How to Make Dutiful Citizens and Influence Turnout: the Effects of Family and School Dynamics on the Duty to Vote

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Introduction: Socialization and Turnout

Abstention has been a major concern for electoral and political behaviour studies for half a century now. A large body of literature suggests that whether an individual is more or less prone to vote is, mostly, a matter of socialization (Hess and Torney, 1967; Kiousis and McDevitt, 2008; Linimon and Joslyn, 2002; Plutzer, 2002; Verba et al., 1995). Turnout is, however, conditioned by many other factors prior to the decision to vote, such as costs (for example, becoming informed about the choice), benefits and the probability that one's decision will decide the race (Mueller, 2003; Owen and Grofman, 1984). Whether and how individuals' socialization will affect these elements of the vote utility function is not straightforward. However, most scholars include among these parameters a normative element, the "D term" or duty to vote (Blais, 2000; Dowding, 2005; Knack and Kropf, 1998; Mueller, 2003; Riker and Ordeshook, 1968).

The belief that voting constitutes a duty is a moral attitude; it makes sense, then, to assume that it relies on individual's socialization—unlike the other determinants of turnout—yet very little research has been done on the causes and bases of the duty to vote (Blais and Galais, 2016). For instance, Bowler and Donovan (2013) assumed that the differences they observed in the propensity to consider voting a duty stemmed from different socialization processes, as is the case for party identification or political

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interest. Nevertheless, the lack of appropriate data impeded them from putting their finger on the details of these specific "dutiful" socialization processes. As they concluded in their article, "for a fuller understanding of a sense of duty we may therefore need to develop theories of duty grounded in psychology or socialization in order to develop a baseline level of civic duty for a given individual" (Bowler and Donovan, 2013: 272).

From a traditional perspective, the belief that voting is something good while abstaining is bad reflects a moral conviction that in turn stems from a social norm about what a good citizen should do (Blais, 2000; Dalton, 2008; Knack and Kropf, 1998; Mueller, 2003; Uhlaner, 1986; Zuckerman and Kotler-Berkowitz, 1998). Hence, we should explore the role of the socialization agencies that play a role in the process of internalization of such social norms, namely, the school and the family. Nevertheless, the literature on political socialization suffers from a series of limitations, including a scarcity of longitudinal data and a tendency to deal with only one factor or agency at a time, thus hampering the correct attribution of explanatory power to each phenomenon. This research strand has also disregarded specific dynamics within the family and the school and the theoretical contributions of other disciplines, such as developmental psychology, that could shed light on the causal mechanisms of some well-known relationships. This article seeks to fill these gaps in the literature regarding the socialization processes and electoral participation by focusing on the early dynamics and agencies that result in dutiful adult citizens.

The article is structured as follows. First, it explores the literature on the civic duty to vote and its link with early socialization processes. Second, I explain the research design and the dataset used to explore the socialization pathways to duty, the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), a Canadian panel covering the 14 years between 1994 and 2008. This dataset allows for the testing of the relationship between childhood features and dynamics measured when the children were between five and 12 years old and the duty to vote, which was measured when they were between 19 and 26 years old. Third, the article presents the results of testing the role of three familial factors (socioeconomic status (SES), parenting styles and parental engagement with children's education) and two school features (a school's democratic governance and faith-based schools) in relation to duty. The article concludes with a discussion of this research's main findings.

Why Study Socialization and Duty?

The belief that voting is a citizen's duty has been a major predictor of turnout since Campbell and colleagues noted in 1960 that turnout was 70 percentage points higher among those with a strong sense of duty than

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Abstract. Existing literature assumes a link between voting and individuals' political socialization, but no study has explored how political upbringing affects the most important attitudinal predictor of turnout: the duty to vote. Following previous research about the formation of attitudes related to the electoral process and social norms, this study focuses on the socialization agencies and dynamics that might first instill the belief during childhood that voting is a duty. The study also intends to contribute to political socialization theory by adopting a longitudinal perspective, by building upon developmental psychology theory and by simultaneously considering the two main childhood socialization agencies: family and school. A series of multivariate models confirms the role of family's socioeconomic status, parental engagement with children's education and non-authoritarian parenting styles, a positive effect that appears stronger than the effects on duty observed for Catholic schools and schools with democratic governance.

Résumé. La littérature actuelle présume qu'il existe un lien entre le vote et la socialisation politique des individus, mais aucune étude n'a exploré comment l'éducation politique affecte le prédicteur comportemental le plus important de la participation : le devoir de voter. D'après les études sur la formation d'attitudes liées au processus électoral et aux normes sociales, cette étude se concentre sur les organismes de socialisation et les dynamiques qui pourraient d'abord faire croire que le vote est un devoir instillé au cours de l'enfance. L'étude vise également à contribuer à la théorie de la socialisation politique en adoptant une perspective longitudinale, en s'appuyant sur la théorie de la psychologie du développement et en considérant simultanément les deux principaux organismes de socialisation de l'enfance: la famille et l'école. Une série de modèles multivariés confirme le rôle du statut socio-économique de la famille, de l'engagement parental dans l'éducation des enfants et des styles parentaux non autoritaires; un effet positif qui semble plus fort que les effets observés pour les écoles catholiques et les écoles à gouvernance démocratique.

among those with none (105-06). Other scholars have agreed that this belief is crucial for most citizens when it comes to deciding whether or not to attend the polls (Blais, 2000; Riker and Ordershook, 1968; Verba et al., 1995). Among the few authors concerned with the origin and bases of this decisive attitude, Klemmensen and colleagues stated that "socialization, acculturation and other environmental factors are still the best candidates when explaining variations in civic duty" (2012: 214). Yet, to date, there has been no systematic research on how the sense of civic duty is instilled or enforced through the socialization process; there is a gap in our understanding of where a given individual gets his sense of civic duty (Bowler and Donovan, 2013).

Political socialization can be defined as the set of processes by which society inculcates citizenship norms, transmitting political culture from one generation to another (Almond, 1960; Almond and Verba, 1963; Hyman, 1959). Since its first steps, this literature has switched its attention from the initial stages of the socialization process (Greestein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967) to later phases of the life cycle (namely adolescence, young adulthood and even later), driven by the idea that politics was a subject of adult life and that the complexity of political attitudes makes

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such attitudes tricky to measure in individuals under the age of fourteen (Niemi and Hepburn, 1995). This switch in focus decreased attention to the role of parents (Achen, 2002; Amna et al., 2009), and has abandoned the idea that some values and attitudes were learned early and remained stable through the life cycle (Searing et al., 1973).

Yet there are reasons to expect that the bases of the duty to vote form early in life. Studies about general, symbolic orientations, particularly those related to patriotism and views on citizenship, proved that these are not only formed early (Sears et al., 1979), but also that they correlate with a number of policy and party preferences expressed later in life (Sullivan et al., 1992; Theiss-Morse, 1993). Recent research has found that children as young as five-and-a-half years old already have an approximate idea about the norms of citizenship (Van Deth et al., 2011).[1] Similarly, dispositions toward electoral activity have been found to be formed even earlier (Keating and Janmaat, 2016). It makes sense, then, to turn our attention to the early socialization dynamics that pave the way to dutiful citizenship.

Aside from a lack of interest in the sense of duty to vote in general, and a more specific inattention towards the infancy processes that make dutiful adults, the political socialization literature still faces some challenges that the present research aims to overcome. First, there is only limited evidence based on a longitudinal perspective that helps us understanding how and when citizenship norms are formed (Amna et al., 2009; Niemi and Hepburn, 1995; Owen, 2008; Sapiro, 2004). Second, most studies consider only one agency or context at a time instead of examining several socialization factors and their interplay, thus not allowing us to effectively isolate and attribute a particular effect to each factor (Amna et al., 2009). In relation to this shortcoming, many studies limit themselves to showing differences between types of families or schools, but "little is known about the dynamics underpinning the political socialization process" (Owen, 2008: 16) which highlights the need to unravel the specific courses of action that convey the sense of civic duty. Hence, a clearer focus on the dynamics of socialization is needed. Last but not least, there is a deficit of interdisciplinary dialogue with other research fields that limits the explanatory power of political socialization studies. More specifically, several scholars strongly suggest that developmental psychology can provide a better understanding of the childhood factors behind general political attitudes (Amna et al., 2009, Bowler and Donovan, 2013). In the words of Sapiro, "there is room for reinvigorating the connections between developmental psychology and political socialization" (2004:14). Borrowing from developmental psychology the concepts and dynamics that would result in dutiful grown-ups, this article contributes to political socialization studies not only by paying attention to the sense of duty and its early roots, but also by adopting a longitudinal perspective, and systematically analyzing the effects of the primary agencies of socialization operating during infancy.

Family, School and Duty

Family is the first—and for some, foremost—socialization agency in life. Family's influence on voting propensity and other forms of participation has been confirmed several times (Hess and Torney, 1967; Verba et al., 2005). Parents can directly affect the future behaviour of their children by providing an example of engagement and, for this study in particular, the act of voting (Plutzer, 2002; Tedin, 1974). Nevertheless, the relationship between parents' and children's political involvement has been found to be entirely mediated by political attitudes such as interest in politics (Quintelier, 2014). Hence, it is safe to assume that any family effect on turnout will be mediated by the most important subjective factor preceding turnout: duty.

Although there might be some specific rules about the duty to vote within the household, it makes more sense to expect this symbolic attitude to emerge as a result of adults emphasizing attachment and obedience in their earliest interactions with children (Sapiro, 2004). This indirect path would be more closely related to family dynamics than to specific messages, in the same way that discussing politics is a well-known predictor of critical and politicized attitudes (Gimpel et al., 2003; McIntosh et al., 2007; Verba et al., 1995). In this respect, developmental psychology makes a valuable contribution by describing how parents deliver discipline to children (Baumrind, 1991).

The theory employed in this article organizes parenting styles into two dimensions: control and warmth. This results in four styles: authoritative (high in both dimensions), authoritarian (high in control, low in warmth), permissive (low in control, high in warmth), and neglecting (low in both dimensions). The style most closely associated with political attitudes related to participation seems to be the authoritarian parenting style. It is characterized by parents being high in control and low in warmth. As this authoritarian style is more frequent in politically alienated parents and results more frequently in less-open-to-experiences offspring (Peterson et al., 1997), it should be negatively correlated with the duty to vote. Another notion used in parenting studies theory is consistency, parents administering the same cues and discipline through the whole of the children's socialization. Consistency is believed to sustain children's cognitive skills (Landry et al., 2001) and ease children's assimilation of norms; thus, it might also help in the development of the sense of the duty to vote.

Another salient factor in the developmental psychology literature is parental engagement with children's education. This phenomenon is multidimensional, and encompasses engagement, responsibility and accessibility. While the first subdimension is defined as "time spent in actual one-on-one interaction with the child" (Lamb, 1986: 8), accessibility entails availability to the child on a daily basis (without the need of direct

involvement). Finally, responsibility means being accountable for the child's welfare (such as arranging and attending appointments, dressing and feeding, making childcare arrangements, buying the child's necessities for his education). Parental engagement with a child's education has been related to a more internal locus of control of the child (which is very close conceptually to sense of duty), and a better social-relational functioning later in life, aside from children's academic achievement and other positive cognitive and psychological effects (Sarkadi et al., 2008). Although this literature does not connect parental engagement and the child's political participation or political attitudes, the link with civic duty, particularly in regard to the "responsibility" sub-dimension, seems pretty straightforward. By fulfilling their obligations with the child's schooling, parents are "preaching by practice." Showing their involvement with the school community, the child might learn to do so in the future with a broader community. Doing what is right and expected from parents teaches the child to do the same in due time. Therefore, the children whose family is involved in their education should be more dutiful in the future than those raised by more disengaged families.

Because "socio-economic variables often confound both parenting behaviours and child outcomes" (Sarkadi et al., 2008: 154), work on the causes and effects of parental involvement in children education almost always includes socioeconomic status (SES) controls. In turn, high levels of education or income are related to high likelihood of voting (Jennings et al., 2009). Wealthier families provide more and better resources necessary to develop civic skills, such as the habit of reading newspapers (Verba et al., 1995). Conversely, economic constraints may divert parents' interests from politics and reduce the quality and quantity of parent-children interaction, thus hampering the transmission of attitudes and skills that may spur children's future sense of duty (Pacheco and Plutzer, 2008). The effect of family SES is expected to diminish through the life cycle as experience compensates for the lack of other resources early in life (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980), and also by the effect of other levelling institutions that mitigate the effect of family SES (Pacheco and Plutzer, 2008), such as school.

The most obvious causal mechanism linking school and civic duty is the acquisition through schooling of civic skills and attitudes known for boosting the likelihood to vote, such as political knowledge (see Delli et al., 1996, Gimpel et al., 2003; Verba et al., 1995). From the perspective of social reproduction theory, the primary function of schools is to reproduce the social structure and organization of society (Bourdieu, 1977), maintaining the social order and transmitting the dominant social norms. Following this train of thought, school socialization perpetuates the norms consistent with the governance of the nation (Dennis, 1968).

Newer perspectives, however, focus on school dynamics as an indirect source of civic attitudes and behaviours. Some scholars have proved the effects of open classroom climates—that is, the settings that offer opportunities to students to form and express an independent opinion—on free thinking, political discussion, civic attitudes and political engagement (Flanaganet al., 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). A less explored facet of school dynamics likely affecting civic duty is school governance. In practice, schools that allow students to determine relevant aspects of teaching, resource allocation or class dynamics are considered to be more "democratic," but so are those offering this opportunity to teachers. The more democratic the school governance is, the higher the levels of political engagement among its students (Mosher, 1994; Pasek et al., 2008). Intuitively, we can expect that a school whose staff is allowed and encouraged to take part in the decision-making process conveys the value that an active role in such processes is important and that everyone in a given community must fulfill their obligations for the sake of a greater good.

An attempt to integrate the three aspects of horizontal school dynamics is offered by Finn (1989). According to Finn's participation-identification model, students' active role in class precedes their participation in school activities outside of the formal curriculum, which in turn is a stage previous to students' participation in school governance. Each of these "horizontal" traits of school dynamics will have a positive effect on students' performance, sense of self-efficacy, and identification with the school community. We can derive two conclusions from Finn's model: first, a school's democratic governance may indicate that all other traits of horizontal dynamics are present, too; second, these horizontal dynamics not only engage children in political participation, but also generate a sense of belonging to a community that paves the way for the assimilation of social norms such as the civic duty to vote.

Indeed, schools are the first environment to enable agency after a student's family, and they satisfy the psychological need of belonging to a community (Battistich et al., 1995; Osterman, 2000), providing a primary sense of belonging. Not only "horizontal" schools do better in building this parameter, religious schools seem to have an advantage in this respect as well (Burtonwood, 2003; MacMullen, 2004). Although religious schools may not convey autonomy or social cohesion as much as a sense of belonging to a social community, the latter is considered a necessary condition for acquiring and internalizing social norms. Moreover, the language of duties is very germane to religious thinking (Macaluso and Wanat, 1979); and both religiousness and duty belong to the moral domain and the sub-domain of authority (Graham et al., 2011). It makes sense, therefore, that religious schools would nurture the idea that children have duties to perform, among them voting.[2] Hence, religious schools might do better than secular schools in instilling a sense of duty in children.

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This article addresses the socialization processes that lead to dutiful adult citizens or, more specifically, the aspects and dynamics of the family or the school that contribute to the sense of duty during early childhood. The literature reviewed above overcomes some of the characteristic deficits of the political socialization literature. The general expectations of this research are the following: a) familial influence is expected to be strong and conveyed through three mechanisms: parenting styles, parents' engagement with children's education and socioeconomic status; b) school is expected to positively affect duty—and to lessen the effects of family SES—through two mechanisms: democratic governance and religious (and therefore, duty-based) values.

Research Design and Variables

In order to test the expectations of this research, a survey tapping socialization processes was needed. The NLSCY is an eight-cycle panel study, which follows a cohort of Canadian children from birth to early adulthood, between cycle 1 (1994-1995) and cycle 8 (2008-2009).[3]

Canada makes an interesting case study because it is one of the most dutiful countries in the world. The Making Electoral Democracy Work surveys (2011-2015) show that Canada has the greatest share of dutiful citizens among the five participant countries: 70 per cent of Canadians claim to have a duty to vote, while only 32 per cent of Swiss or 27 per cent of German citizens believe that they have a duty to vote in elections. Nevertheless, Canada has exhibited a downward pattern in its turnout rates in recent years that has been blamed on the fact that younger people are less likely than the older to construe voting in terms of a moral duty (Blais and Rubenson, 2013; Blais et al., 2004). Probably out of this concern, the very last wave of the NLSCY survey, released in 2011, included questions about feelings towards voting for those between 19-20 and 25-26 years old.[4] Among these questions, the ones for which we have also measures of their socialization processes at cycle 1 (5-6 to 11-12 years old at that time) constitute our sample.

Hence, the following analyses are restricted to the individuals that answered a question about their duty to vote in the last wave of the NLSCY study and who were in the study from the very beginning. This makes a total of 4,299 individuals.[5] Of note, the study tracks a child's cohort during the totality of their "impressionable years." Indeed, the convention is to consider that the impressionable years—that is, the age period at which an individual is open to the influence of socialization agencies and context—begin in adolescence and end in the early years of adulthood. Depending on the author, the process can start as early as 11 years old and end at age 25 as in the latest (Krosnick and Alwin, 1989).

The last wave of the NLSCY survey included two versions of the Blais/Achen question (see Achen and Blais, 2010) on the duty to vote. These questions are: "Generally speaking, do you believe that you have a duty to vote in every federal election?" and "Do you believe that you have a duty to vote in every provincial election?" The available answers were yes (1) and no (0). The questions were recoded into a new dichotomous variable, which uses the value 1 if the individual answered "yes" in both cases and 0 if otherwise.[6]

As for the measure of the independent variables, we must first introduce the structure of the survey. In the first wave of the study, children between 5 and 6 and 11 and 12 years old only answered vocabulary and mathematical aptitude questionnaires, which are of no use in this research. A parents' questionnaire was available for all children and a teacher's questionnaire was available for some. The parents' questionnaire was filled out by the person most knowledgeable about the children in the household, the mother most of the time. This person provided information about herself, her partner and the children who were tracked by the survey. If the most knowledgeable person gave parental consent for collecting school information, questionnaires were mailed to the schools and filled in by teachers. This design complicates the database structure in the sense that we have measures regarding school variables (that is, the type of school) that are provided by parents, and measures regarding the family (that is, whether or not children's parents engage in school activities) that are provided by a teacher, and only for some children.[7] We must therefore be cautious when interpreting the effect of a variable that might reflect the subjective perception of a teacher on familial influence. Moreover, the inclusion of variables measured using the teachers' questionnaire further restricted the sample to 1,695 individuals. Nevertheless, this structure provides a double protection against endogeneity. First, the independent variables were measured long before the dependent variable; second, they do not reflect children's subjectivity but parents' and teachers' perceptions.

The parents' questionnaire included indicators of family SES, parenting style and a question on the kind of school their children attended. The family SES indicator gathers information from five questions on total years of schooling for both parents, occupational status of both parents and the household income in thousands of dollars. The variable has been rescaled so that 0 indicates the minimum possible social status in the dataset, and 1 indicates the highest possible social status. Parenting styles were measured using two scales based on Dr. M. Boyle's measures, in turn adapted from Strayhorn and Weidman's Parent Practices Scale. The authoritarian factor is originally named "punitive or aversive factor" and built using four questions on how often children were punished when they broke rules (Cronbach's alpha = .6). A consistent parenting style is gauged by means of a scale using five questions on the frequency with

which parents fulfilled their threats of punishment in case of misbehaviour (Cronbach's alpha = .7). Finally, a question answered by the parents identified whether the school the child was attending was a public school, a publicly funded Catholic school, a private school or other. Since private schools were a minority (with only 351 children from the pool of participants), this variable was collapsed, with the value 1 identifying Catholic schools, and 0 others.

The teachers' questionnaire included information for each child about their parents' engagement with the school. This factor variable was built using five questions that asked how prepared the students were for school with regards to school materials and clothing, and whether the child managed to complete school assignments. Higher values indicate higher parental engagement. Teachers also provided two aggregate measures: the percentage of families of low income in the school and a democratic governance index. While the first measure taps the school's SES, the second is a factor built using seven questions about the "social climate of the school" which were agree/disagree statements about the degree of horizontality in decision making. Higher values indicate more involvement of the staff and teachers in school policies and in how the resources are allocated.

Finally, a series of temperament indicators were included as controls. Recent works have highlighted the role of personality on the development of sense of duty (Blais and Labbé St-Vincent, 2011; Weinschenk, 2014). An important dimension of personality is temperament, that is, the individual's propensity to react and self-regulate in a particular way (Rothbart and Derryberry, 1981). These indicators were included also because a recent research strand suggests that duty has a genetic origin (Klemmensen et al., 2012; Loewen and Dawes, 2012), such as other pro-social attitudes related to electoral participation (Fowler et al., 2008). Given that temperament is a precursor of personality that arises from our genetic endowment (Rothbart et al., 2000), the three temperament aspects included in the questionnaire for five- to-12-year-olds were considered in the models: aggression, hyperactivity and pro-social disposition.[8] An additional pro-social behaviour indicator was provided by the teacher in their questionnaire, when asked about the children's social skills at school. The scale gathers information from six questions on the degree of co-operativeness, respect and self-control of each child.[9]

Figure 1 displays an overview of the causal model proposed in this research. The figure clarifies the main factors whose influences were empirically tested, the indicators used for that purpose, as well as the controls taken into account. It also offers insight into the time in which they were measured, in the sense that the independent variables measured in T1 (cycle 1 of the study) were expected to have an effect on duty measured in T2 (cycle 8 of the study), 14 years later. Note that age is controlled by

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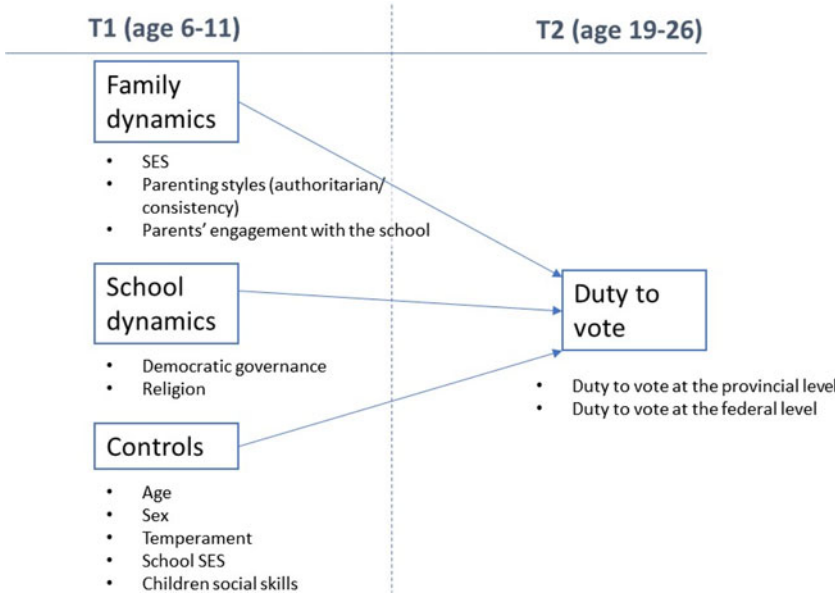
FIGURE 1
Causal schema, main variables and timing of the research design.



keeping the cohort constant, and that children's age (which barely varies) is not included in the estimations.[10]

The measure of the dependent variable determines the estimation method chosen. Hence, whether or not individuals feel a sense of civic duty (age 19-26) will be estimated by means of logistic regressions. All variables have been recoded in a range between 0 and 1; hence the coefficients may be interpreted as the effect of a variable varying from its minimum to its maximum value.

Results

Table 1 displays the results of the estimation of the duty to vote using a series of logistic regressions. The first model considers gender and temperament, showing a positive tendency of girls to be more dutiful in the future and confirming significant effects of temperament. The two negative traits, hyperactivity and aggression, have strong, significant, negative effects on duty, while showing early signs of pro-social behaviour has a minor positive effect. This effect, nevertheless, disappears when we consider family SES variables in the next model.

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TABLE 1
Logistic estimations of the duty to vote

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Female	15*	.19**	.19*	.07
	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.12)
Hyperactivity (P)	−.67***	−.50**	−.49**	−.40
	(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.29)
Pro social behavior (P)	.40+	.32	.20	.25
	(.20)	(.21)	(.21)	(.33)
Aggression (P)	−.76**	−.76**	−.66*	−.65
	(.25)	(.25)	(.26)	(.42)
Social skills at school (T)				.43
				(.47)
Family				
Family SES (P)		2.16***	2.17***	1.73***
		(.30)	(.31)	(.50)
Parenting style: authoritarian (P)			−.73*	−.53
			(.29)	(.46)
Parenting style: consistent (P)			−.10	.01
			(.22)	(.34)
Parents engaged with the school (T)				1.51***
				(.42)
School				
Catholic school (P)			.28**	.21
			(.10)	(.15)
% families of low income in the school (T)				−.18
				(.21)
Democratic governance (T)				.70*
				(.32)
Pseudo R-Squared	.01	.03	.03	.05
Observations	4,123	4,097	4,071	1,695

Standard errors in parentheses. + p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < 1.
(P) indicates that the question was retrieved from the parents' questionnaire. (T) indicates when the question was retrieved from the teachers' questionnaire.

The family SES measure has the strongest effect among all the observed influences. The higher the family status at age 5-12, the more dutiful the individual will be at age 19-26. It is noteworthy that this variable does not change the effects observed for aggressive temperaments and barely affects the negative impact of hyperactivity. The third column also considers parenting styles and school type. The last variable regarding the type of school has been included in this model because the information was provided by the parents, as well as because it is the result of a familial choice. As for parenting styles, we appreciate that consistency does not affect future perceptions of duty, but an authoritarian parenting style does

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hamper duty, all else being kept equal. Attending a Catholic school, in turn, exerts a positive effect on duty.

When considering the variables measured using the information provided by the teachers, we see a reduction in the number of observations that affect the significance of some coefficients, especially regarding temperament effects. A reduction in the size of some coefficients (family SES, authoritarian parenting style, Catholic school) suggests a levelling effect of the school as compared to familial upbringing. We note as well that the coefficient for the effect of attending a Catholic school is reduced when including the information provided by teachers (that is, parents' involvement with the school, school's SES and school's democratic governance), maybe because Catholic schools score better on these indicators. While the child's involvement in school activities or the proportion of low-income families at the school does not exert any significant effect, attending a school with a democratic governance between the ages of five and 12 is related to future dutiful attitudes towards voting. This variable indirectly taps into participatory school climates and may also indirectly gauge other aspects of academic quality (that is, teachers' happiness) that ultimately would have a positive effect on duty. Finally, the more parents are engaged with their child's preparation for school, the more dutiful the child will be in the future.

Average marginal effects indicate that the strongest effect observed among the variables measured in cycle 1 was family status. In the last model, the difference between minimum and maximum social status causes an increase in the likelihood of developing the belief that voting is a duty about 30 per cent. Finally, a comparison of the model fit across models also suggests that family SES exerts the greatest impact, more than all the other family and school variables combined. Even though we lack proper measures of some of the most influential factors regarding school and civic attitudes (such as school climate), school seems to have a crucial role when we have data to measure it, but not enough to beat the influence of a family's wealth, parenting style and parents' involvement with the school community.

Conclusions

Even though there is a certain consensus that an individual's propensity to vote is partly due to his or her socialization, there is virtually no study on the effect of socialization processes on the acquisition of the belief that voting is a duty, which is the major attitudinal predictor of turnout. This article attempts to address some relevant questions regarding political socialization and the duty to vote: namely what the dynamics and mechanisms within the family and the school that foster duty are.

We first can conclude that females are more dutiful, which either can point at genetic predispositions towards the duty to vote or to gender social

construct after the influence of socialization agencies and effects not considered in this study. More research is needed in order to clarify this relationship, and cross-country research would be advisable to rule out that this reflects Canadian political culture. In any case, this effect is independent of children's temperament, for which robust effects have been found: non-aggressive, pro-social and non-hyperactive temperaments are related to future high levels of civic duty to vote.

Family is definitely positively related to duty. The strongest effect observed in this study is the one exerted by familial socio-economic status. Wealthy families seem to supply children with the skills, values and abilities that not only favour political engagement, but also the belief that voting is a duty. The impact of the family extends beyond its resources. According to the perception of teachers, parents engaged with their kids' schooling positively affect children's future sense of duty, maybe inspiring them with their example of being involved with their children and the school community and thereby modeling their future duties as citizens. As for parenting styles, the data point to a negative effect of authoritarian styles on duty, while no effects are observed for consistency. Therefore, we observe the similar negative effects of the authoritarian discipline on duty as the ones described for political engagement and civic attitudes, something that further research should take into account. Harsh words and punitive dynamics in the household might instill fear and rejection of authority but not the kind of inner sense of obligation (Blais and Galais, 2016) that paves the wave to feel that voting in elections is a citizen's duty.

Conversely, parents showing engagement with child's schooling have a positive impact on the chances that the child develops a sense of duty to vote in the future. This might be an indirect indicator of an authoritative parenting style (as it gauges parents' control of school activities). It might also be an external sign of parents abiding by social norms therefore showing their kids that engagement with a community is "right" and expected from them, too.

With regards to the second socialization mechanism analyzed, that is, school dynamics and democratic school governance, this article used participative dynamics within the school, and whether such dynamics exert a significant positive effect on duty. It is unclear whether this also accounts for the involvement of students in the school dynamics—allowing for the inference of "horizontal climates" within the classroom—or, on the other hand, whether it is a proxy for academic quality.

Although we had a rough measure of religiosity for schools, the results are suggestive. Catholic schools are positively associated with duty in Canada, although unfortunately the effect of other religious schooling cannot be tested with this sample. Maybe Catholic schools in Canada have other school features (skills and values taught or discipline) that may help in the development of duty. Further research must seek to increase

control of this variable and unravel the exact causal mechanism that links faith-based schools—and religiosity, for that matter—with duty.

The research design employed in this paper does not allow for clearly distinguishing between the explanatory power of the two primary socialization agencies operating in the early stages of life (family and school), yet the strength of some coefficients (such as family SES), and the fact that family comes first in life and affects some school dynamics (that is, type of school) points to a very important effect of family: well-off families engaged with the school community and raising children with a balanced mix of control and affection result into dutiful offspring. Moreover, previous research has found that family exerts its maximal influence on individuals' political attitudes between the ages of nine and 17 (Hatemi et al., 2009). We might therefore observe an even stronger effect of the family in later stages of childhood. This fact, along with the slight improvements in the models' fit measures observed when we include school factors, does not allow us to rule out the possibility that family has, after all, the lion's share in shaping duty. However, the discrete model fit overall suggests that this belief might be open to change and to the influence of other socialization agencies (peers, media, politicians) until later in life. This opens an avenue for future research with regards to other socialization agencies and phases that might have a crucial effect on the perceptions of the duty to vote.

Endnotes

1 Childhood is the moment when attitudes guaranteeing the stability of the political system appear. This is the case, for instance, of diffuse support for the system (Dudlay and Gitelson, 2002). Also, children are able to understand voting and representative institutions by grades 4 to 8 (Dennis and Webster, 1975) and are politically aware during the first five years of elementary school (Greenstein, 1965).

2 Although the school's religious affiliation is probably only an extension of the parents' faith and therefore likely only reinforces familiar values, it is still relevant to consider the possibility that faith-based schools do better in providing the children with a sense of identification with the community and a moral compass that encourages them to think in terms of duty.

3 Note the biennial structure of the survey.

4 Respondents were between 19 and 26 years old at the time, which overcomes the problem of measuring complex, abstract political attitudes by directly asking children (Niemi and Hepburn, 1995).

5 In the first cycle, we have 10,498 individuals from this cohort (ages 5-6 to 11-12).

6 This was done in order to increase the variance of the duty measure and minimize ceiling effects. Seventy-five per cent of the sample considered a "duty" to vote at the federal level (SD = .43). When considered both levels of elections, 72 per cent of the sample considers voting a duty (SD = .45). The estimation results do not change substantially if we consider duty at the federal level, at the provincial level or both duties at the same time.

7 Children are nested in schools but not nested in classrooms, as only a small share of the sample has a teacher's questionnaire. The estimations do not account for the nested

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structure of the data because neither are these variables measured at the school level nor do the estimations change substantially if we cluster standard errors by school.

8 While Denny and Doyle (2008) found that aggressive adolescents were more prone to vote years later, hyperactivity has been found to hinder norm retention, norm understanding and the ability to follow plans (Sagvolden et al., 2005: 410). Finally, social well-being is aligned with attitudes that signal the internalization of social norms (Panksepp, 1986).

9 The hyperactivity scale yields a Cronbach's alpha=of .838. The pro-social behaviour battery consisted of ten questions regarding the frequency with which the child showed sympathy, tried to help others, volunteered to solve problems or mediate in a fight, comforted other children and the like (Cronbach's alpha=.816). Finally, an aggression score consisted of six questions that asked the frequency with which the child got into fights, reacted with anger and physically attacked and threatened or bullied people (Cronbach's alpha=0.77). More detail on the construction of these scales can be found in the Cycle 1 NLSCY Microdata User Guide. Page 83 of this guide displays the different measures and questions for these scales for the children between four and 11 years old. *http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb-bmdi/document/4450_D4_T9_V1-eng.pdf.*

10 Previous analyses did not find significant differences between ages for the duty to vote.

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