

Supplementary Information for “Founding Narratives and Men’s Political Ambition: Experimental Evidence from U.S. Civics Lessons”

By Amanda Clayton, Diana Z. O’Brien, Jennifer Piscopo

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A Video scripts, screenshots, and web links

Video 1: “Founding Fathers”

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_K54kRkHuf0&feature=youtu.be

Script:

In today’s 2-minute civics lesson, we spotlight four American founding fathers: Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Frederick Douglass.

Thomas Jefferson was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence and later served as the third President of the United States. Jefferson’s ideals of democracy and self-rule motivated the American colonists to break from Great Britain and form a new nation. Jefferson famously said: “Nothing can stop the man with the right mental attitude from achieving his goal; nothing on earth can help the man with the wrong mental attitude.”

George Washington led the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War, and later presided over the 1787 Convention that drafted the United States Constitution. He came to be known as the “father of the country,” and served as the first president of the United States. Washington prided himself on his reputation, noting: “Associate with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone than in bad company.”

Alexander Hamilton founded our nation’s financial system, including the first national bank. Wise in understanding human behavior, Hamilton famously said: “Men often oppose a thing merely . . . because it may have been planned by those whom they dislike.” He encouraged men to judge an idea based on its merits.

Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery and later became a national leader of the anti-slavery movement. Douglass was a firm believer in the equality of all peoples. A strong advocate of education, Douglass wrote: “It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men.” Even after the Civil War, he continued to fight for equal rights for African-Americans.

The legacy of our founding fathers lives on in the tradition of great American statesmen, who have shaped our country’s politics in the past, the present, and into the future.



Figure A1: Founding Fathers screen shot 1

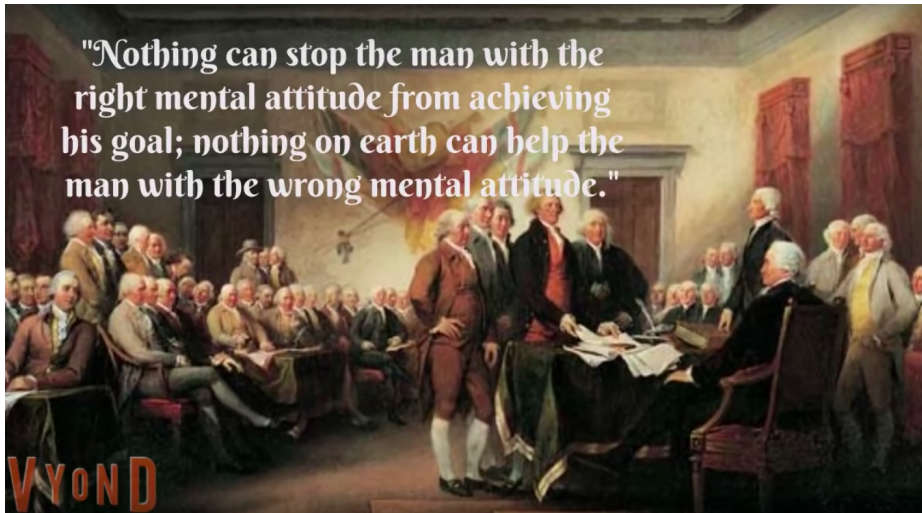


Figure A2: Founding Fathers screen shot 2

Video 2: "Inclusive Founders"

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNXm0lDo8cI&feature=youtu.be>

Script:

In today's 2-minute civics lesson, we spotlight four of America's early leaders: Thomas Jefferson, Abigail Adams, Frederick Douglass, and Susan B. Anthony.

Thomas Jefferson was the principal author of the Declaration of Independence and later served as the third President of the United States. Jefferson's ideals of democracy and self-rule motivated the American colonists to break from Great Britain and form a new nation. Jefferson famously said: "Nothing can stop the man with the right mental attitude from achieving his goal; nothing on earth can help the man with the wrong mental attitude."

Abigail Adams was the closest adviser to John Adams, her husband and the second president of the United States. John frequently sought Abigail's advice on political matters, including while drafting the Constitution. Abigail Adams was also an early supporter of women's rights. "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen and philosophers, we should have learned women," she said.

Susan B. Anthony was a women's rights activist who played a major role in pushing for women's right to vote. Anthony was also influential in the American Anti-Slavery Society. A firm believer in equality of the sexes, she would often say: "Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights, and nothing less."

Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery and later became a national leader of the anti-slavery movement. Douglass was a firm believer in the equality of all peoples. A strong advocate of education, Douglass wrote: "It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men." Even after the Civil War, he continued to fight for equal rights for African-Americans.

The legacy of our founders lives on in the tradition of great American leaders, who have shaped our country's politics in the past, the present, and into the future.



Figure A3: Inclusive Founders screen shot 1

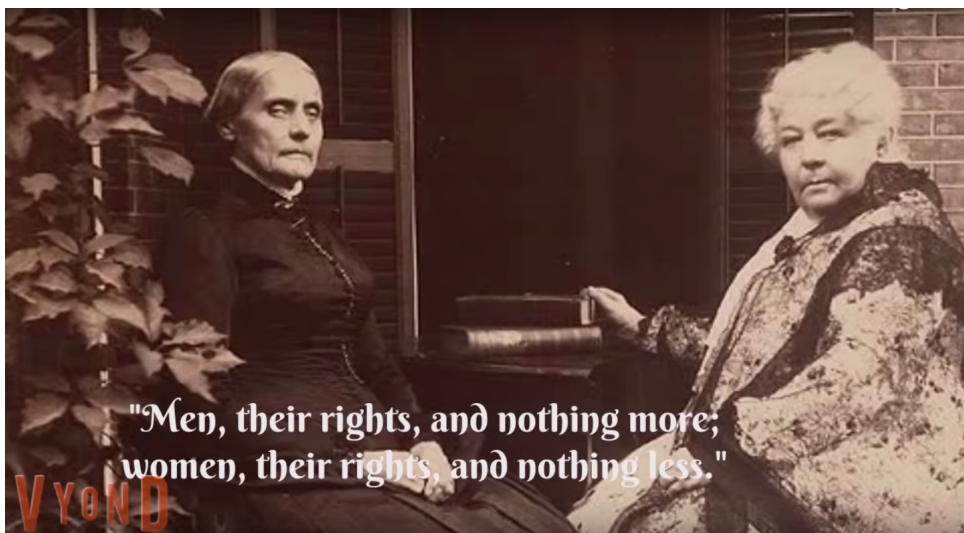


Figure A4: Inclusive Founders screen shot 2

Video 3: “Historic Documents” (control)

Link 1 (male-narrated): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ym1_ISUZkCU&feature=youtu.be

Link 2 (female-narrated): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c06DhiZil_4&feature=youtu.be

Script:

In today’s 2-minute civics lesson, we spotlight four founding documents in American political history: The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Emancipation Proclamation.

The Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. It announced that the thirteen American colonies were no longer under British rule. With the Declaration, these new states took a collective first step toward forming the United States of America. The Declaration famously proclaims that all U.S. citizens: “are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

The United States Constitution became law in 1788. Its first three articles describe the separation of powers, which divide the federal government into three branches: the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. These three branches serve as checks and balances on government power. The Constitution starts with the famous line: “We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union. . .”

The Bill of Rights is the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution. The amendments guarantee personal freedoms and rights and set clear limitations on the government’s power. The first amendment protects freedom of religion and speech.

The Emancipation Proclamation was a presidential order issued in 1863 to free slaves in 10 southern states during the American Civil War. It eventually led to the freeing of nearly all 4 million slaves. The Proclamation declares: “that all persons held as slaves. . . are, and henceforward shall be, free. . .”

The legacy of these founding documents lives on in the tradition of American political institutions, that have shaped our country’s politics in the past, the present, and into the future.

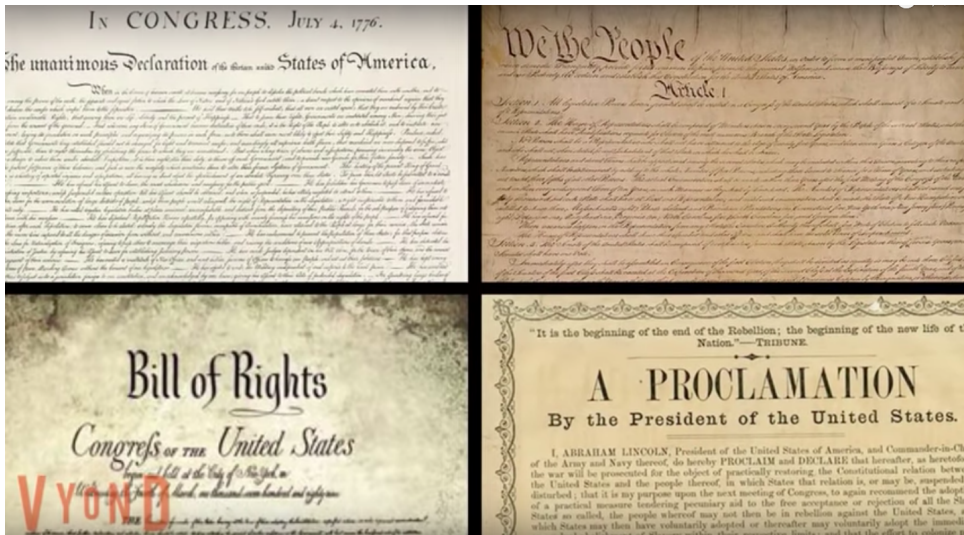


Figure A5: Historic Documents screen shot 1

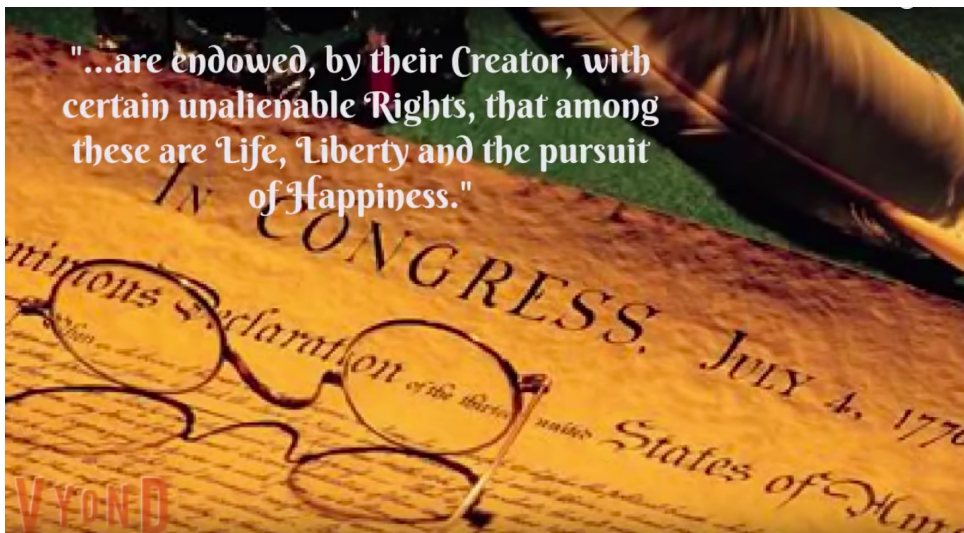


Figure A6: Historic Documents screen shot 2

Video 4: “Early American Statesmen”

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rji8DqKJjtQ>

Script:

In today’s 2-minute civics lesson, we spotlight four early American statesmen: George Read, Oliver Wolcott, David Rittenhouse, and David Walker.

George Read signed the Declaration of Independence and later served as a senator from Delaware. Read shared the ideals of democracy and self-rule that motivated the American colonists to break from Great Britain and form a new nation. Read said: “Nothing can stop the man with the right mental attitude from achieving his goal; nothing on earth can help the man with the wrong mental attitude.”

Oliver Wolcott served in the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War, and later attended the 1787 Convention that drafted the United States Constitution. He also served as governor of Connecticut. Wolcott prided himself on his reputation, noting: “Associate with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone than in bad company.”

David Rittenhouse helped to found our nation’s financial system, including the United States Mint. Wise in understanding human behavior, Rittenhouse often said: “Men often oppose a thing merely . . . because it may have been planned by those whom they dislike.” He encouraged men to judge an idea based on its merits.

David Walker was born the son of a slave, and later became a national leader of the anti-slavery movement. Walker was a firm believer in the equality of all peoples. A strong advocate of education, Walker wrote: “It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men.” Throughout his life he continued to fight for equal rights for African-Americans.

The legacy of these men lives on in the tradition of American statesmen, who have shaped our country’s politics in the past, the present, and into the future.

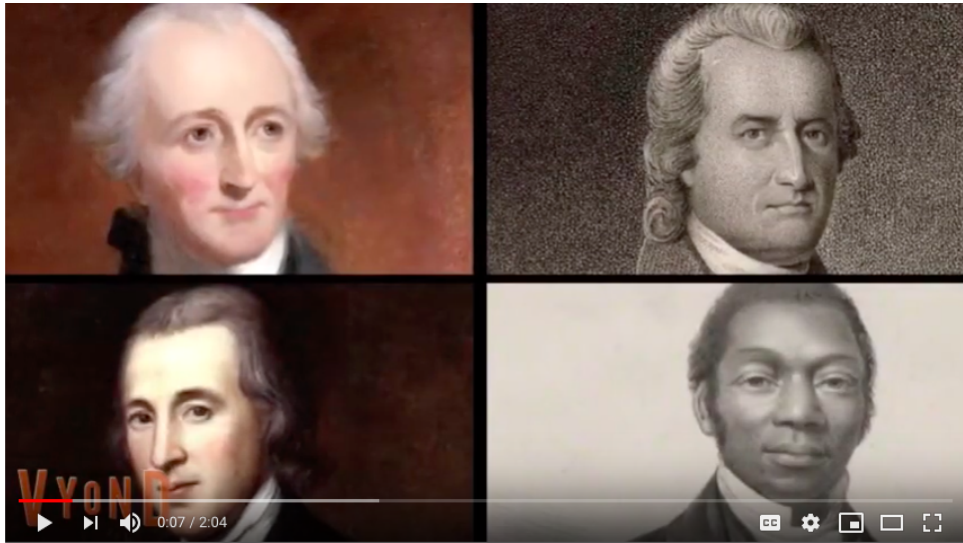


Figure A7: Early Statesmen screen shot 1

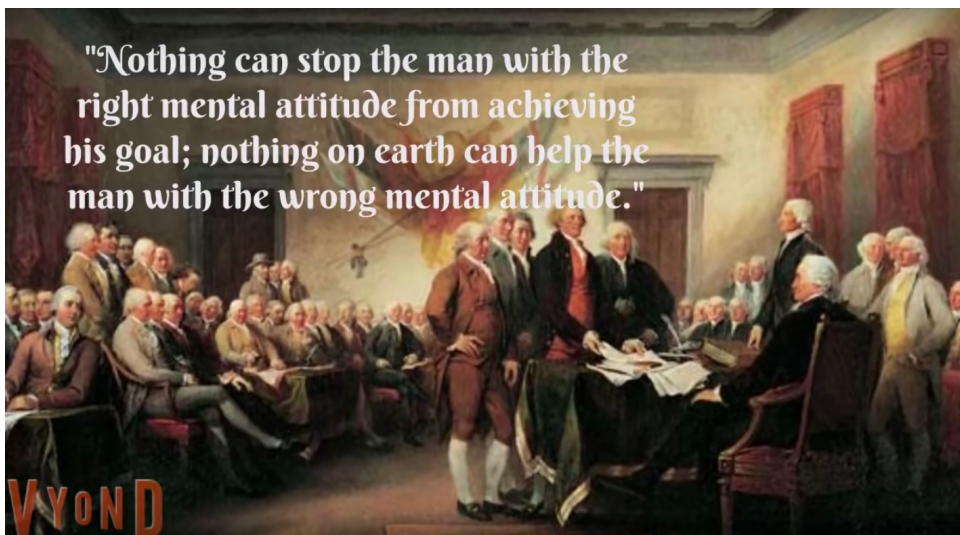


Figure A8: Early Statesmen screen shot 2. Note this is the same as the second Founding Fathers screenshot.

B Sample Characteristics

B.1 Summary Statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
% female	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age	44.68	16.14	18.00	89.00
Political ideology (3-pt scale)	1.99	0.85	1.00	3.00
% white	0.65	0.48	0.00	1.00
Political ambition scale	2.07	0.84	0.96	4.00
Political interest	3.10	0.93	1.00	4.00
Agreement with women's rights	2.73	0.82	1.00	4.00

Table A1: Summary statistics for Study 1 sample, SSI.

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	46.47	17.49	18.00	87.00
Political ideology (8-pt scale)	4.18	1.90	1.00	8.00
% white	0.74	0.44	0.00	1.00
Political ambition scale	2.32	0.85	1.10	4.28
Political interest	3.27	0.89	1.00	4.00
Agreement with women's rights	2.55	0.74	1.00	4.00

Table A2: Summary statistics for Study 2 sample, SSI.

B.2 Balance Diagnostics

Variable	Inclusive	Founding Founders	Control Fathers	p-value (chi-square test)
% female	0.521	0.507	0.517	0.999
Political interest	3.203	3.202	3.094	0.9988
% passed manipulation check	0.697	0.792	0.740	0.997
% white	0.667	0.652	0.645	0.9998
Political ideology	1.969	2.005	1.992	0.9998
Age	44	44	44	1
Agreement with women's rights	2.755	2.718	2.719	0.9998

Table A3: Averages across three treatment conditions, Study 1, SSI sample.

C Intent-to-treat effects

	Control Mean	Founding Fathers Mean	ATE (95 % CI)	Control Mean	Inclusive Founders Mean	ATE (95 % CI)
Men	2.030	2.254	0.223 (0.061, 0.385)	2.030	2.108	0.077 (-0.093, 0.248)
Women	1.916	2.012	0.096 (-0.060, 0.252)	1.916	2.091	0.175 (0.012, 0.336)

CATEs with significance of $p < 0.05$ indicated in **bold**.

Table A4: Intent-to-treat effects: Group means and differences by treatment condition. $n = 1207$.

D Separate outcomes

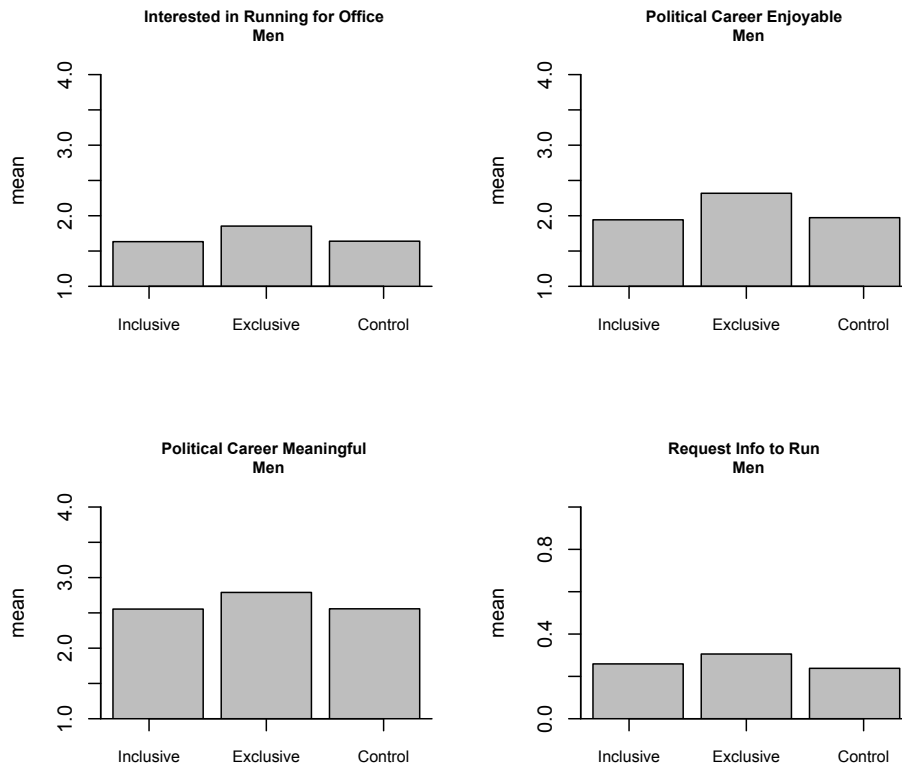


Figure A9: Separate outcomes, men respondents

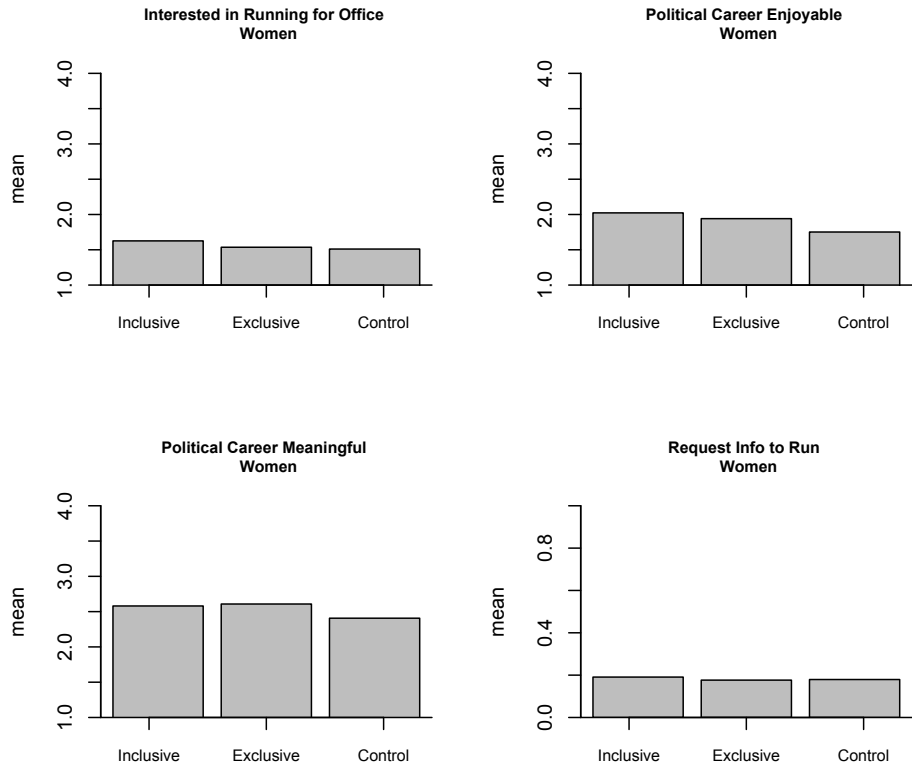


Figure A10: Separate outcomes, women respondents

E Effects by gender and party

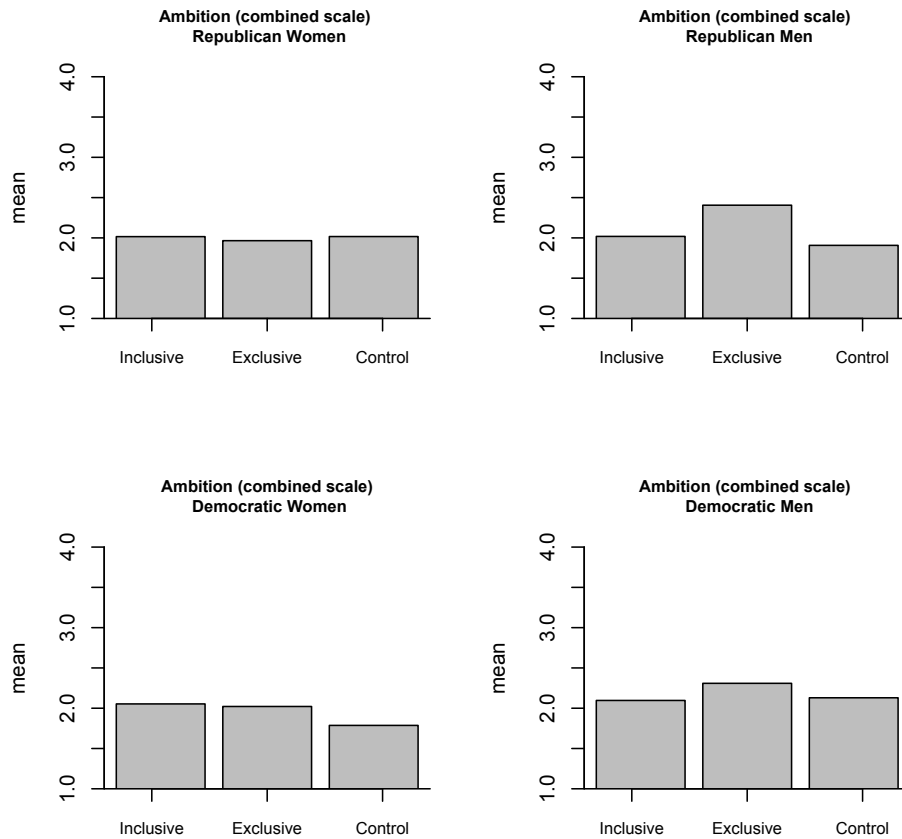


Figure A11: Conditional average treatment effects by gender and party.

F CATEs among men respondents by political ideology

Finally, Table A3 shows group means and differences for self-identified conservative men and self-identified liberal men, respectively. We find that the effects of priming men about the Founding Fathers are more pronounced among self-identified conservative men. The difference between conservative men who viewed the control video and those who viewed the Founding Fathers video is about 0.6 of a standard deviation, and statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level. Among self-identified liberal men, we see an effect size in the same direction, but of smaller magnitude (about a third of a standard deviation), and a difference that fails to reach statistical significance ($p = 0.10$).

	Control Mean	Founding Fathers Mean	ATE (95 % CI)	Control Mean	Inclusive Founders Mean	ATE (95 % CI)
Conservative men	1.749	2.175	0.426 (0.177 - 0.675)	1.749	1.983	0.233 (-0.042 - 0.510)
Liberal men	2.006	2.311	0.305 (-0.058, 0.668)	1.916	2.006	-0.033 (-0.324, 0.258))

CATEs with significance of $p < 0.05$ indicated in **bold**.

Table A5: Men respondents' self-reported political ambition, combined scale, by political ideology. Group means and differences by treatment condition. $n = 390$ (189 conservative men, 132 liberal men)

G Difference-in-difference estimates

	Model 1	Model 2
(Intercept)	1.945*** (0.064)	1.945*** (0.066)
Exclusive	0.294*** (0.088)	
Female	-0.179* (0.090)	-0.179 (0.093)
I(Female * Exclusive)	-0.165 (0.125)	
Inclusive		-0.008 (0.093)
I(Inclusive * Female)		0.203 (0.134)
R ²	0.049	0.010
Adj. R ²	0.045	0.005
Num. obs.	607	570
RMSE	0.771	0.799

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

Table A6: Difference-in-difference estimates for gender and treatment.

	Model 1	Model 2
(Intercept)	2.868*** (0.669)	2.597*** (0.483)
Exclusive	-0.244 (0.260)	-0.084 (0.196)
Conservative	0.053 (0.275)	
I(Exclusive * Conservative)	-0.061 (0.108)	
White		0.236 (0.548)
I(Exclusive * White)		-0.243 (0.221)
R ²	0.067	0.069
Adj. R ²	0.054	0.060
Num. obs.	218	307
RMSE	0.778	0.790

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

Table A7: Difference-in-difference estimates for ideology and treatment and race and treatment, among men.

H Study 2: Treatment effects of “Early Statesmen” video

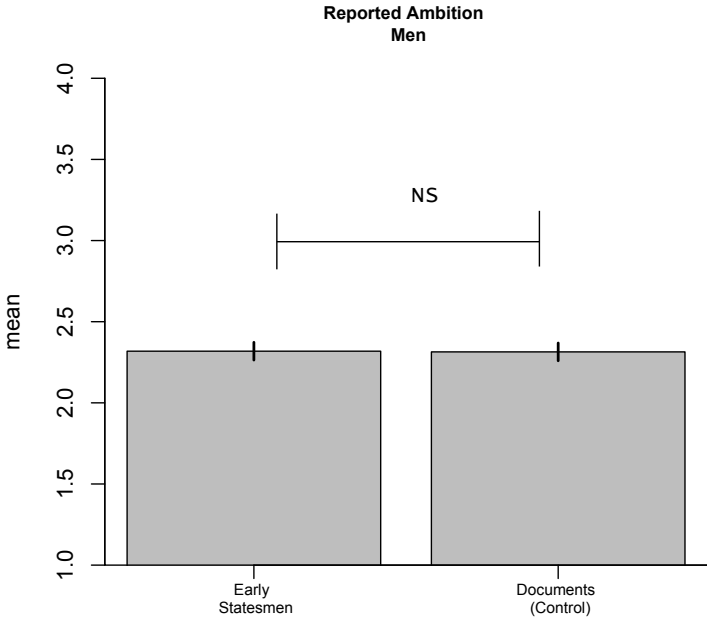
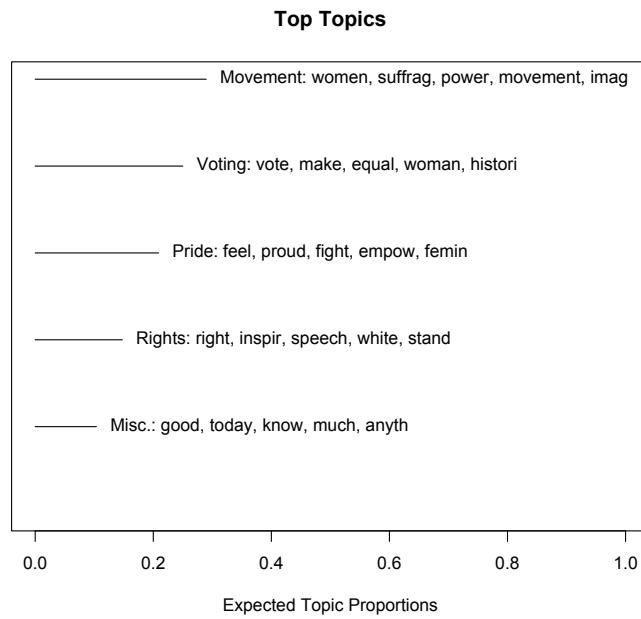
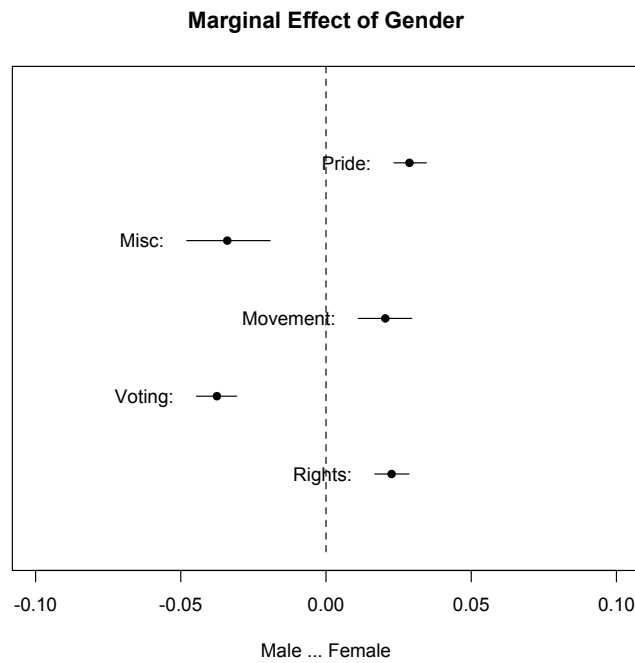


Figure A12: Average treatment effects between “early statesmen” treatment and control. Only men respondents.

I Study 3: STMs of Responses to Susan B. Anthony



A13: Words and stems associated with the five “topics” in the open-ended responses to viewing Susan B. Anthony.



A14: Marginal effect of respondent gender on topic prevalence. Data are from a STM analysis of open-ended responses.

J “Founding Fathers” in Presidential Campaign Announcements

We analyzed as many 2016 and 2020 U.S. presidential campaign announcement speeches as were available (57 in total). Speeches from 2016 were taken from Scott (2022). Speeches from 2020 were collected from web searches. We coded these speeches for keywords related to the framers, specifically: “found” (referencing “founding fathers”, “founders”, etc.); “frame” (referencing “framers of constitution”); “Washington” (referencing “George”); “Jefferson” (referencing “Thomas”); “Hamilton” (referencing “Alexander”); “Douglass” (referencing “Frederick”). We also coded for “Adams” (referencing “Abigail”) and “Anthony” (referencing “Susan”), but neither were mentioned in any announcement speech. We include a list of all coded speeches below.

CANDIDATE	GENDER	ELECTION YEAR	PARTY	TOTAL WORDS	REF. TO FOUNDERS
Jeb Bush	M	2016	R	2222	0
Donald Trump	M	2016	R	6442	1
Ben Carson	M	2016	R	4030	2
Chris Christie	M	2016	R	3702	2
Ted Cruz	M	2016	R	2389	3
Carly Fiorina	F	2016	R	128	1
Jim Gilmore	M	2016	R	1533	1
Lindsey Graham	M	2016	R	2190	0
Mike Huckabee	M	2016	R	3513	1
Bobby Jindal	M	2016	R	2436	0
John Kasich	M	2016	R	5774	4
George Pataki	M	2016	R	2721	0
Rand Paul	M	2016	R	2707	2
Rick Perry	M	2016	R	2766	3
Marco Rubio	M	2016	R	1824	0
Rick Santorum	M	2016	R	1829	2
Scott Walker	M	2016	R	3052	0
Martin O'Malley	M	2016	D	2155	0
Lincoln Chafee	M	2016	D	5329	0
Hillary Clinton	F	2016	D	4707	1
Lawrence Lessig	M	2016	D	1224	0
Martin O'Malley	M	2016	D	2161	1
Elizabeth Warren	F	2016	D	3650	0
Jim Webb	M	2016	D	2058	1
Bernie Sanders	M	2016	D	334	0
Donald Trump	M	2020	R	7677	1
William F. Weld	M	2020	R	464	0
Joe Walsh	M	2020	R	1586	0
Mark Sanford	M	2020	R	1461	0
Amy Klobuchar	F	2020	D	2548	1
Joe Biden	M	2020	D	484	1
Michael Bloomberg	M	2020	D	1382	0
Michael Bennet	M	2020	D	619	4
Cory Booker	M	2020	D	370	0
Steve Bullock	M	2020	D	620	0
Pete Buttigieg	M	2020	D	3559	0
Julian Castro	M	2020	D	2464	0
John Delaney	M	2020	D	1802	0
Tulsi Gabbard	F	2020	D	2694	4
Kirsten Gillibrand	F	2020	D	2888	0
Kamala Harris	F	2020	D	2801	1
John Hickenlooper	M	2020	D	1972	1
Jay Inslee	M	2020	D	2472	0
Wayne Messam	M	2020	D	4663	0
Seth Moulton	M	2020	D	764	0
Richard Ojeda	M	2020	D	672	0
Beto O'Rourke	M	2020	D	4001	1
Deval Patrick	M	2020	D	426	0
Tim Ryan	M	2020	D	1815	0
Bernie Sanders	M	2020	D	1425	0
Joe Sestak	M	2020	D	2806	0
Tom Steyer	M	2020	D	665	0
Eric Swalwell	M	2020	D	5285	0
Elizabeth Warren	F	2020	D	3921	0
Marianne Williamson	F	2020	D	6750	4
Andrew Yang	M	2020	D	995	1
Bill de Blasio	M	2020	D	479	0

Table A8: Summary of References to the Founding Fathers in Presidential Campaign Accouncoment Speeches