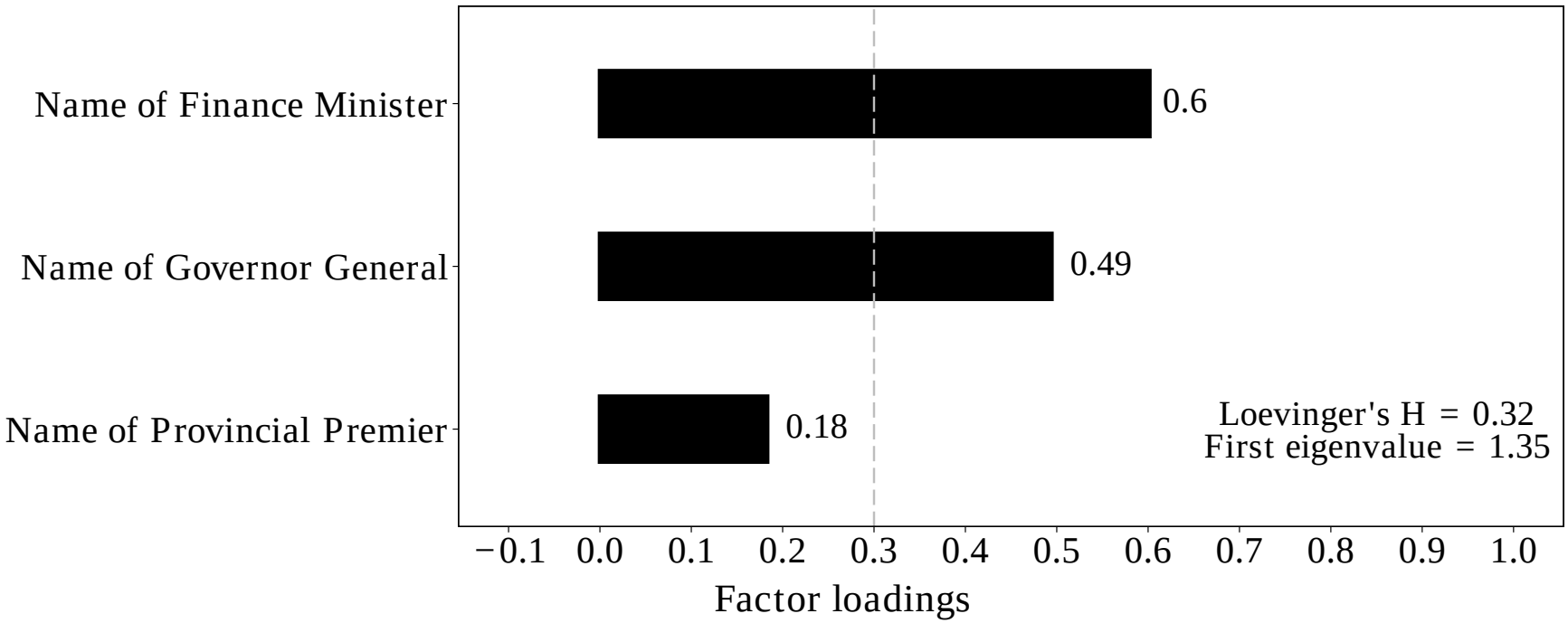

Figure 24: CES Factor Analysis: Knowledge of Political Figures' Names Scale

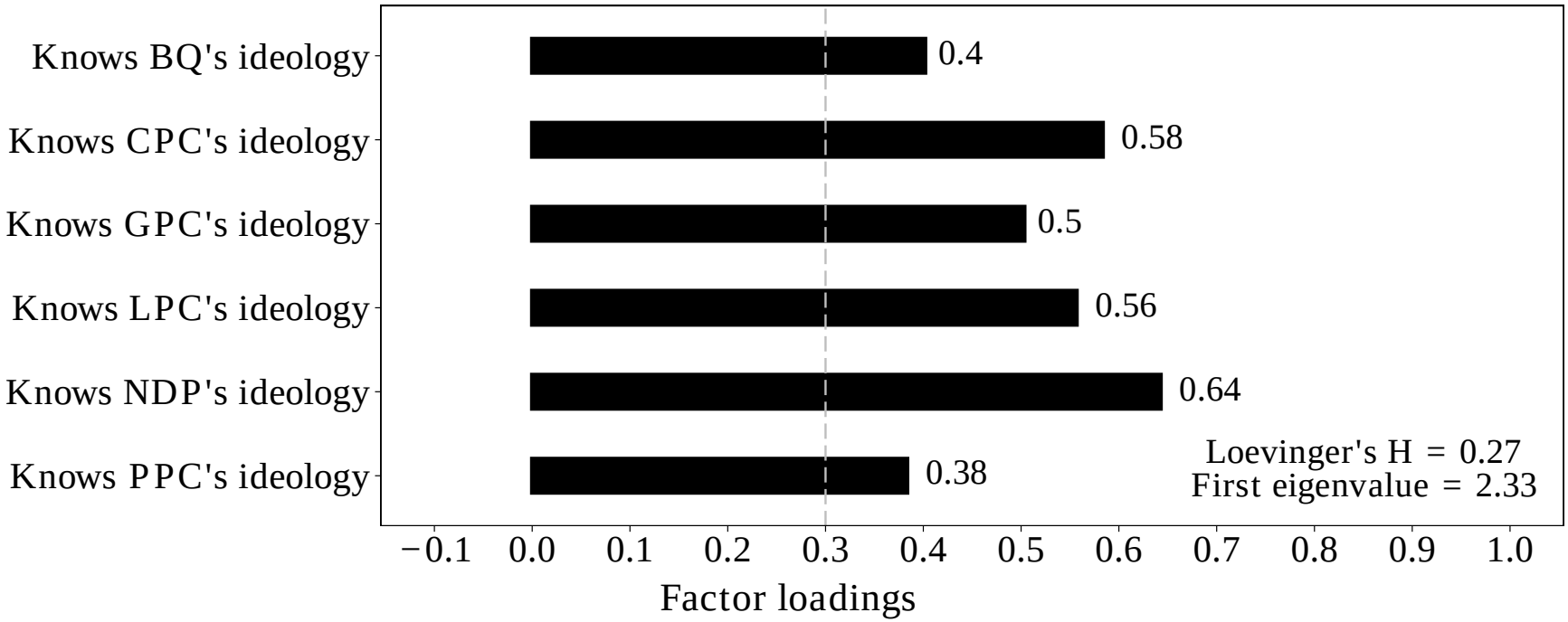

Figure 25: CES Factor Analysis: Knowledge of Party Positions Scale

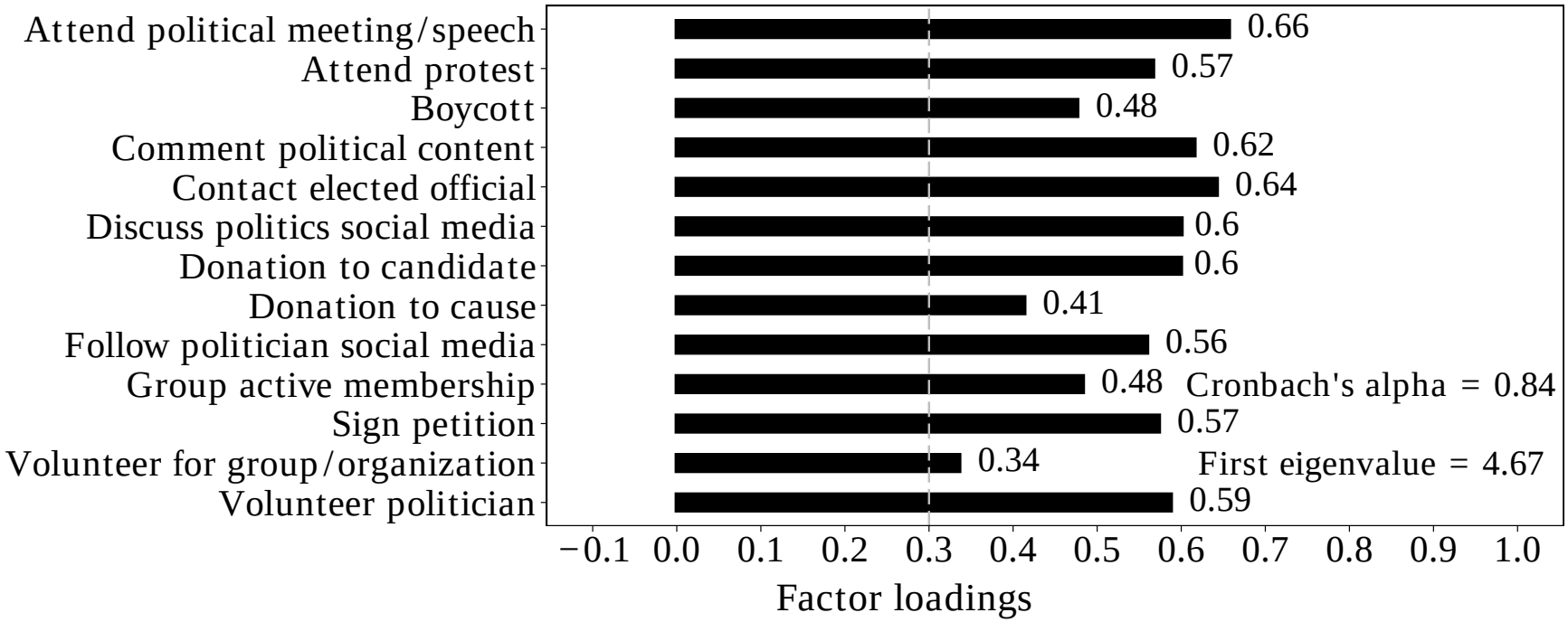

Figure 26: CES Factor Analysis: Political Participation Scale

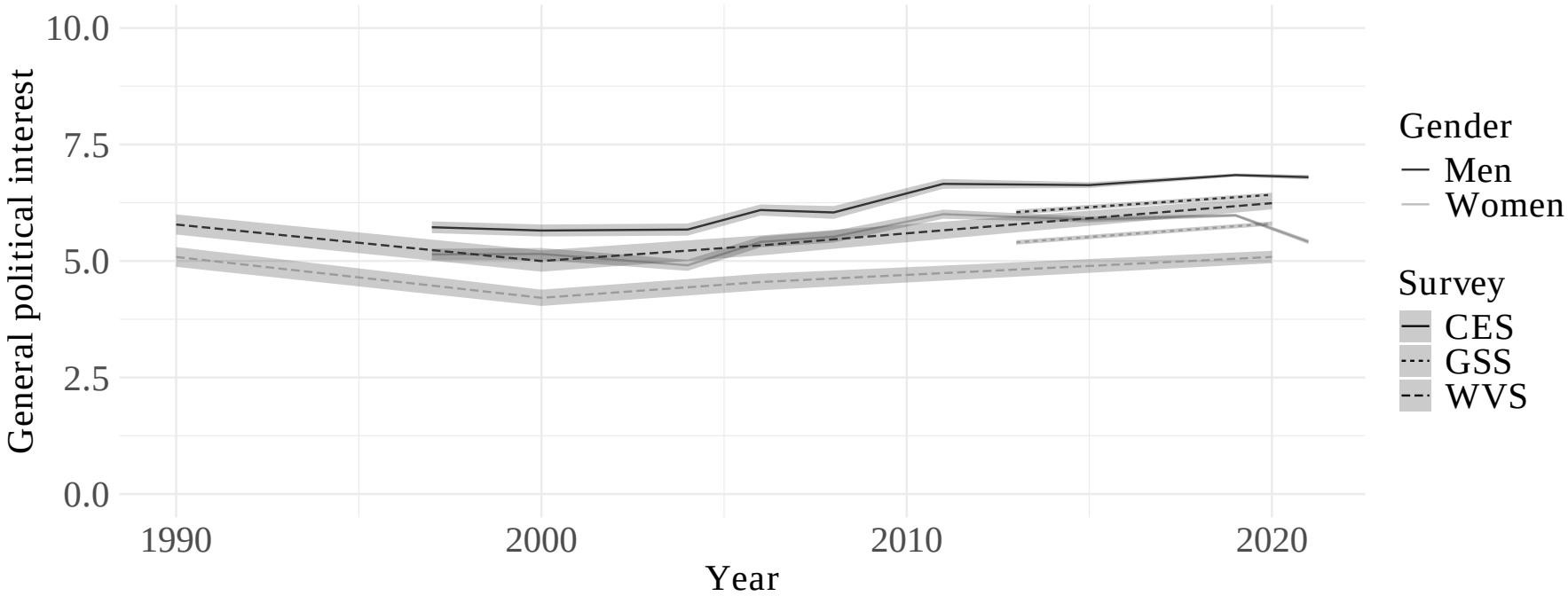

Figure 27: General Political Interest by Year and Gender Among Canadian Adults, CES, WVS (Canada) and GSS

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. 95% confidence intervals represented by shaded areas. CES, WVS and GSS weights are applied.

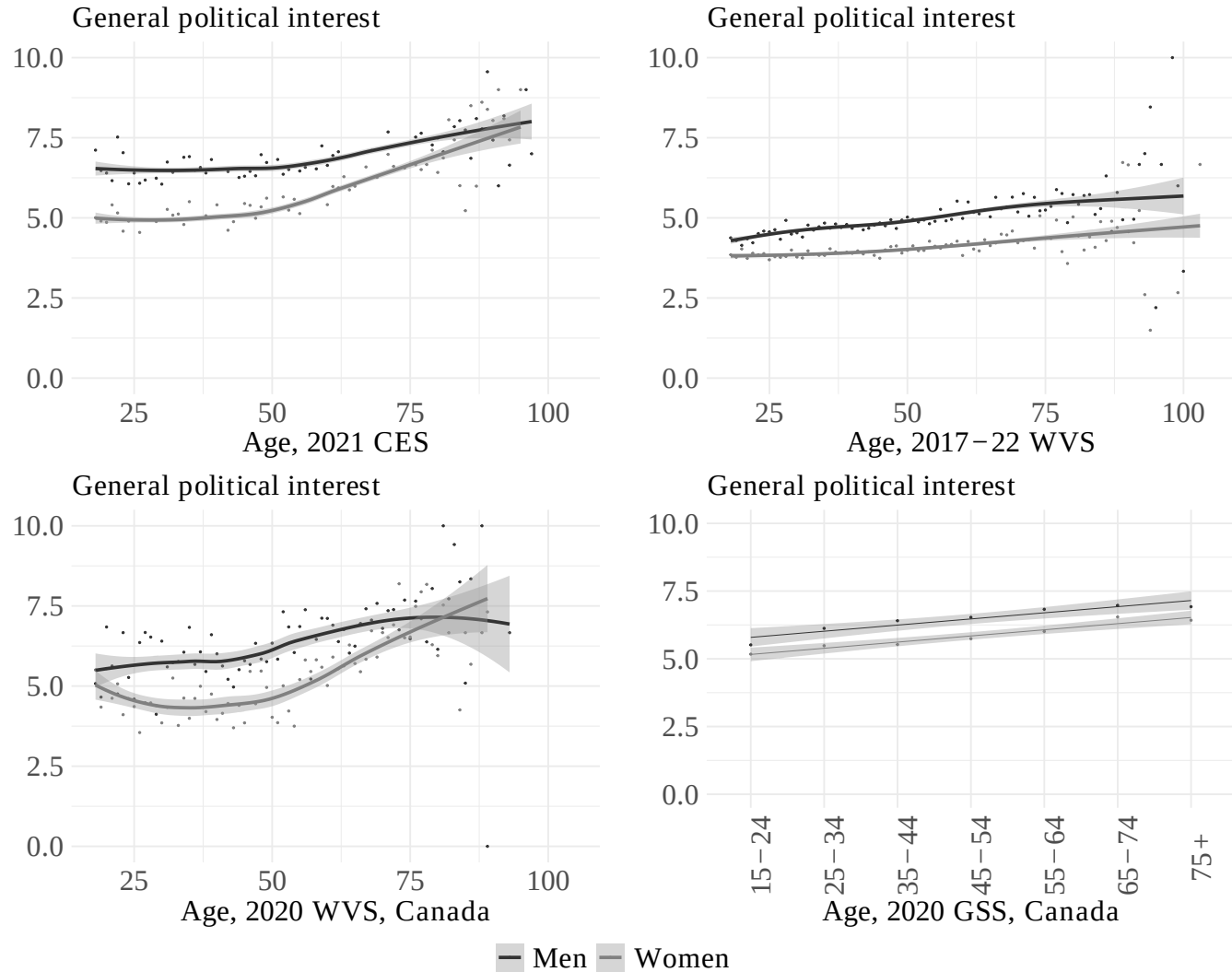

Figure 28: Self-Reported Level of General Political Interest by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES, WVS Wave 7 and 2020 Canadian GSS

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. Dots represent average interest by age and gender. 95% confidence intervals represented by shaded areas. CES, WVS and GSS weights are applied. For the GSS, respondents' specific age is not available; age groups are used instead.

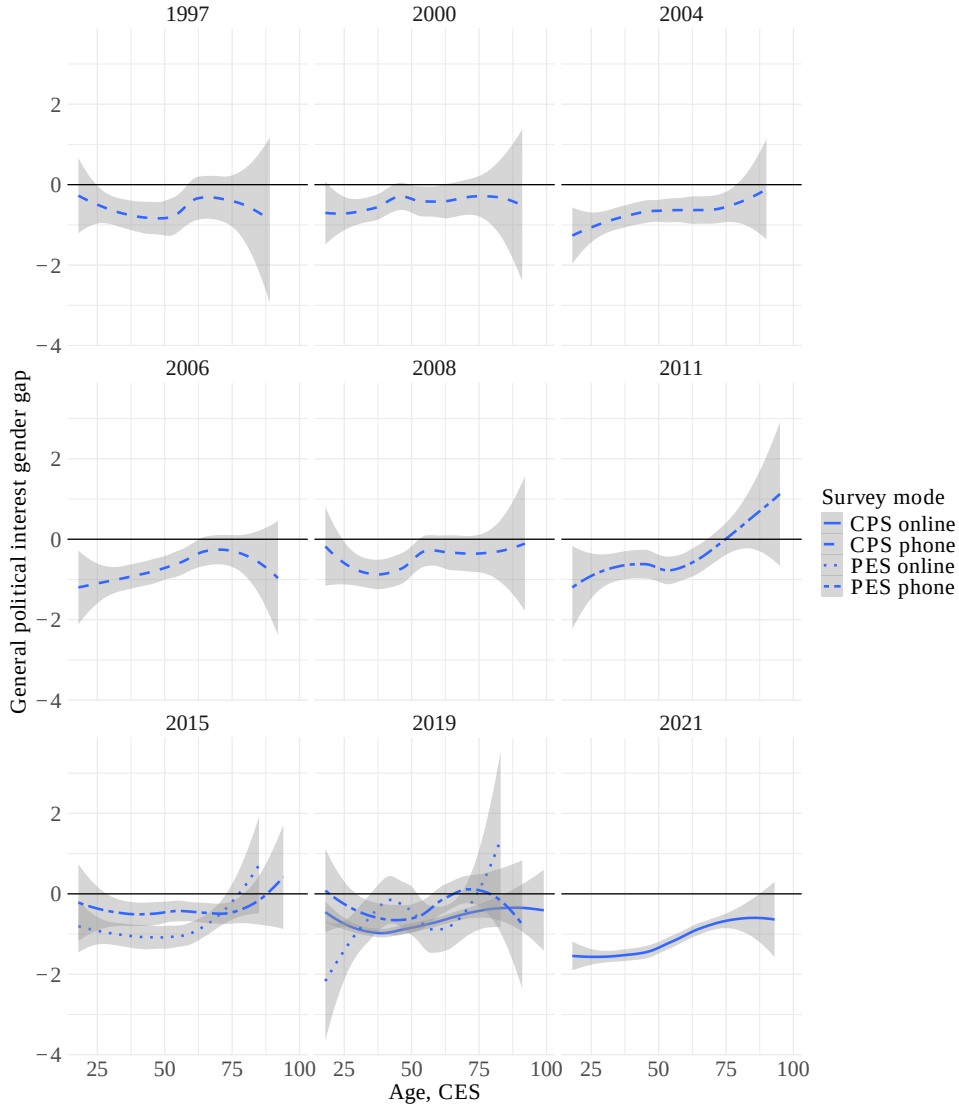

Figure 29: General Political Interest by Year and Gender Among Canadian Adults, CES

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no gender difference in interest at all, positive values (up to +10) = women more interested, negative values (down to -10) = men more interested. CES weights are applied.

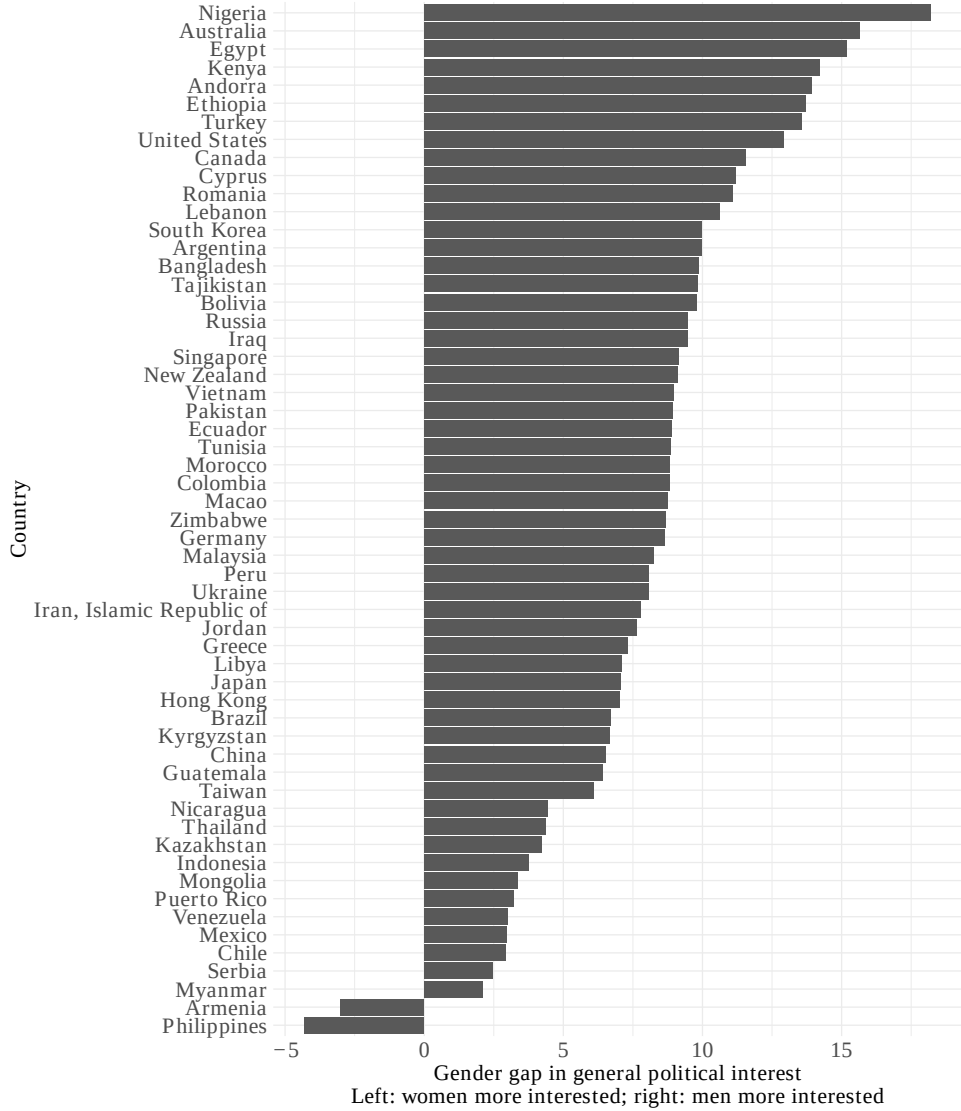

Figure 30: Self-Reported Level of General Political Interest by Country, WVS Wave 7

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no gender difference in interest at all, positive values (up to +10) = women more interested, negative values (down to -10) = men more interested. WVS weights are applied.

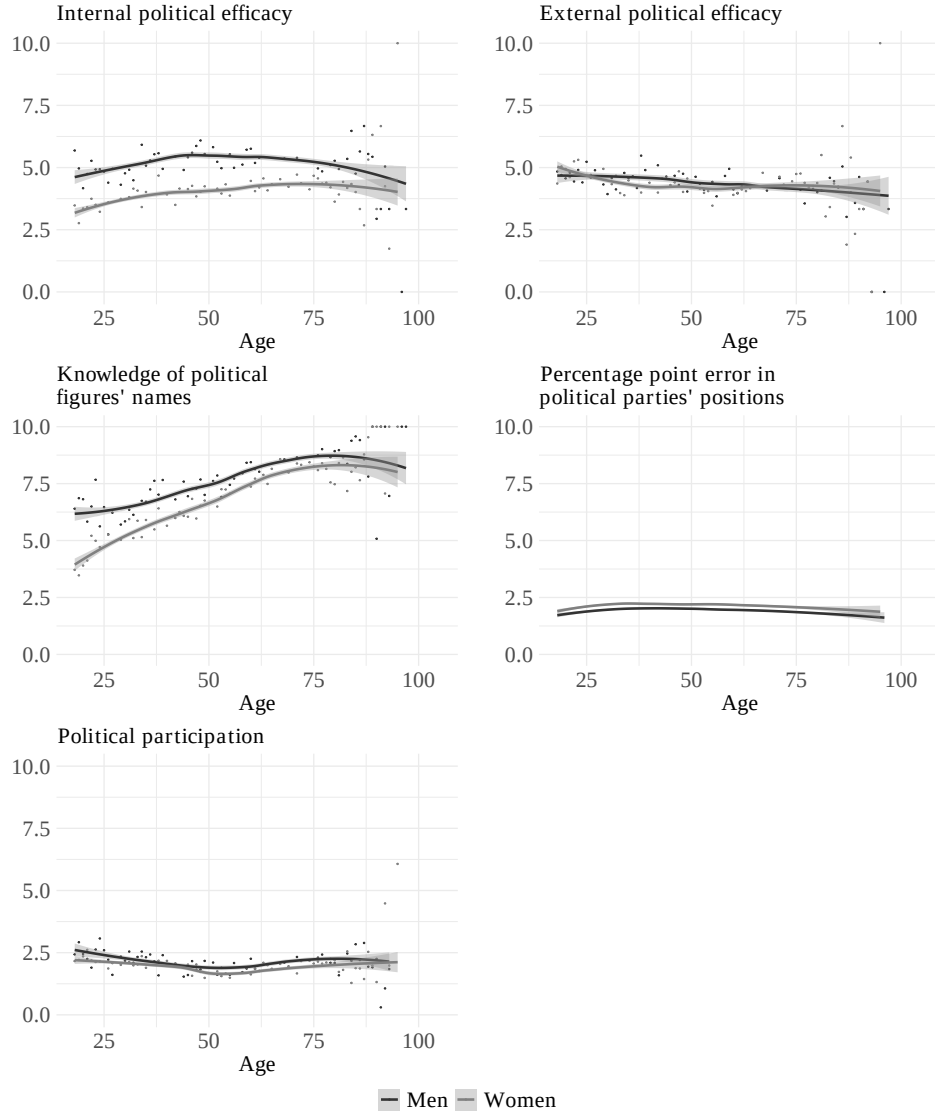

Figure 31: Level of Political Engagement Across Several Measures Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no engagement at all, and 10 = a great deal of engagement. For percentage point error in political parties' positions, the percentage point error is instead reported. Dots represent average interest by age and gender. 95% confidence intervals represented by shaded areas. CES weights are applied.

Questionnaire

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

Wording from Stephenson et al. (2022)

- 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

- 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."
  - Health care (i.e., pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses)
  - International affairs (i.e., diplomatic disputes between Canada and China, Ukrainian war)
  - Law and crime (i.e., police funding, sentences for violent crimes)
  - Education (i.e., university tuition, funding of public and private schools)
  - Partisan politics (i.e., federal elections, political parties)

- What is the gender of most of your friends?
  - Girls
  - Boys
  - About the same for both genders
  - Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 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
- Among these five topics, which one do you discuss most often with your female friends?

For each of these pairs of characteristics, indicate where you fall on a scale between both extremes. (Spence and Helmreich 1978; Ward et al. 2006)

```
+ 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 d
    - (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 pr
    - (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
    - (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 othe
    - (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
    - (1--5 slider)
    - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

+ 20.15 Not at all understanding of others - Very understan
    - (1--5 slider)
    - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

+ 20.16 Very cold in relations with others - Very warm in r
    - (1--5 slider)
    - Don't know/Prefer not to answer

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]

Appendix Tables and Figures

CPIS

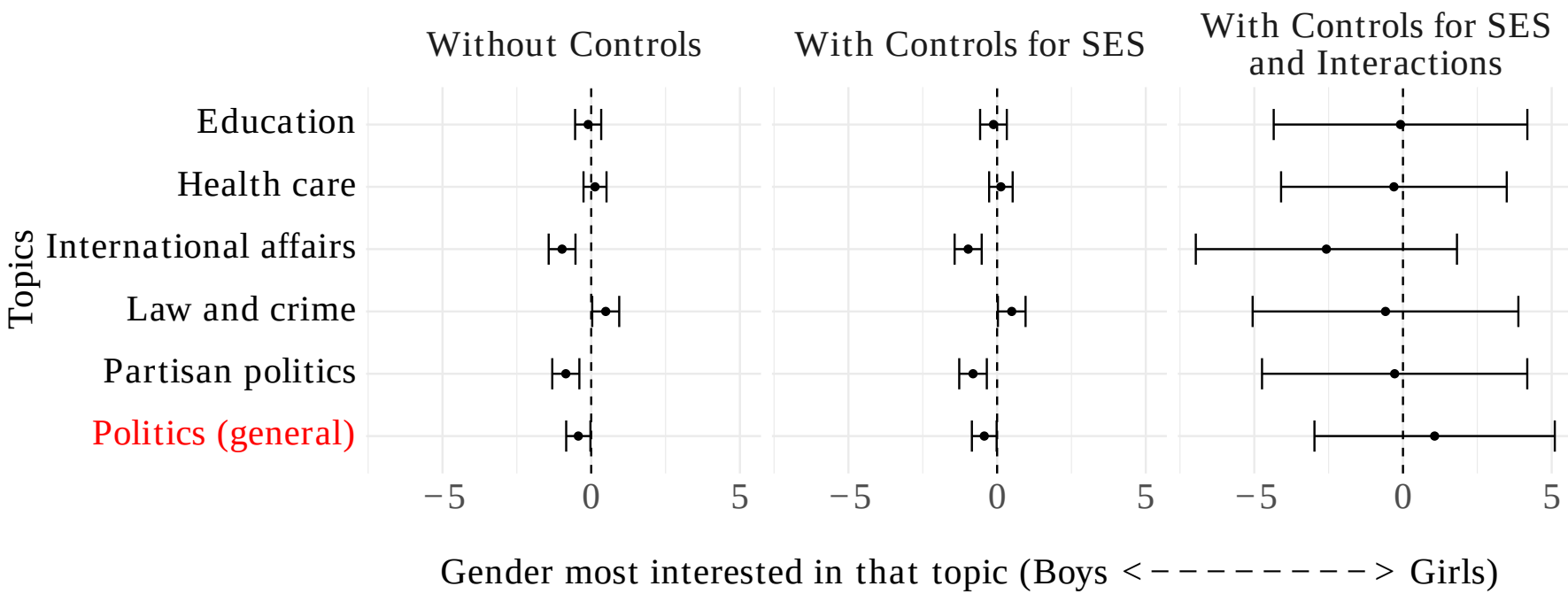

Figure 32: Gender Differences in Interest for Specific Political Topics Among Canadian Children, 2022 CPIS

Table 7: Interest in Topic by Gender and Age Group, CPIS

	Politics (general)	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Ages 10–15						
(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 = girl)	-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
Ages 16–18						
(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 = girl)	-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

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Controls: None

Table 8: Interest in Topic by Gender of Parent who Discusses that Topic the Most (With Interactions)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	10.996+	11.686	12.494	9.940	25.076**	34.623*
	(5.676)	(9.225)	(10.829)	(10.495)	(9.527)	(14.211)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.468***	-0.136	-0.203	-0.166	0.027	-0.083
	(0.119)	(0.298)	(0.294)	(0.282)	(0.289)	(0.342)
Gender (1 = girl)	-0.042	-0.018	-2.360	0.650	-0.956	0.677
	(1.251)	(2.334)	(2.717)	(2.767)	(2.517)	(3.326)
Gender (1 = girl):Age	0.008	0.020	0.102	-0.021	0.067	-0.081
	(0.080)	(0.149)	(0.173)	(0.177)	(0.160)	(0.211)
Gender (1 = girl):Ethnicity (1 = white)	-0.645*	-0.401	-0.704	-0.132	-0.465	-0.707
	(0.251)	(0.466)	(0.537)	(0.547)	(0.516)	(0.658)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.625	0.467	0.524	0.408	0.540	0.437
SD (Observations)	2.683	2.381	2.583	2.716	2.648	2.816
Num.Obs.2099	459	412	425	467	336	
R2 Marg.0.021	0.032	0.082	0.016	0.038	0.066	

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Hidden Controls: Socio-economic variables

Table 9: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with Socialization Agents (With Interactions)

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
(Intercept)	-8.948	-13.867	-22.750	23.058	13.852	3.026
	(9.130)	(17.013)	(15.928)	(17.299)	(16.960)	(17.625)
Gender (1 = girl)	-2.307	-6.406	-2.449	5.453	-7.929	0.980
	(2.141)	(4.395)	(4.348)	(4.541)	(5.051)	(4.501)
Topic most discussed with mother?	-0.277	0.911+	-0.261	-0.038	-0.577	0.314
	(0.296)	(0.525)	(0.907)	(1.372)	(0.566)	(1.518)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.769*	1.387	0.327	1.087+	-0.251	2.047*
	(0.299)	(1.215)	(0.514)	(0.640)	(0.711)	(0.988)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.665*	-0.084	-0.617	2.385**	1.704**	1.591
	(0.305)	(0.726)	(0.555)	(0.902)	(0.575)	(2.010)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.595+	-3.032**	0.849	0.344	-0.134	2.537+
	(0.322)	(1.148)	(0.537)	(0.707)	(0.734)	(1.361)
Topic most discussed by teacher?	0.327	1.326	1.167*	-0.585	-0.434	0.157
	(0.306)	(0.917)	(0.533)	(1.283)	(0.618)	(1.261)
Topic most discussed by social media influencer?	0.704*	1.064+	0.112	0.451	0.576	-1.475
	(0.302)	(0.638)	(0.513)	(0.734)	(1.100)	(1.995)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.840	0.733	0.000	0.705	0.501	0.682
SD (Observations)	2.428	2.262	2.278	2.318	2.502	2.376
Num.Obs.845	168	169	168	170	170	

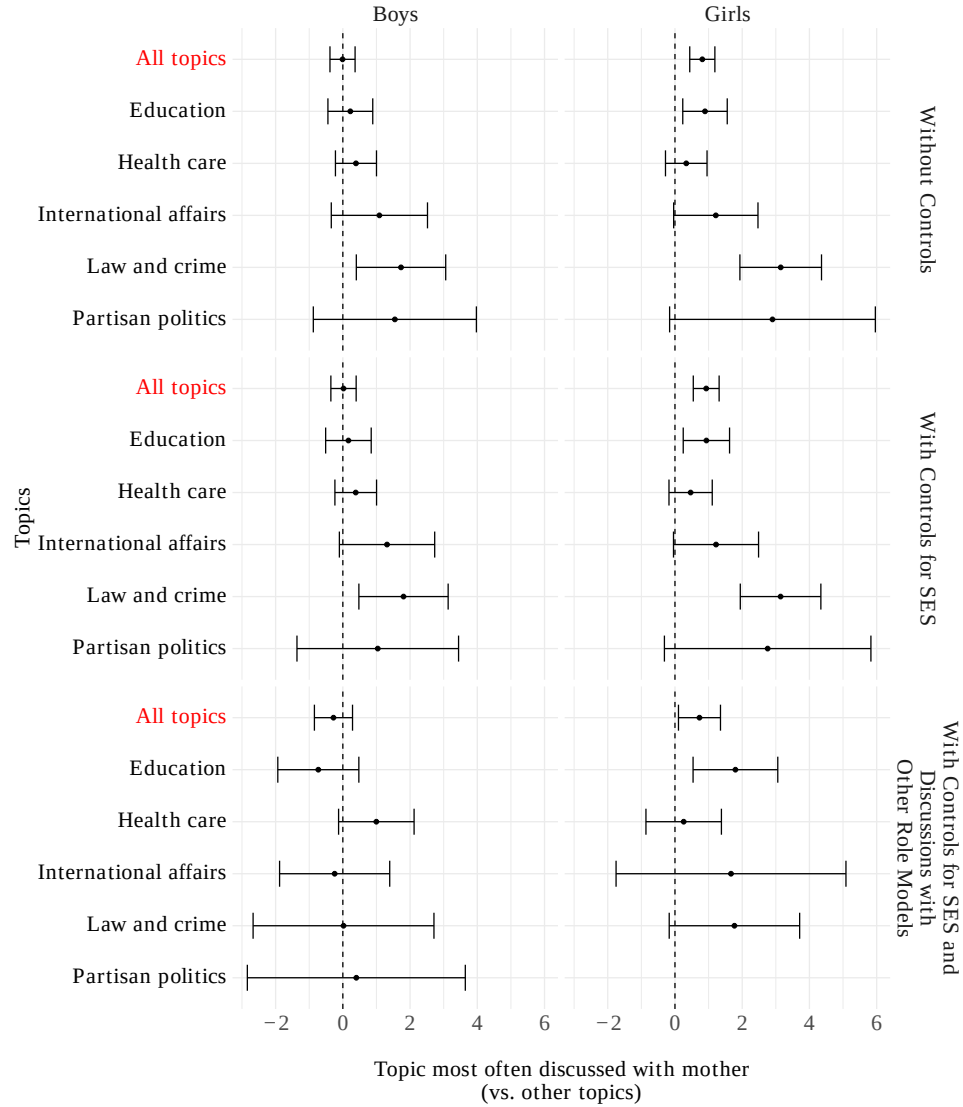

Figure 33: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Mother

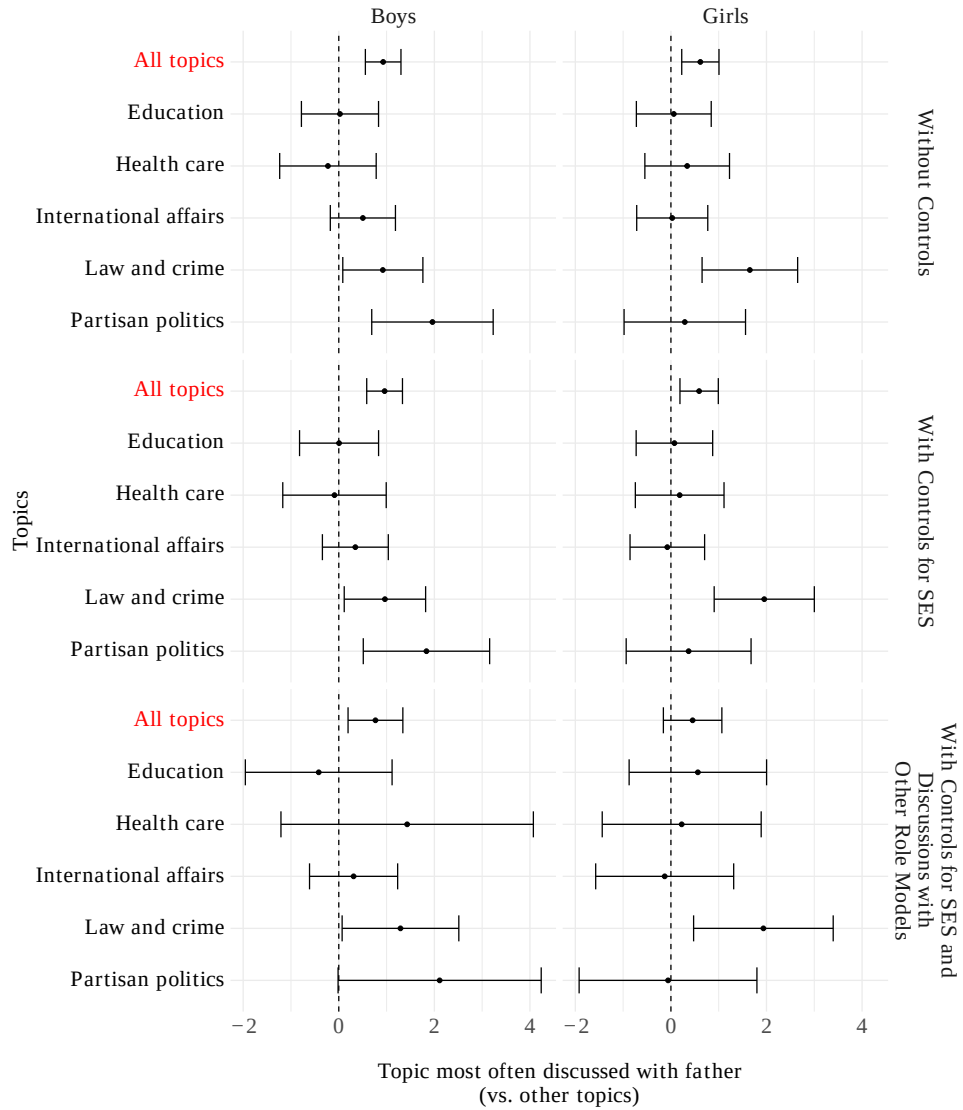

Figure 34: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Father, 2022 CPIS

Table 10: Interest in Topic by Gender of Parent who Discusses that Topic the Most

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	5.289***	4.631***	6.333***	5.504***	4.260***	4.601***
	(0.180)	(0.379)	(0.251)	(0.222)	(0.340)	(0.286)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.665***	-0.411	-0.332	-0.242	0.286	-0.182
	(0.161)	(0.401)	(0.401)	(0.381)	(0.379)	(0.480)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.763	0.705	0.820	0.349	0.649	0.582
SD (Observations)	2.671	2.361	2.483	2.638	2.694	2.973
Num.Obs.	1138	241	225	228	252	192
R2 Marg.	0.014	0.004	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.001
Girls						
(Intercept)	4.749***	4.138***	5.057***	5.652***	4.602***	3.449***
	(0.174)	(0.424)	(0.240)	(0.265)	(0.423)	(0.279)
Mother discusses topic more than father	-0.254	0.158	-0.118	0.047	-0.434	0.110
	(0.173)	(0.442)	(0.415)	(0.397)	(0.445)	(0.475)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.645	0.665	0.345	0.492	0.849	0.360
SD (Observations)	2.703	2.376	2.687	2.777	2.599	2.748
Num.Obs.	1032	237	199	212	228	156
R2 Marg.	0.002	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.004	0.000

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Table 11: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Mother

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	4.810***	4.059***	5.981***	5.091***	4.372***	4.139***
	(0.154)	(0.241)	(0.211)	(0.173)	(0.261)	(0.199)
Topic most discussed with mother?	-0.009	0.391	1.087	1.731*	0.223	1.548
	(0.190)	(0.310)	(0.726)	(0.675)	(0.338)	(1.231)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.693	0.757	0.642	0.149	0.614	0.388
SD (Observations)	2.767	2.398	2.690	2.689	2.717	2.948
Num.Obs.	1320	262	265	265	264	264
R2 Marg.	0.000	0.006	0.008	0.024	0.002	0.006
Girls						
(Intercept)	4.215***	4.014***	4.735***	5.160***	3.802***	3.099***
	(0.139)	(0.221)	(0.215)	(0.189)	(0.273)	(0.168)
Topic most discussed with mother?	0.813***	0.336	1.215+	3.145***	0.893**	2.901+
	(0.191)	(0.314)	(0.636)	(0.616)	(0.336)	(1.553)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.605	0.586	0.704	0.284	0.915	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.721	2.384	2.597	2.749	2.524	2.674
Num.Obs.	1277	258	255	254	255	255
R2 Marg.	0.013	0.004	0.014	0.093	0.027	0.014

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Controls: None

Table 12: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Father

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	4.678***	4.294***	5.883***	5.078***	4.488***	4.056***
	(0.150)	(0.212)	(0.228)	(0.185)	(0.230)	(0.219)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.929***	-0.227	0.504	0.922*	0.025	1.960**
	(0.190)	(0.512)	(0.346)	(0.425)	(0.409)	(0.645)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.659	0.722	0.379	0.000	0.613	0.568
SD (Observations)	2.704	2.376	2.672	2.652	2.698	2.841
Num.Obs.	1262	250	254	253	253	252
R2 Marg.	0.018	0.001	0.008	0.018	0.000	0.035
Girls						
(Intercept)	4.188***	4.109***	4.796***	5.124***	4.030***	3.137***
	(0.161)	(0.216)	(0.248)	(0.203)	(0.266)	(0.206)
Topic most discussed with father?	0.616**	0.341	0.028	1.652**	0.060	0.291
	(0.199)	(0.449)	(0.377)	(0.507)	(0.397)	(0.644)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.753	0.733	0.634	0.177	0.959	0.502
SD (Observations)	2.690	2.335	2.660	2.790	2.536	2.650
Num.Obs.	1154	233	230	230	231	230
R2 Marg.	0.008	0.002	0.000	0.044	0.000	0.001

$+$ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Controls: None

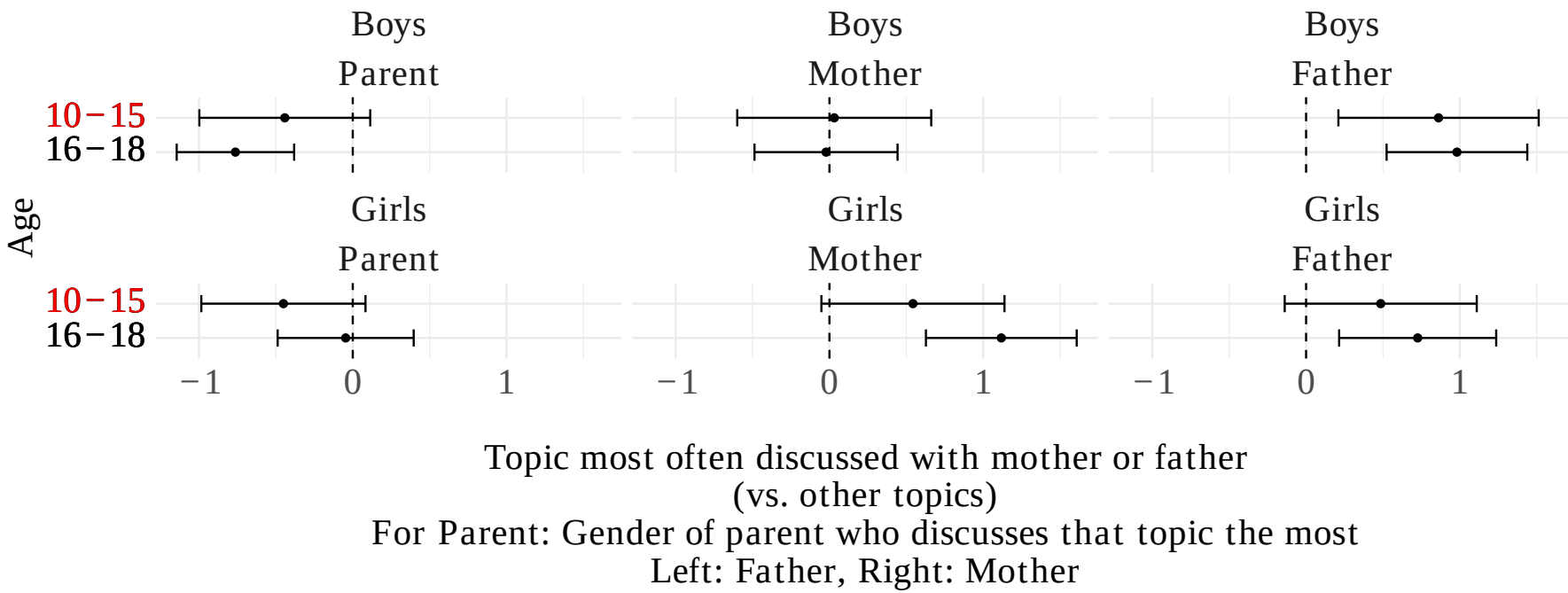

Figure 35: Interest in Topics by Gender, Age and Discussion with Parents, 2022 CPIS

Table 13: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with one's Female Friends

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	4.929***	4.474***	6.297***	5.068***	4.459***	4.576***
	(0.163)	(0.273)	(0.242)	(0.250)	(0.316)	(0.250)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.541*	-0.078	0.267	1.605*	0.752	-1.114
	(0.245)	(0.547)	(0.486)	(0.659)	(0.458)	(1.127)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.643	0.745	0.034	0.625	0.638	0.400
SD (Observations)	2.750	2.568	2.630	2.564	2.756	2.896
Num.Obs.	783	155	157	157	157	157
R2 Marg.	0.006	0.000	0.002	0.036	0.017	0.006
Girls						
(Intercept)	4.370***	4.246***	4.687***	5.477***	4.249***	3.376***
	(0.155)	(0.268)	(0.238)	(0.251)	(0.296)	(0.201)
Topic most discussed with female friends?	0.902***	0.151	1.195*	1.085*	0.274	4.624**
	(0.223)	(0.423)	(0.533)	(0.511)	(0.400)	(1.570)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.647	1.010	0.567	0.478	0.946	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.687	2.214	2.616	2.788	2.506	2.698
Num.Obs.	914	183	182	181	184	184
R2 Marg.	0.017	0.001	0.027	0.024	0.002	0.045

$+$ p $<$ 0.1, * p $<$ 0.05, ** p $<$ 0.01, *** p $<$ 0.001

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Table 14: Interest in Topic Most Often Discussed with One's Male Friends

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Boys						
(Intercept)	4.615***	4.432***	5.474***	5.023***	4.449***	4.175***
	(0.155)	(0.232)	(0.239)	(0.197)	(0.230)	(0.239)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	1.541***	-1.111+	1.586***	1.503***	0.626	1.509+
	(0.198)	(0.669)	(0.356)	(0.397)	(0.443)	(0.810)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.680	0.860	0.301	0.000	0.528	0.685
SD (Observations)	2.701	2.365	2.673	2.604	2.743	2.900
Num.Obs.	1158	230	233	232	232	231
R2 Marg.	0.047	0.011	0.079	0.058	0.008	0.014
Girls						
(Intercept)	4.516***	4.387***	5.133***	5.876***	4.313***	3.592***
	(0.167)	(0.211)	(0.298)	(0.293)	(0.289)	(0.231)
Topic most discussed with male friends?	0.944***	0.070	0.871+	-0.343	0.638	2.033*
	(0.242)	(0.656)	(0.512)	(0.462)	(0.515)	(1.000)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.691	0.410	0.858	0.000	0.961	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.646	2.297	2.595	2.768	2.444	2.751
Num.Obs.	753	153	149	149	152	150
R2 Marg.	0.019	0.000	0.019	0.004	0.010	0.027

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

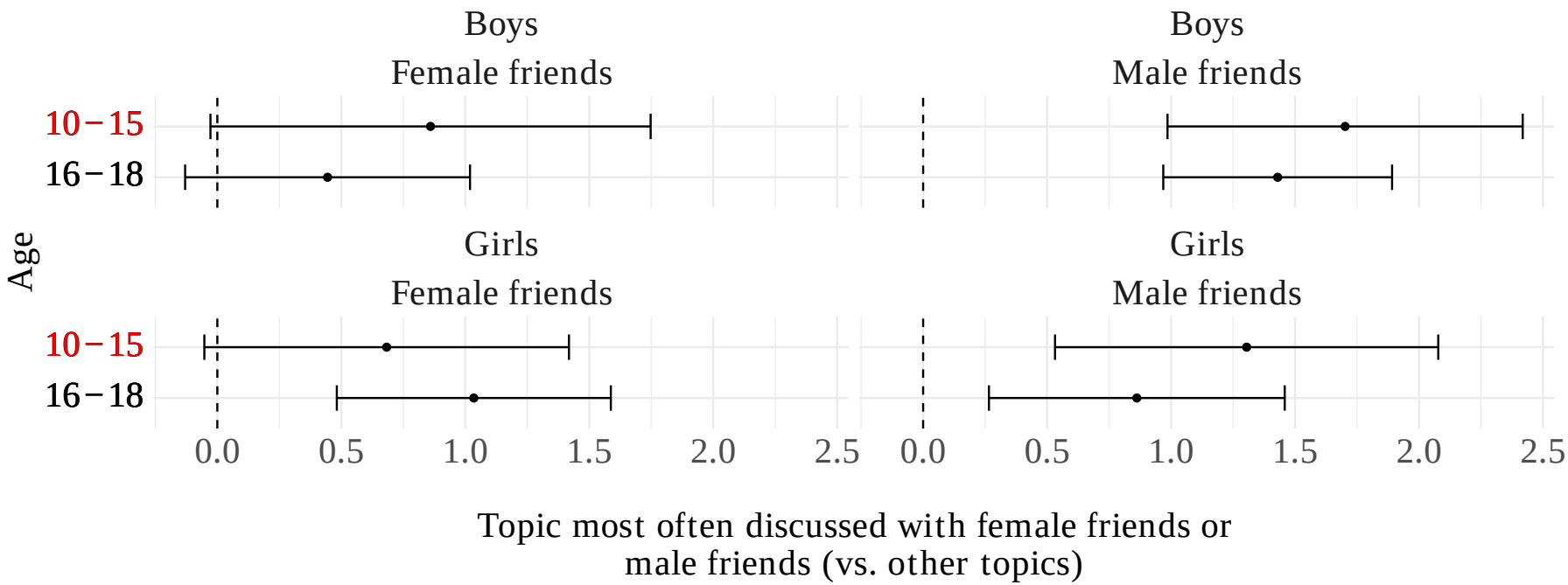

Figure 36: Interest in Topics by Gender, Age and Discussion with Peers, 2022 CPIS

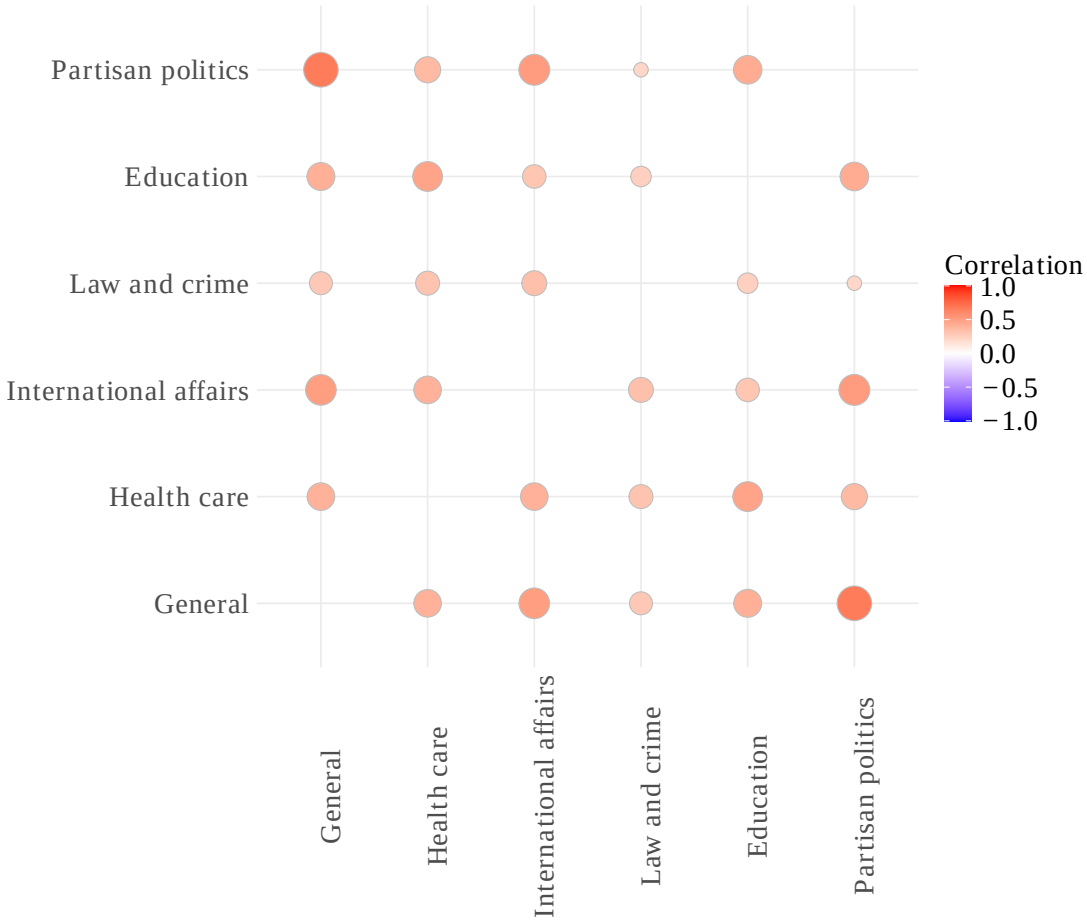

Figure 37: Correlation Matrix for Interest in Topics, 2022 CPIS

Table 15: Interest in Topic by Gender Congruence of Influencer who Discusses that Topic

	All	Health care	International affairs	Law and crime	Education	Partisan politics
Same-Gender Influencers						
(Intercept)	4.429***	4.101***	5.335***	4.981***	4.460***	3.832***
	(0.153)	(0.203)	(0.235)	(0.189)	(0.219)	(0.217)
Topic most discussed with influencer?	1.331***	0.780*	0.939**	1.507***	0.038	1.551+
	(0.165)	(0.319)	(0.298)	(0.359)	(0.487)	(0.881)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.747	0.757	0.739	0.450	0.836	0.801
SD (Observations)	2.704	2.369	2.654	2.705	2.668	2.831
Num.Obs.	1678	336	338	335	335	334
R2 Marg.	0.035	0.017	0.027	0.050	0.000	0.009
Other-Gender Influencers						
(Intercept)	4.107***	3.795***	5.146***	5.349***	3.828***	3.167***
	(0.201)	(0.240)	(0.346)	(0.354)	(0.328)	(0.277)
Topic most discussed with influencer?	1.136***	0.569	-0.217	1.241*	0.932	0.583
	(0.283)	(0.580)	(0.523)	(0.542)	(0.817)	(1.464)
SD (Intercept Class)	0.858	0.150	0.725	1.073	1.023	0.000
SD (Observations)	2.688	2.299	2.611	2.522	2.650	2.876
Num.Obs.	560	112	112	111	113	112
R2 Marg.	0.025	0.009	0.002	0.042	0.011	0.001

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Method: Multilevel linear regression

Fixed Effects: Classroom

Datagotchi PES

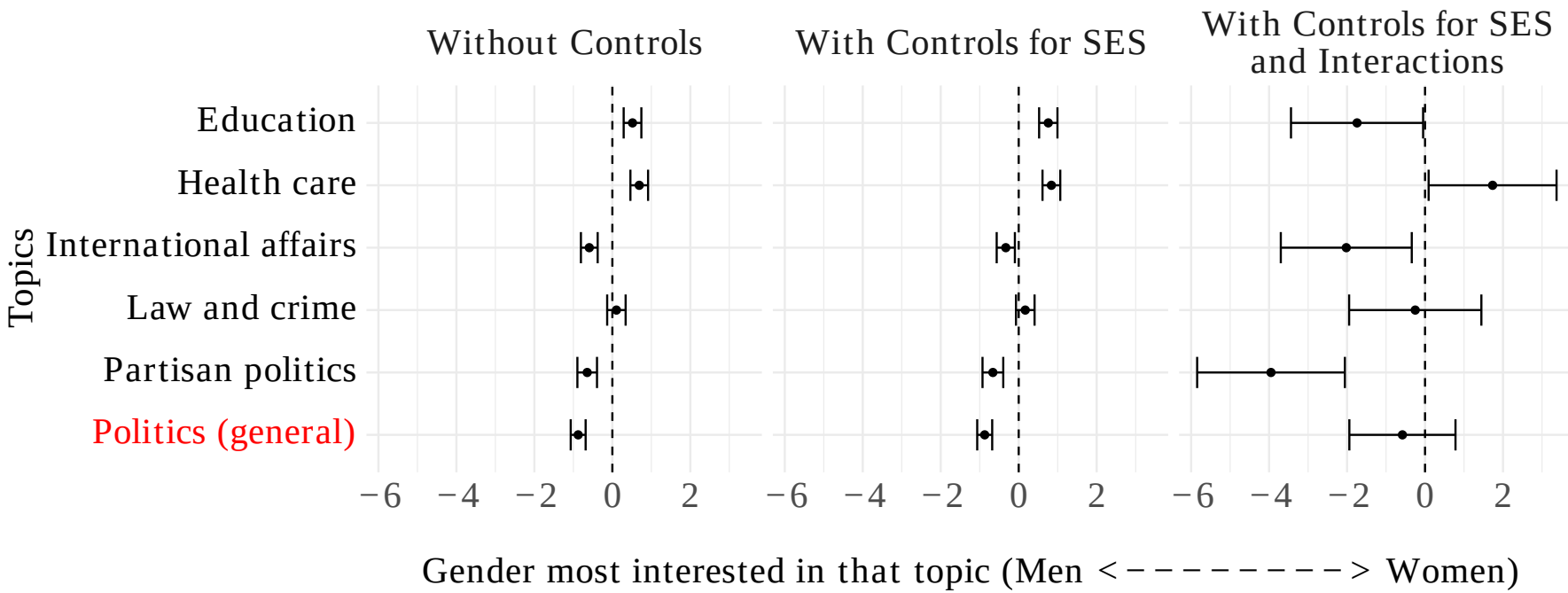

Figure 38: Gender Differences in Interest for Specific Political Topics Among Canadian Adults, 2023 Datagotchi PES

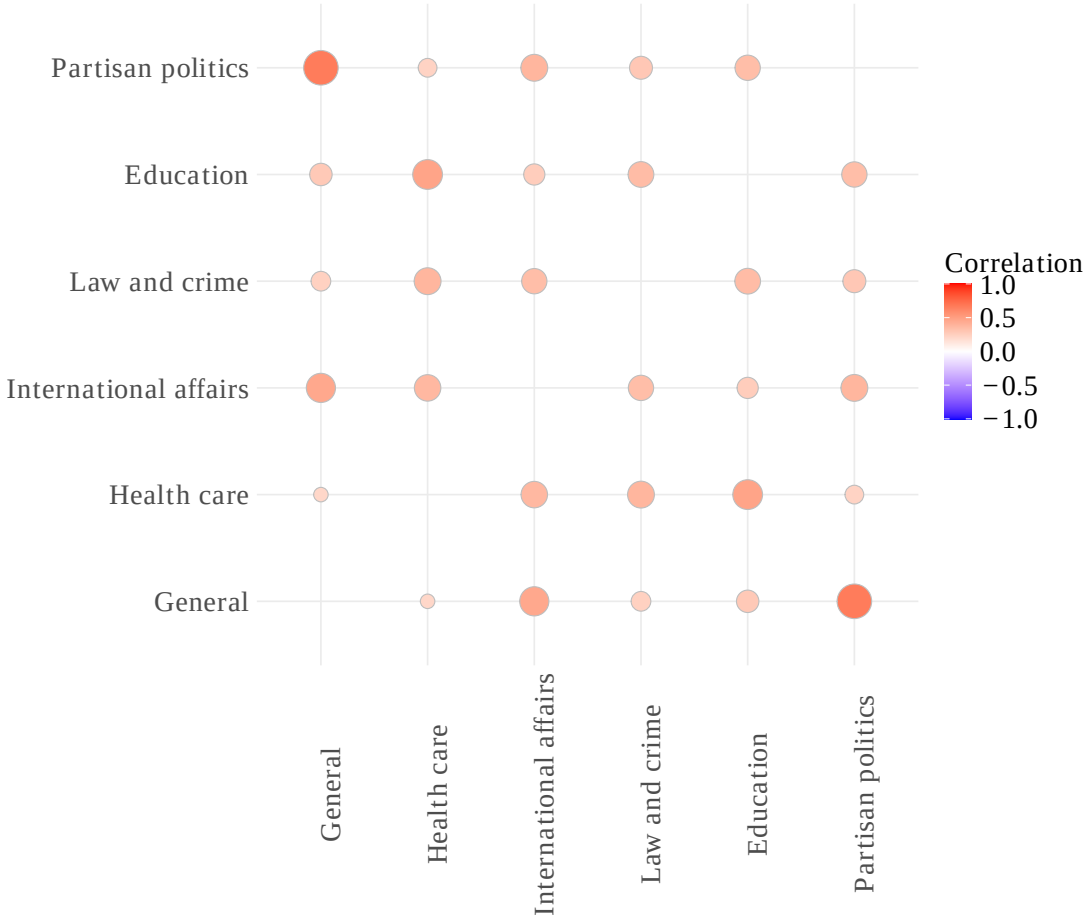

Figure 39: Correlation Matrix for Interest in Topics, 2023 Datagotchi PES

CES, WVS and GSS

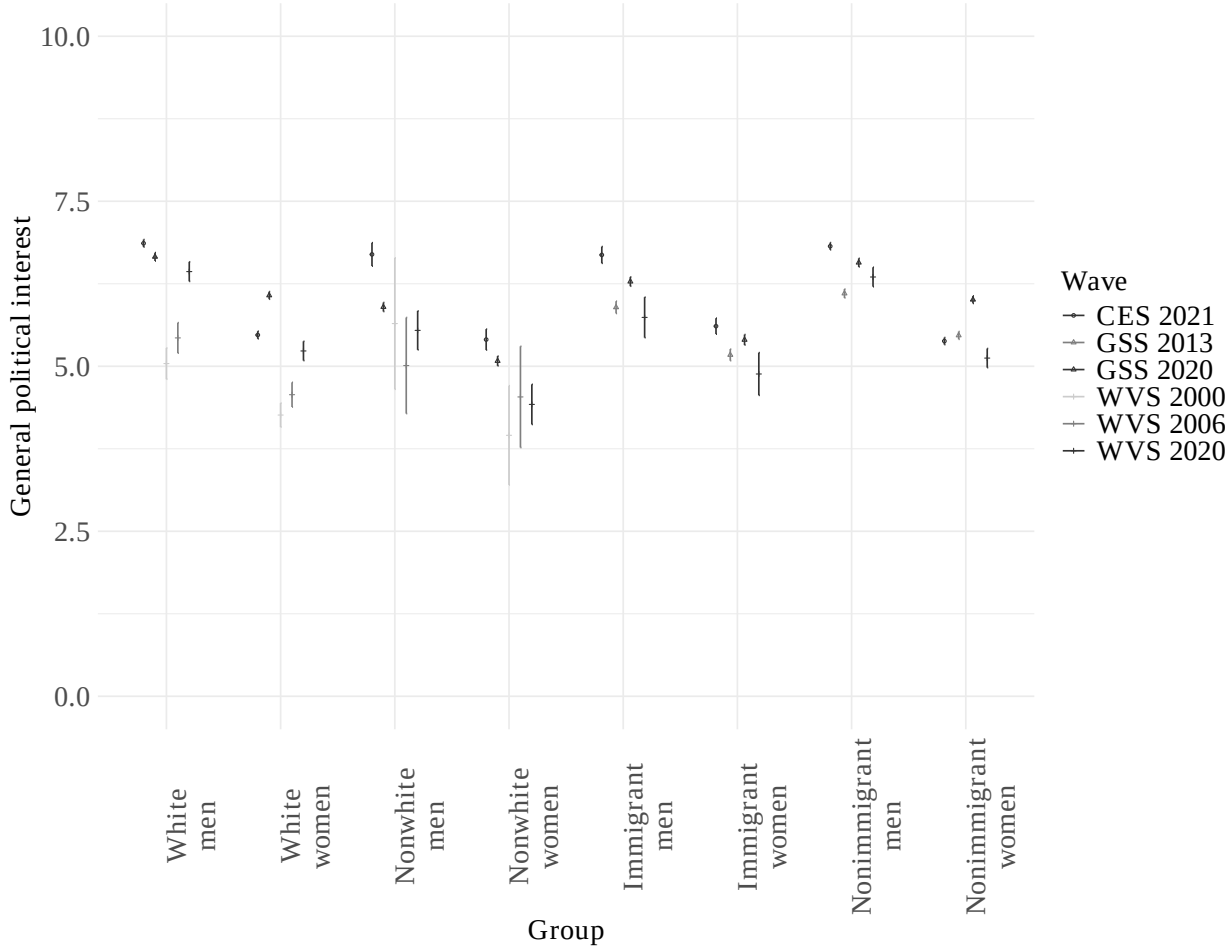

Figure 40: General Political Interest by Year, Gender, Ethnicity and Immigrant Status Among Canadian Adults, CES, WVS (Canada) and GSS

Notes: On the *y* axis, 0 = no interest at all, and 10 = a great deal of interest. 95% confidence intervals shown. CES, WVS and GSS weights are applied. Not all surveys included here asked questions about both ethnicity and immigrant status.

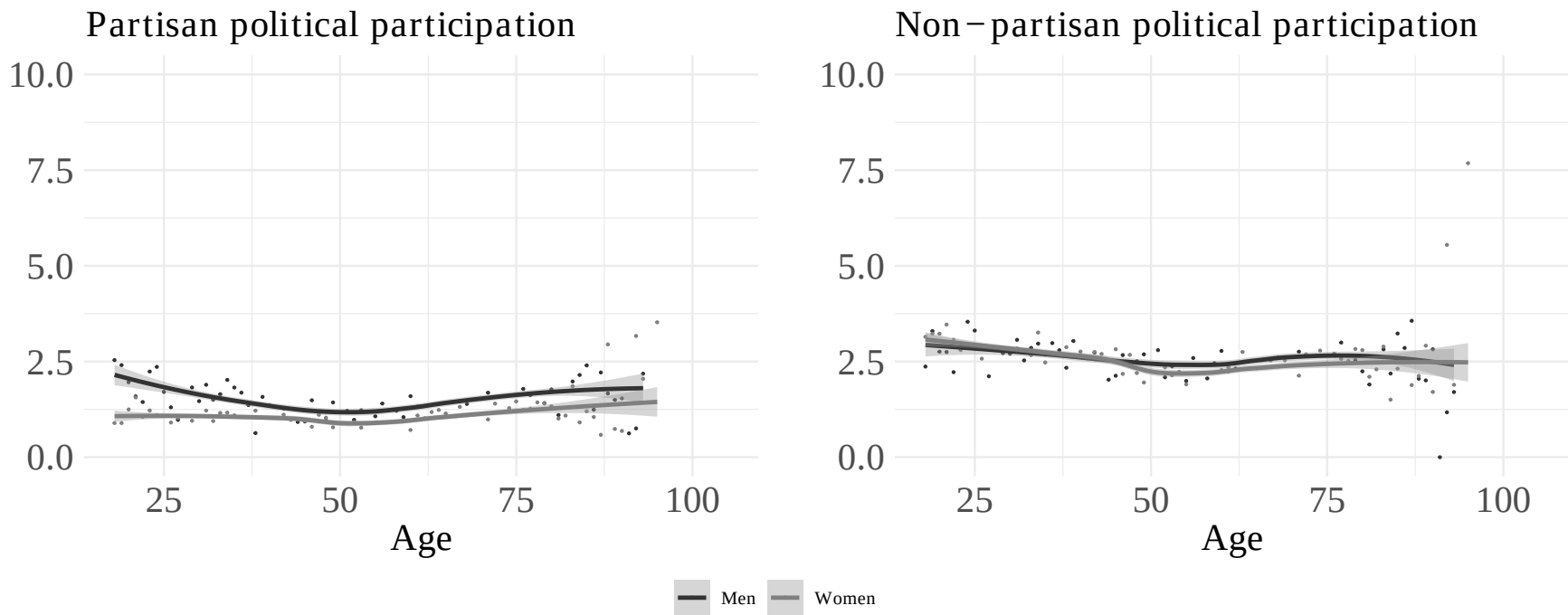

Figure 41: Gender Differences in Partisan and Non-Partisan Political Participation by Age Among Canadian Adults, 2021 CES

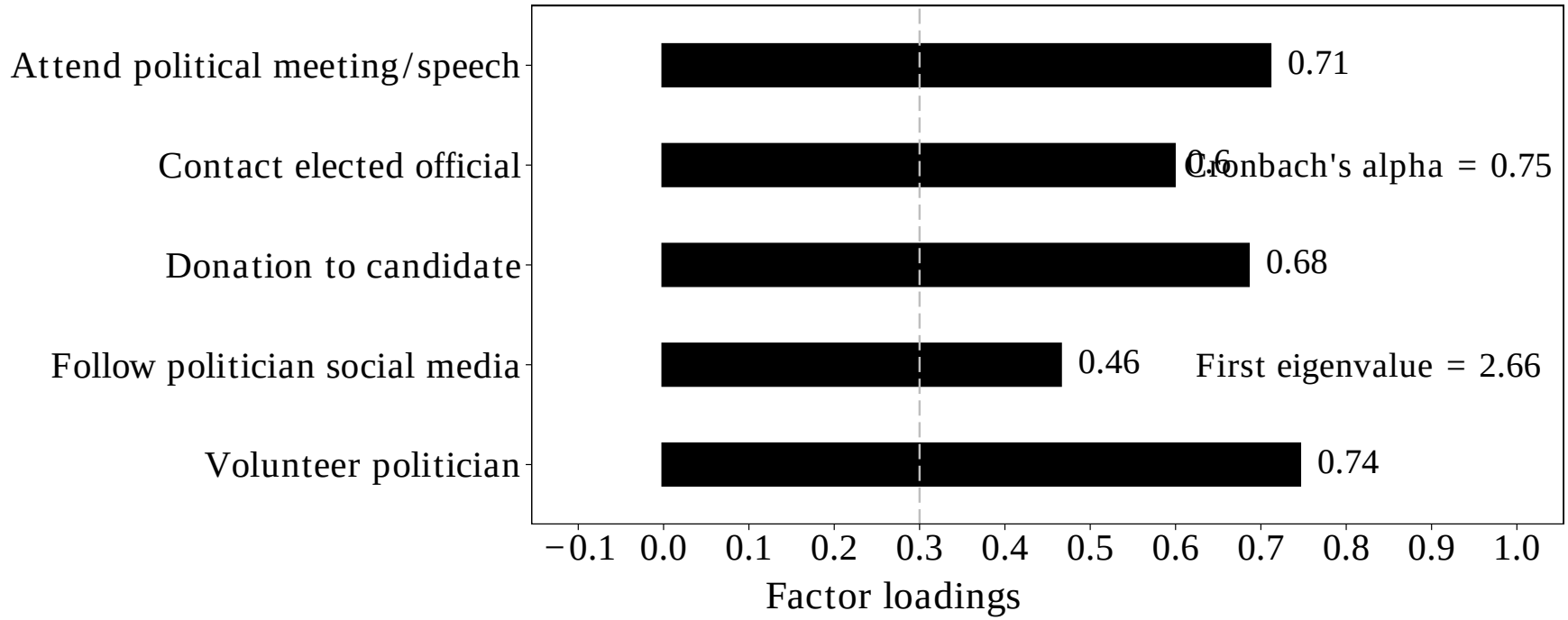

Figure 42: CES Factor Analysis: Partisan Political Participation Scale

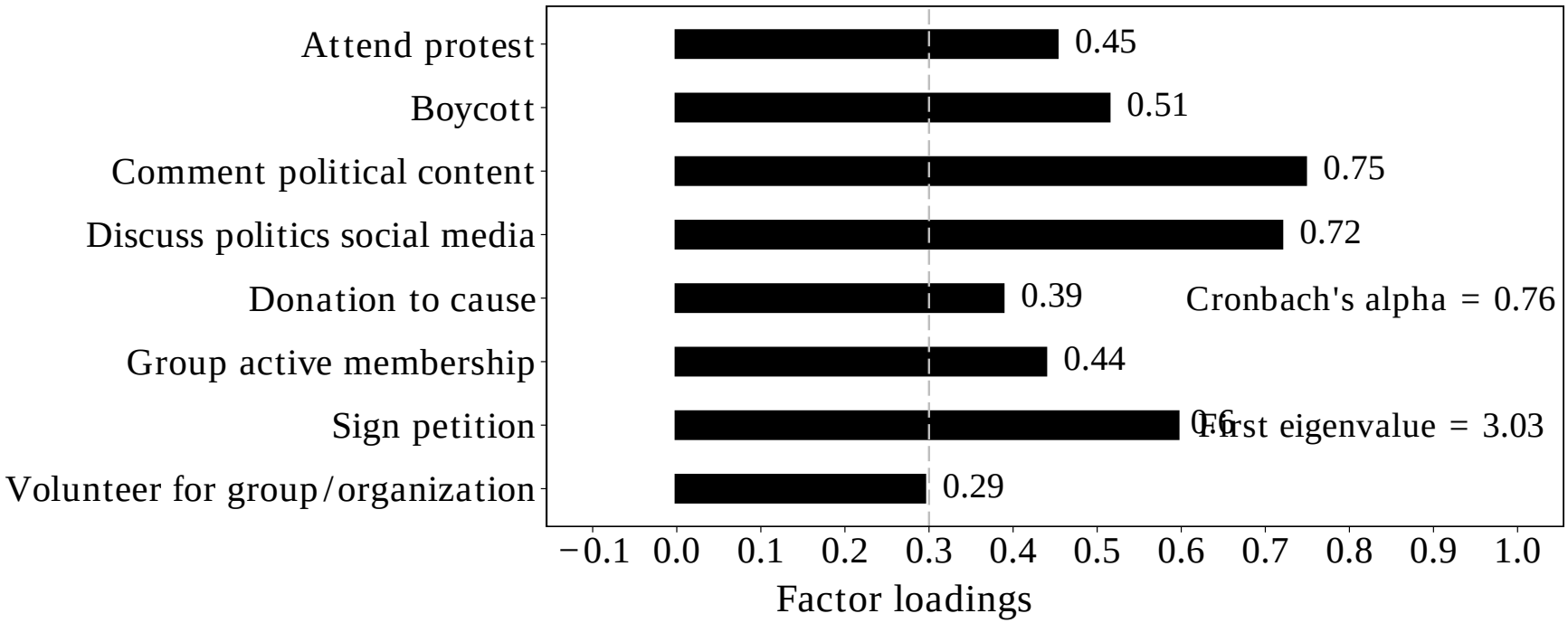

Figure 43: CES Factor Analysis: Non-Partisan Political Participation Scale

Definitions & Literatures

Politics

Other definitions (Conover, Searing, and Crewe 2002; Fitzgerald 2013; Heywood 2019; Lane 1962; Sapiro 2013; Walsh 2004):

- The art of government
- Public affairs in general
- The non-violent resolution of disputes
- Power & the distribution of resources
- Conflictual discussion of controversial topics
- "The concept is extremely broad and comprises any kind of leadership in action" (Weber 1919, 1)

Political Interest & Socialization

Political interest: "the degree to which politics arouses a citizen's curiosity" (Van Deth 1990, 278)

- Being aware of politics & caring about it

Political socialization: "the process where individual actors acquire political attitudes as a result of outside influences from their direct environment" (Hooghe 2022, 99)

Gender

"[S]ets 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)

- Partial overlap between gender & sex (Bittner & Gooyear-Grant, 2017), but these concepts are distinct; one relates to biology, the other one refers to social norms associated with being a woman or a man

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- Gender & politics: field interested in how women, men, genderqueer people, non-binary people, and individuals with other gender identities take part in politics, view and think about politics, and the barriers to their political participation that derive from socialization into gendered norms, roles, and power structures, as well as discrimination and exclusion that unfold from them.

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- Goal of the project *with regards to gender & politics*: clarify how gender congruence affects the transmission of interests in communal political topics (often associated with femininity) & agentic political topics (often associated with masculinity)

Agency & Communion

Agency: values, motives, traits & behaviors that align with "goal-achievement and task functioning (competence, assertiveness, decisiveness)" (Sczesny et al., 2018)

Communion: values, motives, traits & behaviors that align with "maintenance of relationships and social functioning (benevolence, trustworthiness, morality)." (Sczesny et al., 2018)

- Other authors use similar language: compassion & cooperation (communal) vs. contest, self-assertion & competition (agentic) (Kuhn 2004; R. Campbell and Winters 2008)

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- Other authors use similar language: compassion & cooperation (communal) vs. contest, self-assertion & competition (agentic) (Kuhn 2004; R. Campbell and Winters 2008)
- Both derive from gender roles rooted in the historic gendered division of labor
- Concept of *politics* typically seen as more adversarial => attracts mostly men, who then develop higher political efficacy & self-reported political interest

- Priming for competitive aspects of politics reduces women's stated political ambition but not men's (Preece and Stoddard 2015)

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- Gender differences in frequency of assertive speech seem to start at an early age (1–2 years old) (Fagot et al. 1985; Brownell, Ramani, and Zerwas 2006) and endure (Leaper and Smith 2004)

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- Gender differences in frequency of assertive speech seem to start at an early age (1–2 years old) (Fagot et al. 1985; Brownell, Ramani, and Zerwas 2006) and endure (Leaper and Smith 2004)
- Cooperative conflict resolution strategies are more commonly used by girls (Noakes and Rinaldi 2006)

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- Boys have more agentic goals and girls have more communal goals (Caravita and Cillessen 2012)
- A meta-analysis by Hsu et al. (2021) finds that across studies, men score higher on agency scales and women on communion scales (e.g., Spence and Helmreich (1978), which has therefore been used to measure masculinity and femininity); the gender gap in both has been decreasing over time as the gendered division of labor has decreased; and the gender gap in communion is larger but decreases with age

Political Ambition

The *desire* to run for political office at any level (Fox and Lawless 2005)

- This desire can be short-term or long-term. Political ambition is a form of political engagement through attitudes rather than actions.

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- Parental socialization: women are less likely to receive parental encouragement to run (Fox and Lawless 2005, 2024)
- Political interest, self-perceived qualifications, and family socialization, while not the only factors, all predict political ambition

Consequences of Social Roles & Stereotypes on Childhood Political Socialization

- Girls and boys think of politics as mostly “a men’s domain” in Japan, China, Mexico and the USA (Mayer and Schmidt 2004)

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- Girls *become* more likely (from 47% to 75% chance) to draw a man when asked to draw a political leader *as they age* between 6 and 12 years old (Bos et al. 2022)

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- Girls *become* more likely (from 47% to 75% chance) to draw a man when asked to draw a political leader *as they age* between 6 and 12 years old (Bos et al. 2022)
- The gender gap in self-reported political interest increases between ages 6 and 12 (Bos et al. 2022)

Roots of social roles:

1. Social learning from parents, peers (also through gender homophily), media & schools

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3. Parents encourage sons more than daughters to run for political office (Fox and Lawless 2005, 2024)
4. There are more male than female than male politicians who can act as role models (Inter-Parliamentary Union Parline 2024; Wolbrecht and Campbell 2007; Bühlmann and Schädel 2012)

Discrimination Against Women in Politics

- By party gatekeepers (Ashe and Stewart 2012)

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- Women held to higher standards when they run (Bauer 2020)

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- Women held to higher standards when they run (Bauer 2020)
- Women nominated in hopeless ridings (Thomas and Bodet 2013)
- Compared to men, highly visible female politicians are more often the subject of negative media coverage (Fernandez-Garcia 2016; Goodyear-Grant 2013), uncivil tweets (Rheault, Rayment, and Musulan 2019) & financial barriers (Thomas 2013)

Studies about Gender Gaps in Interest

Table 16: Gender differences in political interest among teenagers and young adults

Study	Gender gap	Country	Respondents' ages
Koskimaa & Rapeli (2015)	+2	Finland	16–18
Dostie-Goulet (2009)	+2	Canada	14–16
Janmaat et al. (2022)	+5	UK	16
Cicognani et al. (2012)	+11	Belgium	15–19
Lawless & Fox (2013)	+11	United States	18–25
Burns et al. (2001)	+15	United States	18
Muxel (2002)	+15	France	18–25
Fraile & Sanchez-Vitores (2020)	+20	UK	15
Janmaat et al. (2022)	+22	UK	30
Hyman (1959)	+27	Germany	15–24
Fraile & Sanchez-Vitores (2020)	+30	UK	25

Women's Participation in Discussion Groups

Open classroom climate: "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)

- Students' perceptions of an *open classroom climate* marginally increase their political interest (Dassonneville et al. 2012), as well as several other aspects of their political engagement

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- Students' perceptions of an *open classroom climate* marginally increase their political interest (Dassonneville et al. 2012), as well as several other aspects of their political engagement
- The role of classroom political discussions in political socialization might be gendered
- 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)

- Girls are less likely to participate in classroom discussions of politics because boys make the classroom climate aggressive (Mahony 1985)

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- Girls are less likely to participate in classroom discussions of politics because boys make the classroom climate aggressive (Mahony 1985)
- Girls' presence has a slightly positive impact on girls' speaking time, but interruptions occur as frequently between adolescents whatever their gender (Rosenthal, Jones, and Rosenthal 2003)
- Adult women's and men's relative speaking time in a deliberative & decision-making setting depends on the number of women (Beauvais 2020; Karpowitz and Mendelberg 2014). When decisions are made by a majority, the presence of more women leads to more speaking time for each woman

Miscellaneous

Positionality & Motivations for the Study

1. At first, I wanted to study women's legislative under-representation in various contexts

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2. Need to go back in time and look at childhood socialization

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2. Need to go back in time and look at childhood socialization
3. Gap in the literature: how can we explain the transmission of interests in different political topics?

Hypotheses

- ***Hypothesis 1***: *Adolescence is the moment in time when gender differences in political interests emerge.*

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- ***Hypothesis 2***: *Children's political interests are more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than other-gender parent(s).*

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- ***Hypothesis 2***: *Children's political interests are more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than other-gender parent(s).*
- ***Hypothesis 3***: *Children's political interests are more affected by political discussions with their same-gender peers than other-gender peers.*

- ***Hypothesis 1a***: *Political interests start rising around age 15 and increase until age 25, after which they stabilizes.* (not supported)

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- ***Hypothesis 1b***: *Between ages 15 and 25, compared to girls, boys develop more interest in assertion-focused political topics such as law and crime, international affairs and partisan politics. These differences then stabilize and carry on at the adult age.* (not supported)

- ***Hypothesis 1a***: *Political interests start rising around age 15 and increase until age 25, after which they stabilizes.* (not supported)
- ***Hypothesis 1b***: *Between ages 15 and 25, compared to girls, boys develop more interest in assertion-focused political topics such as law and crime, international affairs and partisan politics. These differences then stabilize and carry on at the adult age.* (not supported)
- ***Hypothesis 1c***: *Between ages 15 and 25, compared to boys, girls develop more interest in cooperation-focused political topics such as health care and education politics. These differences then stabilize and carry on at the adult age.* (not supported)

- ***Hypothesis 1d***: *Boys and girls both see issues related to partisan politics as more political than other political issues starting at age 15.* (not supported)

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- ***Hypothesis 1e***: *Various indicators of political engagement, such as political interest, political knowledge and political efficacy, mostly increase at the same time — under age 25.* (not supported)
- ***Hypothesis 1f***: *Gender differences in various indicators of political engagement, such as political interest, political knowledge and political efficacy, when they exist, mostly arise at the same time — under age 25.* (not supported)

- ***Hypothesis 2a***: *Mothers are more likely than fathers to discuss the politics of health care and education with their children.* (supported)

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- ***Hypothesis 2b***: *Fathers are more likely than mothers to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their children.* (supported)

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- ***Hypothesis 2c***: *Parents are more likely to discuss the politics of health care and education with their daughters than sons.* (not supported)

- ***Hypothesis 2d***: *Parents are more likely to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their sons than daughters.* (not supported)

- ***Hypothesis 2d***: *Parents are more likely to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their sons than daughters.* (not supported)
- ***Hypothesis 2e***: *Children's political interests are more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than their other-gender parent(s).* (supported)

- ***Hypothesis 2d***: *Parents are more likely to discuss law and crime, international affairs, and partisan politics with their sons than daughters.* (not supported)
- ***Hypothesis 2e***: *Children's political interests are more affected by political discussions with their same-gender parent(s) than their other-gender parent(s).* (supported)
- ***Hypothesis 2f***: *Children's political interests become more and more affected by political discussions with their parent(s) as they age.* (partially supported)

- ***Hypothesis 3a***: *Children are more likely to discuss the politics of health care and education with their female friends than male friends.* (supported)

- ***Hypothesis 3a***: *Children are more likely to discuss the politics of health care and education with their female friends than male friends.* (supported)
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Why Using Surveys?

- More objective measure of political interests, with a 0–10 scale

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- Typical way to measure political interest
- Still allows for concrete answers ("**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.'"; e.g., Health care (i.e., **pandemic restrictions, working conditions of nurses**))

Other Measures of Masculinity & Femininity

I could have added to my analyses 3 measures of gender identity — a gender saliency scale + masculinity & femininity scales (Bittner & Goodyear-Grant, 2017a, 2017b, Gidengil & Stolle, 2021)

- **If I had to start over**, I would include one or several of these measures & drop some of the 16 questions about agency & communion. This would have allowed me to produce more publishable analyses & perhaps control for strength of gender identity in *some* models

- That being said, my dissertation is focused on addressing a literature about gender differences in political interests (plural) which compares men & women, not agentic vs. communal men, nor women who feel very feminine vs. less feminine vs. masculine (R. Campbell and Winters 2008; Coffé 2013; Ferrin et al. 2020; Hayes and Bean 1993; Kuhn 2004; Sabella 2004; Tormos and Verge 2022; Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997)

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- My main goal is to contribute to between-group differences between women & men, not within-group
- Within-group analysis of political interests using gender saliency scale: an exciting area of future research

Case Selection

Canada = "influential case" (Seawright and Gerring 2008):

- High ("extreme" as per Seawright and Gerring (2008)) gender equality by comparative standards, always in top 11 according to several reports & indicators (Conant 2019; Equal Measures 2030 2020; US News & World Report 2020)

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- By comparison, the 5 Scandinavian/Nordic countries are also in the top 15 of the three reports considered, but in the top 18 for women's legislative representation (minimum 44% in the main legislative assembly as of October 2024)
- I believe that women's legislative under-representation in Canada has something to do with interest in partisan politics

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- No specific reasons to expect different correlations in the broader population
- *Future research*: I encourage replications with broader, more representative samples — which, to clarify, are often not the norm for research among children & teenagers given difficulties of access

Study Limitations

- Age & period effects can be analyzed & compared for CES data

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- Difficult to distinguish period from generation, since the same individuals were generally not polled again across successive CES surveys — or only for a restricted number of years
- The survey questionnaire for political interests I use (& adapt for children) is quite new, but I do not have longitudinal data that can distinguish age & period effects for each topic

- Still, my data tracks with other surveys among adults in other countries (direction of the gender gaps in most topics)

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- Impossible to know for certain, but life-cycle effects seem to be at play when women's interest in health care & education increase after they reach ages where they are more likely to be mothers & to take care of others
- Gendered socialization is central in explaining the mental load associated with motherhood vs. fatherhood and why women's interests adapt more than men's when they become parents

- Caution: non-causal design, CPIS sample size (especially by age group)

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- Topic-by-topic patterns to be further investigated
- Parent–child studies needed

Future Plans

While this is a monograph, send individual chapters to journals while integrating elements from the introduction, data & methods, and conclusion where appropriate

- Chapter 3 (political interests' development): *CJPS*

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- Chapter 3 (political interests' development): *CJPS*
- Chapter 4 (parents): *Political Science Quarterly*
- Chapter 5 (peers): *Journal of Youth Studies*
- I hope to include questions about political interests again in follow-up surveys among adults, using emails from the Datagotchi panel & those collected through the CPIS, to produce political interests panel data time-series similar to Prior (2019)

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