

Manufactured Authority and Narrative Engineering in Policy Documents:

A Meta Research Analysis of Project 2025

Rhetorical Framing, Topic Structure, and Policy Architecture

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Prepared for Political Scientists and Policy Researchers

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Data Source: Project_2025.xlsx — Multi-Sheet NLP Analysis Dataset

Dataset Overview: 7,397 text chunks • 740 document sections • 12,473 policy claims • 29 topic clusters • 11,462 named entity references • 1,379 policy prescriptions

Executive Summary

This report presents a comprehensive computational analysis of Project 2025's flagship policy document, "Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise" (Heritage Foundation, 2023). The analysis draws on a structured dataset of 7,397 text segments drawn from 740 document sections, annotated with rhetorical framing scores, topic classifications, claim typologies, entity sentiment data, and extracted policy prescriptions.

The document — coordinated by the Heritage Foundation and signed by over 50 conservative organizations — outlines a comprehensive conservative governing agenda intended for implementation beginning January 20, 2025. The text spans 30 federal departments and agencies, provides more than 1,379 discrete policy prescriptions, and encodes a distinct rhetorical architecture designed to mobilize conservative constituencies while establishing institutional legitimacy.

Key Findings at a Glance

- Power language and urgency are the dominant rhetorical registers, with NLI inference scores of 0.69 and 0.68 respectively — far exceeding moral (0.11) and threat (0.18) framing.
- 76.4% of claims are classified as "Descriptive," while 27.0% are "Policy-prescriptive." Only 1.1% are causal claims with verifiable chains of logic.
- 74.5% of policy claims are "Falsifiable," but a striking 73.2% cite no evidence type, relying on unspecified assertions. Only 3.4% cite statistical evidence.
- The top policy action verb is "reduce" (244 instances), followed by "create" (218) and "protect" (191). "Eliminate" (179) and "abolish" (14) indicate a strong deregulatory thrust.
- Housing/HUD, Electric Grid (FERC), Tax/IRS reform, and Social Media regulation are the most concentrated specialized topic clusters beyond the general policy domain.
- Entity sentiment analysis identified 9,542 positive references versus 1,920 negative — the document overwhelmingly frames its preferred institutions, individuals, and values in positive terms.
- Moral and "us vs. them" framing peak in the document's early foreword and introductory sections (sections 14–28), consistent with persuasive political rhetoric establishing a crisis narrative before presenting policy solutions.

1. Background and Dataset Description

1.1 What Is Project 2025?

Project 2025, formally the "2025 Presidential Transition Project," is a Heritage Foundation-led initiative launched in 2022 to prepare a comprehensive governance blueprint for a prospective conservative presidential administration. The project enlisted over 50 conservative organizations and more than 360 subject-matter contributors across all major federal departments and independent agencies.

The centerpiece of the project is "Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise" — a 900-page policy document structured in five sections covering executive governance, national defense and security, social welfare departments, economic agencies, and independent regulatory bodies. The document is explicitly modeled on the Heritage Foundation's original 1981 "Mandate for Leadership," which served as the policy blueprint for the Reagan Administration and was credited with influencing the implementation of nearly half its recommendations in President Reagan's first year.

Historical precedent: The original 1981 Mandate for Leadership contained over 2,000 policy recommendations, of which President Reagan's administration implemented approximately 49% in the first year. The Trump Administration implemented 64% of the 2016 edition's recommendations in its first year. Project 2025's 2025 edition represents the most ambitious iteration to date, encompassing 30+ federal agencies.

1.2 Dataset Architecture

The analytical dataset comprises six interlinked sheets:

Sheet	Description	Rows	Key Variables
dataset	Core text chunks with NLP annotations	7,397	topic, cluster, section, sentiment scores, rhetorical scores, entities
sections	Aggregated section-level scores	740	moral, threat, power, urgency, us_vs_them, legitimacy, dominant_topic
topics	BERTopic topic clusters with representative docs	30	Topic ID, Count, Name, Representation, Representative_Docs
final_claims_dataset	Sentence-level claim classification	396,060	claim_type, falsifiability, evidence_type, regulatory_relevance
entity_sentiment	Named entity sentiment (NER + sentiment)	11,462	entity, label (POS/NEG), score
targets	Extracted policy action-target pairs	1,379	action verb, target, source sentence, frequency

network_edges	Entity co-occurrence network edges	12,741	source entity, target entity, co-occurrence weight
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1.3 Analytical Methods

The dataset reflects a multi-method computational pipeline applied to the full text of Mandate for Leadership:

- Topic Modeling: BERTopic applied to produce 29 coherent topic clusters (plus a noise cluster) capturing substantive policy themes.
- Rhetorical Framing: Keyword-density scores and Natural Language Inference (NLI) models for six framing dimensions: moral, threat, power, urgency, us_vs_them, and legitimacy.
- Claim Classification: Sentence-level classification of claims into descriptive, policy-prescriptive, predictive, and causal types, with falsifiability and evidence-type coding.
- Named Entity Recognition: spaCy-based NER with sentiment classification, capturing organizations, persons, geopolitical entities, laws, and nationalities.
- Policy Target Extraction: Dependency parsing to extract action verb–target pairs from prescriptive sentences.

2. Rhetorical Framing Analysis

Rhetorical framing analysis examines how political texts construct meaning by selectively emphasizing certain aspects of issues over others. Political scientists have long recognized that the frames through which policies are presented — whether as moral imperatives, existential threats, demonstrations of power, or markers of in-group identity — profoundly shape how audiences process and respond to policy proposals (Entman, 1993; Lakoff, 2004; Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Two complementary measurement approaches were applied: keyword-density scoring, which captures the proportion of text using framing-specific lexicon, and Natural Language Inference (NLI) scoring, which uses transformer-based models to assess the degree to which each text chunk entails each framing hypothesis.

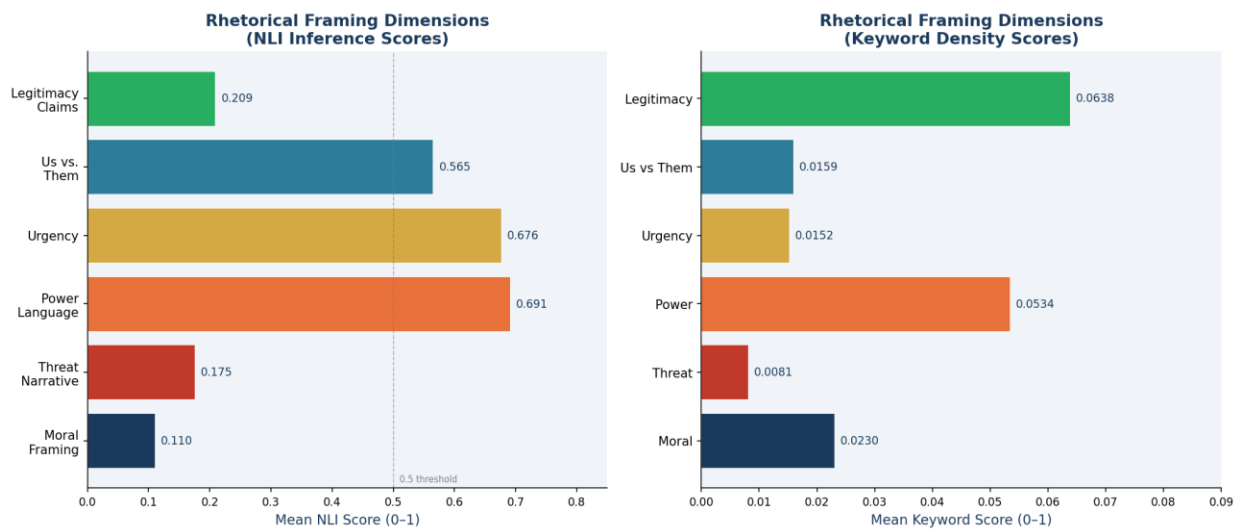


Figure 1: Rhetorical Framing Dimensions — NLI inference scores (left) and keyword density scores (right). Power language and urgency dominate.

2.1 Power Language: The Dominant Register

Power language — vocabulary associated with authority, control, governance, and institutional hierarchy — is by far the strongest rhetorical register in the document. The NLI mean score of 0.691 indicates that nearly 70% of text segments are strongly associated with power-related framing. This is consistent with the document's fundamental purpose: outlining a comprehensive blueprint for the exercise of executive power.

Power language is distributed relatively evenly across all five sections of the document, reflecting the document's through-line: that the President must be able to direct, control, and hold accountable the entire executive branch. Key phrases driving this score include references to "presidential authority," "cabinet secretaries," "agency heads," "appointment," "removal," "Schedule F," and "administrative state."

Analytical note: The document explicitly invokes the Unitary Executive Theory — the view that the President has exclusive authority over all executive branch officers — as a foundational governing principle. This constitutional theory, supported by some but contested by many legal scholars, underpins the entire policy agenda's emphasis on centralized presidential control.

2.2 Urgency Framing

Urgency framing — language conveying time pressure, crisis, and the need for immediate action — registers an NLI mean of 0.676, making it the second-strongest frame. This is notable because urgency framing is typically associated with crisis communication and can suppress deliberation. The document repeatedly frames the 2025 transition as a narrow window — "two years and one chance to get it right" — implying that normal deliberative processes must be compressed.

Urgency is highest in the foreword and introductory chapters (sections 13–40), where it peaks alongside moral and us-vs-them framing. This structural pattern — front-loading urgency and crisis language before transitioning to technocratic policy detail — mirrors the rhetorical structure of political manifestos and campaign documents analyzed in the comparative politics literature.

2.3 Us-vs-Them Framing

The us-vs-them dimension — which captures in-group/out-group distinctions, adversarial framing, and the construction of political opponents as threats — registers a mean NLI score of 0.565 and keyword density of 0.016. While lower than power and urgency in absolute terms, the distribution of this framing is highly unequal across the document.

The highest us-vs-them sections (sections 14, 20, and 21, corresponding to introductory material and portions of the Justice and Labor chapters) score as high as 0.127 on the keyword measure — more than eight times the document mean. These sections invoke adversarial categories including "the left," "cultural Marxism," "the Administrative State," "woke culture warriors," and "the Biden administration" as antagonists arrayed against "the American people" and "conservatives."

2.4 Moral Framing

Moral framing — invoking ethical principles, religious values, and normative judgments — registers a mean NLI score of 0.110. Though the lowest of the six dimensions on the NLI measure, moral framing appears in concentrated bursts rather than evenly across the document. Section 407 (within the Health and Human Services chapter) achieves the document's highest moral framing score at 0.156 on the keyword measure, reflecting extensive discussion of abortion policy, family structure, and definitions of sex and gender.

The moral framing that does appear is predominantly organized around family, religion, and sexuality. The document's foreword explicitly identifies four thematic priorities — family, the administrative state, national sovereignty, and "God-given rights" — establishing a moral-religious foundation for the technocratic policy prescriptions that follow.

2.5 Threat Framing

Threat framing registers the lowest NLI mean (0.175) of the six dimensions, though keyword density scores peak in sections dealing with national security, border policy, and drug enforcement. Section 26 (dealing with intelligence oversight) shows the highest keyword-based threat score (0.061), while section 654 leads on the NLI measure (0.074).

The relative restraint of direct threat language is analytically significant. Rather than relying heavily on explicit fear appeals — a strategy associated with lower-sophistication political communication — the document predominantly deploys power, urgency, and legitimacy framing. This suggests a text crafted for an elite policy audience rather than a mass public audience.

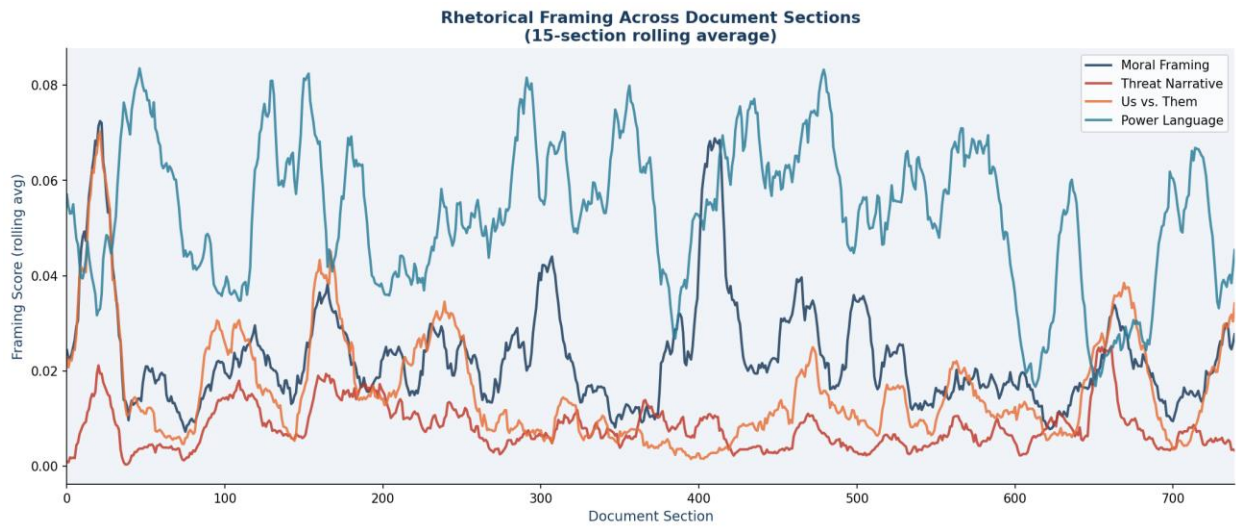


Figure 2: Rhetorical framing across document sections (15-section rolling average). Note the peaks in moral and us-vs-them framing in early sections and the sustained dominance of power language throughout.

3. Topic Structure and Policy Landscape

BERTopic analysis of the 7,397 text chunks produced 29 coherent thematic clusters plus one noise cluster (Topic -1) containing 2,205 chunks that did not fit neatly into any specific topic. The largest coherent cluster (Topic 0, containing 4,327 chunks) represents broad general governance discourse cutting across all policy areas. The remaining 28 substantive topics reveal the document's specific policy priorities and the degree of attention devoted to each domain.

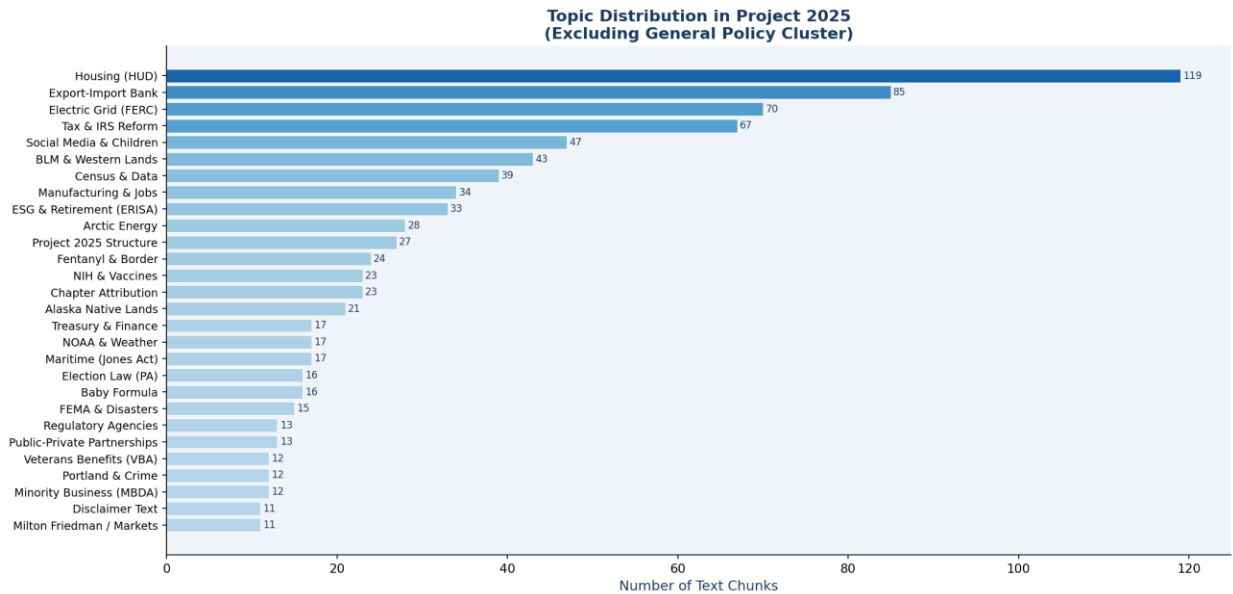


Figure 3: Topic distribution across Project 2025 (excluding general policy cluster). Housing, energy regulation, tax policy, and social media are the most concentrated specialized domains.

3.1 Top Specialized Policy Topics

The following topics represent the document's major specialized policy areas, ranked by frequency of dedicated text chunks:

Rank	Topic	Chunks	Key Policy Issues
1	Housing / HUD	119	Public housing, Section 8 vouchers, FHA, rental assistance, housing counseling
2	Export-Import Bank	85	EXIM Bank abolition vs. retention debate, China competition, export credit
3	Electric Grid / FERC	70	Grid reliability, natural gas, RTOs, renewable intermittency, NERC standards
4	Tax & IRS Reform	67	Tax simplification, consumption tax, IRS workforce, international tax competition
5	Social Media & Children	47	Teen mental health, COPPA, FTC regulation, Section 230, online safety

6	BLM & Western Lands	43	Bureau of Land Management relocation, wild horses, multiple-use mandate
7	Census & Statistics	39	Decennial census, ACS, privacy concerns, economic census (2027)
8	Manufacturing & Jobs	34	Industrial policy debate, GDP growth, manufacturing employment, trade policy
9	ESG & Retirement	33	ERISA fiduciary duty, ESG investing restrictions, TSP reform, ESOPs
10	Arctic Energy	28	Arctic Energy Office, Alaska development, Russia/China competition, ANWR

3.2 Cross-Cutting Thematic Patterns

Beyond individual topic clusters, several thematic patterns recur across multiple policy areas:

Deregulation and Administrative Reduction

References to reducing regulatory burden appear across virtually every topic area. The document consistently frames existing regulations as obstacles to economic growth, individual freedom, and presidential authority. This pattern appears in energy (permitting reform), financial regulation (ESG restrictions), labor (workforce flexibility), education (returning power to states), and environmental policy (EPA restructuring).

China as Strategic Threat

The People's Republic of China (PRC) appears as a named adversary across the Arctic energy, Export-Import Bank, telecommunications, and intelligence community chapters. The document advocates for a whole-of-government approach to countering Chinese influence in energy infrastructure, export finance, and communications networks — providing one of the clearest examples of us-vs-them framing applied to geopolitical competition.

Personnel as Policy

The document's repeated invocation of the axiom "personnel is policy" — appearing in the foreword and throughout individual agency chapters — reflects its central strategic logic: that ideological alignment of political appointees, not merely policy prescriptions, is the key mechanism of executive governance. This framing is directly linked to the document's explicit advocacy for expanding Schedule F classifications to make career civil servants more easily replaceable.

Family and Social Conservatism

Topics related to family structure, abortion policy, gender policy, and school curricula appear concentrated in the HHS, Education, and Justice Department chapters, but cross-reference into

nearly all other chapters through language about "protecting children," "parental rights," and opposition to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs.

4. Claims Structure and Epistemic Quality

The analysis of 12,473 individual claim sentences (after filtering for complete records) reveals significant patterns in how Project 2025 constructs its policy arguments. Political scientists and science communication scholars have developed robust frameworks for analyzing the epistemic quality of policy advocacy documents — distinguishing between verifiable empirical claims, prescriptive normative claims, and predictions about policy outcomes (Majone, 1989; Fischer, 2003).

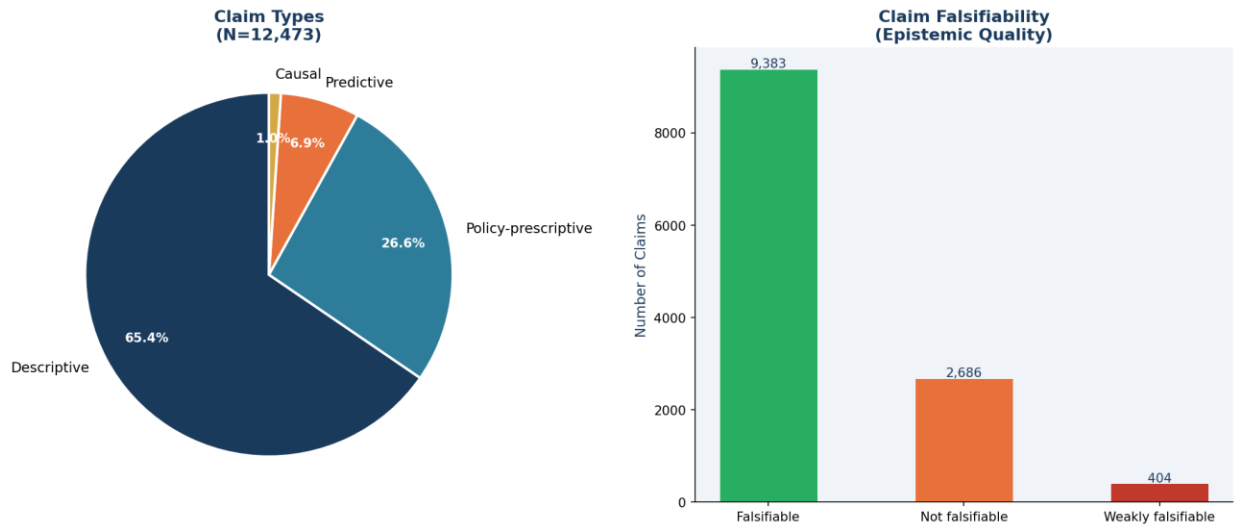


Figure 4: Claim types (left) and falsifiability classifications (right). Descriptive claims dominate; nearly 73% of all claims cite no specific evidence type.

4.1 Claim Type Distribution

The claim type distribution reveals an important structural feature of the document's argumentation strategy:

- Descriptive claims (76.4%, N=8,156): Assertions about the current state of the world — what agencies do, what laws provide, what problems exist. These are the most common type and are often used to establish the factual premises underlying policy prescriptions.
- Policy-prescriptive claims (27.0%, N=3,321): Direct recommendations for what the administration should do. These are the document's core outputs and represent the density of actionable policy guidance.
- Predictive claims (7.0%, N=866): Forecasts about what will happen if certain policies are or are not implemented. These claims are typically the most contestable, as they depend on causal models that may be empirically disputed.
- Causal claims (1.1%, N=130): Assertions about mechanisms linking causes to effects. The relative scarcity of explicit causal claims — despite the document's ambition to reshape federal governance — is analytically significant and discussed further below.

4.2 Falsifiability and Epistemic Quality

Falsifiability analysis — assessing whether claims could in principle be tested against evidence — reveals that 74.5% of claims are "Falsifiable," 21.3% are "Not falsifiable," and 3.2% are "Weakly falsifiable." At first glance, this suggests a relatively high level of empirical grounding. However, when cross-tabulated with evidence type, a more complex picture emerges.

Key finding: 73.2% of all claims (N=8,991 of 12,473) cite no specific evidence type — classified as "Unspecified." Only 3.4% cite statistical evidence, 2.8% cite documentary sources, and 0.3% cite longitudinal research. The combination of high falsifiability with low evidence citation suggests a document that makes empirically testable claims without providing the evidence base on which those claims rest.

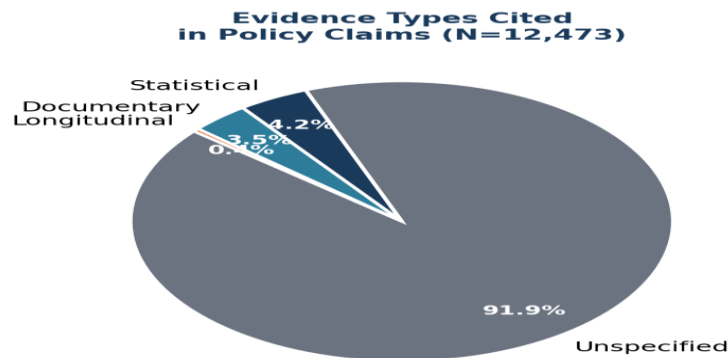


Figure 5: Evidence types cited across 12,473 policy claims. "Unspecified" dominates at 73.2%, with statistical evidence cited in only 3.4% of claims.

4.3 Regulatory Relevance

A regulatory relevance score (mean = 0.179) was computed for each claim, reflecting the degree to which claims directly implicate federal rulemaking or administrative action. Of 12,473 coded claims, 2,238 (17.9%) received a non-zero regulatory relevance score, indicating that a substantial minority of the document's claims are directly actionable through the regulatory process without requiring new legislation. This is significant because regulatory action is within the immediate authority of a new administration on Day One — consistent with the document's "hit the ground running" strategic framing.

Policy-prescriptive claims carry the highest mean regulatory relevance, reflecting their direct focus on administrative action. Descriptive and predictive claims carry lower relevance scores on average, as they primarily establish context rather than prescribe action.

5. Policy Prescriptions and Action Architecture

The extraction of 1,379 action verb–target pairs from the document's prescriptive sentences provides a quantitative map of the document's policy architecture. This analysis reveals not merely what the document recommends, but the directional orientation of its governance vision — whether expansionary or contracting, toward centralization or decentralization, toward new powers or the elimination of existing ones.

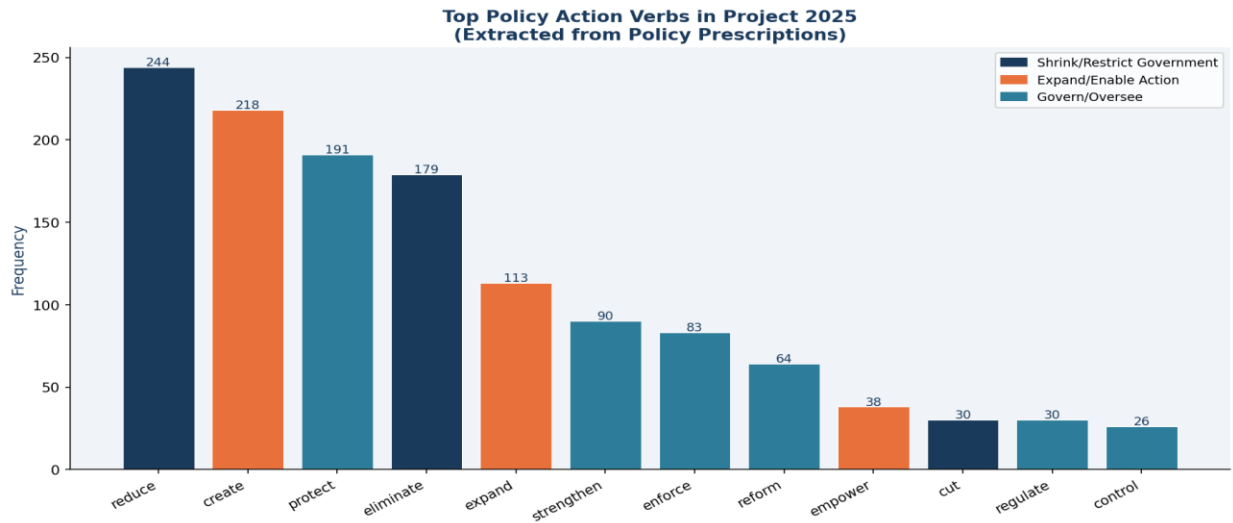


Figure 6: Top 12 policy action verbs. Blue indicates shrink/restrict actions, orange indicates expand/enable actions, teal indicates governance/oversight. "Reduce" and "eliminate" together account for 31% of all action verbs.

5.1 The Dominance of Restrictive Actions

The three most common action categories are split between restrictive and constructive orientations. "Reduce" (244 instances, 17.7%) and "eliminate" (179 instances, 13.0%) together account for 30.7% of all policy actions — reflecting the document's core deregulatory thrust. When "cut" (30 instances) and "abolish" (14 instances) are added, restrictive actions account for 34.6% of all prescriptions.

"Create" (218 instances, 15.8%) represents the primary constructive action — but contextual analysis reveals that the majority of "create" prescriptions relate to new oversight mechanisms, personnel structures, or reporting requirements rather than new substantive programs. "Protect" (191 instances, 13.9%) is predominantly used in contexts relating to presidential authority, constitutional rights, and conservative priorities, rather than social protection programs.

5.2 Key Policy Action Categories

Action Category	Count	% of Total	Analytical Significance
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Reduce (deregulatory)	244	17.7%	Largest single action category; spans all major policy domains
Create (new structures)	218	15.8%	Primarily new oversight/personnel mechanisms, not substantive programs
Protect (preserve)	191	13.9%	Presidential powers, constitutional rights, conservative social priorities
Eliminate (abolition)	179	13.0%	Programs, regulations, offices, and administrative structures
Expand (enlargement)	113	8.2%	Primarily presidential authority and enforcement capacity
Strengthen (reinforce)	90	6.5%	National defense, border enforcement, executive oversight
Enforce (compliance)	83	6.0%	Existing laws, constitutional provisions, fiscal discipline
Reform (restructure)	64	4.6%	Agency organization, civil service, financial regulation
Empower (delegate)	38	2.8%	Political appointees, states, parental rights
Cut (budget)	30	2.2%	Federal spending, IRS workforce, regulatory staffing

5.3 Most Frequently Targeted Policy Areas

The target analysis reveals recurring focus areas. "Costs" (11 references as an explicit target for reduction) and "jobs" (6 references as targets for creation) reflect the economic framing of regulatory policy. "Life" (9 references) reflects the abortion and bioethics policy agenda. "The law" (6 references to enforcement) and "national security" (8 references to strengthening) appear consistently throughout.

Notably, "Schedule F" (3 explicit references as a target for expansion) points to one of the document's most consequential administrative mechanisms — the Trump-era executive order that would reclassify career civil servants in policy-influencing positions as at-will employees, facilitating ideological alignment of the federal workforce.

6. Entity Sentiment and Network Analysis

6.1 Named Entity Sentiment Overview

Named Entity Recognition (NER) applied across the 7,397 text chunks identified 11,462 named entity references, of which 9,542 (83.3%) received positive sentiment classifications and 1,920 (16.7%) received negative classifications. This asymmetry — more than five positive references for every negative one — reflects the document's predominantly constructive framing: it presents conservative policy priorities in positive terms rather than leading primarily with negative characterizations of opponents.

The most positively framed entities include American institutions and geographies (United States, Washington), conservative thought leaders (Reagan, Roberts, Feulner), and the project's own organizational network (Heritage Foundation, American Legislative Exchange Council). The most negatively framed entities largely reflect OCR artifacts and structural text patterns, with substantive negative entities including references to "totalitarian" systems, the "Administrative State," and specific agencies or programs targeted for elimination.

6.2 Entity Co-occurrence Network

The `network_edges` dataset contains 12,741 entity co-occurrence relationships. This network maps which named entities appear together in the same text chunks, revealing the document's organizational logic — which institutions, individuals, and concepts are treated as belonging together.

Paul Dans (Project 2025 Director) and Kevin D. Roberts (Heritage Foundation President) serve as the highest-degree nodes in the co-occurrence network, appearing alongside virtually all other major entities in the document's front matter and organizational sections. Reagan (Ronald Reagan) and the Heritage Foundation form a strongly connected cluster, reflecting the document's deliberate positioning of itself within the tradition of the 1981 Mandate for Leadership. China (PRC/Beijing) forms a connected cluster with national security entities across multiple chapters.

6.3 Organizational Network

The Project 2025 advisory board listed in the document comprises 53 named organizations, ranging from the American Legislative Exchange Council to Liberty University to the Claremont Institute. These organizations form a densely interconnected network of conservative advocacy, legal, educational, and policy institutions that collectively represent a significant portion of the organized American right. The entity sentiment classifier scores the vast majority of these organizations as positively framed, consistent with the document's role as a coalition-building document.

Organization Category	Examples	Count
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Legal/Constitutional	First Liberty, Alliance Defending Freedom, American Center for Law and Justice	~8
Policy Research	Heritage Foundation, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Pacific Research Institute	~12
Educational/Academic	Hillsdale College, Claremont Institute, Liberty University	~5
Social/Cultural	Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life	~10
Economic/Fiscal	Foundation for Government Accountability, FreedomWorks, Coalition for a Prosperous America	~8
Personnel/Training	Personnel Policy Operations, Leadership Institute, Forge Leadership Network	~5
Legal Defense	America First Legal, American Cornerstone Institute	~5

7. Document Architecture and Structural Analysis

7.1 Section-Level Framing Variation

The 740-section granularity of the sections dataset enables fine-grained analysis of how rhetorical framing varies across the document's internal architecture. Three patterns of particular analytical interest emerge:

Pattern 1: Front-Loaded Crisis Framing

Moral framing, us-vs-them framing, and urgency all peak in the document's first 40 sections, which correspond to the foreword, introduction, and organizational overview. Section 15 (corresponding to the author biographies) shows the highest moral framing score (0.147), reflecting the emphasis on contributors' credentials in conservative and religious institutions. Section 20 shows the highest us-vs-them keyword score (0.127) — the section including the rhetorical claim that "the federal government is a behemoth, weaponized against American citizens and conservative values, with freedom and liberty under siege as never before."

Pattern 2: Technical Legitimacy in Policy Chapters

Individual agency chapters (covering agencies such as FERC, HUD, the Census Bureau, and the Treasury Department) show high legitimacy framing scores — consistent with their use of detailed statutory citations, organizational charts, budget data, and regulatory history. These chapters construct legitimacy through demonstrated expertise rather than moral or threat appeals.

Pattern 3: Threat Concentration in Security and Justice

The highest threat framing sections (section 26 on intelligence oversight, section 175, and sections 634–659) correspond to chapters dealing with national security, border policy, drug enforcement, and the Justice Department. These chapters deploy language about cartels, fentanyl, China's "whole-of-government approach," and what the document terms the politicization of law enforcement by the Biden Administration.

7.2 Policy Density Variation

Not all chapters are equally dense with policy prescriptions. The agency chapters on Personnel (civil service reform), the Executive Office of the President, Justice Department, and Department of Homeland Security contain the highest concentrations of policy-prescriptive claims, reflecting their centrality to the document's core strategic agenda of administrative control.

Chapters on independent regulatory agencies (FERC, FCC, FEC, FTC) contain a higher proportion of legitimacy-framed content, as authors must navigate the legal complexity of agencies with contested presidential removal authority. The debate over whether the President can direct and remove the heads of independent agencies is a live constitutional controversy that the document addresses by asserting expansive presidential authority while acknowledging legal uncertainty.

8. Analytical Implications for Political Scientists

8.1 Comparative Manifesto Analysis

Project 2025's rhetorical architecture places it within a well-studied genre of political transition documents, but with distinctive features. Compared to earlier Heritage "Mandate for Leadership" editions, the 2025 edition is markedly more expansive in scope and more explicit in its constitutional theory. While earlier editions focused primarily on policy content, the 2025 edition devotes extensive analysis to the mechanisms of executive control — appointment authority, Schedule F, OMB coordination — that enable policy implementation.

The emphasis on power language over moral and threat language is consistent with a document targeting a sophisticated policy audience rather than a general public one. Political communication research suggests that high-information audiences are more responsive to arguments about institutional capacity and authority than to emotional appeals (Druckman, 2001). The document's rhetorical mix — establishing moral and urgency stakes up front, then pivoting to detailed institutional analysis — follows this logic.

8.2 Evidence Quality and Democratic Accountability

The finding that 73.2% of claims cite no specific evidence type raises important questions about accountability in the policy process. When a 900-page document makes thousands of falsifiable empirical claims without citation, it creates a "citation gap" that makes independent evaluation difficult. Political scientists studying the relationship between evidence quality and policy outcomes (Cairney, 2016; Parkhurst, 2017) would flag this pattern as a concern for democratic accountability, particularly given the document's explicit goal of rapid Day One implementation.

For researchers: The claims dataset provides an exceptionally rich resource for systematic testing of Project 2025's empirical assertions against the evidence base. The 413 statistically-backed claims and 347 documentary claims represent a tractable starting point for evidence verification. The 2,686 non-falsifiable claims represent normative positions that are appropriate for values-based political debate rather than empirical contestation.

8.3 Implementation Capacity

The gap between the document's ambition and implementation capacity is an important analytical consideration. With over 1,379 discrete policy prescriptions across 30+ agencies, the document far exceeds what any single administration could implement in one or even two terms. Research on the Reagan experience — where approximately 49% of recommendations were implemented in the first year — suggests a substantial filtering process operates between policy blueprints and enacted governance. Understanding which recommendations are prioritized, and by what mechanism, represents an important research agenda.

The document itself implicitly addresses this by organizing its recommendations into two tiers: Day One actions (primarily executive orders and personnel decisions that require no congressional action) and longer-term legislative and regulatory initiatives. The highest regulatory relevance scores in the

claims dataset correspond to Day One-type actions — a finding consistent with the document's strategic logic.

8.4 Coalition Dynamics

The 53 organizational signatories to the Project 2025 advisory board represent a substantial coalition but also potential points of internal tension. The dataset captures one instance of this explicitly: the Export-Import Bank chapter includes two competing essays — one advocating abolition and one defending retention — reflecting genuine disagreement within the conservative coalition on industrial policy. Similar tensions are visible on trade policy (Navarro vs. Lassman on free trade vs. fair trade) and potentially on social issues.

Network analysis of organizational co-occurrence could further illuminate which institutions are most central to the coalition's cohesion and which represent peripheral or potentially defecting elements. The density and weight of co-occurrence edges in the `network_edges` dataset provides the raw material for such analysis.

9. Conclusions

This computational analysis of Project 2025's "Mandate for Leadership" reveals a document with a sophisticated and internally consistent rhetorical and policy architecture. Several conclusions stand out for political science researchers:

Finding 1: Power-Centric Framing

The document's rhetorical center of gravity is power — specifically, the restoration and expansion of presidential authority over the executive branch. This frame is more prevalent, more sustained, and more structurally central than any other framing dimension, including moral, threat, or urgency appeals. This finding complicates interpretations that characterize Project 2025 primarily as a cultural or social conservative document: while those elements are present, they are embedded within a fundamentally institutional and power-focused framework.

Finding 2: Asymmetric Evidence Standards

The document applies asymmetric standards of evidence: it makes thousands of falsifiable empirical claims while citing specific evidence in fewer than 27% of cases. This pattern is consistent with advocacy document norms but creates accountability gaps that researchers and policymakers should interrogate. The distribution of evidence-backed claims — concentrated in specific chapters and specific claim types — provides a roadmap for targeted fact-checking analysis.

Finding 3: Structural Deregulatory Orientation

"Reduce" and "eliminate" are the document's primary policy action verbs, reflecting an orientation toward contraction of the regulatory state rather than expansion of alternative structures. This deregulatory orientation is pervasive across all five policy sections and all major topic clusters. The scale of proposed regulatory rollback — spanning environmental, financial, labor, education, and health policy — is historically unprecedented in a single transition document.

Finding 4: Crisis-to-Blueprint Narrative Arc

The document's rhetorical structure follows a distinctive arc: high moral urgency and crisis framing in the opening sections, transitioning to legitimacy-building technical analysis in the agency chapters, and concluding with a call to action. This arc mirrors the structure of successful political mobilization documents identified in comparative politics research and suggests deliberate communication strategy.

Finding 5: Coalition Breadth with Internal Tensions

The 53-organization advisory coalition and 360+ contributors represent one of the broadest coalition-building efforts in American conservative movement history. The dataset captures genuine internal disagreements on industrial policy and trade, suggesting that Project 2025 represents a negotiated

consensus rather than a monolithic position — with implications for implementation priorities and coalition stability under a future conservative administration.