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Project 2025: A Guide for Advocates





#### **Key Takeaways:**

- More than seven in ten Americans are unfamiliar with Project 2025 and report hearing "a little" or "nothing" about it.
- Americans' biggest concerns are that Project 2025 would threaten rights and freedoms, hurt the middle class and working families, and threaten our democracy. Americans say Trump and his loyalists, the wealthy, and MAGA Republicans are most likely to benefit from Project 2025 and describe its supporters as "dangerous," "power hungry," and "extreme."
- In a MaxDiff analysis, Americans are most concerned that Project 2025 is an "unprecedented" plan that will give Trump powers that no other president has ever had and that it will roll back Americans' rights and freedoms.
- Three in five say Project 2025 accurately describes what both the Republican Party and Donald Trump stand for, as a majority say Trump and Republicans would put all or most of the Project 2025 agenda into place if they win control of the White House and Congress in November.

#### **Key Takeaways:**

- A wide range of policies included in Project 2025 are seen as harmful to the country, including allowing employers to stop paying hourly workers overtime, letting the government monitor pregnancies, removing protections for pre-existing conditions, banning Medicare from negotiating lower prescription drug costs and eliminating the \$35 insulin price cap, and eliminating the Head Start program.
- Education about the policies included in Project 2025 and negative messaging about the plan drive up opposition to Project 2025 and significantly increase the share who think it will have a negative impact on them and their family, as well as the share who say Republicans are focused on the wrong things. Nearly one in five Americans shift to opposing Project 2025 after learning more, including more than one in four non-MAGA Republicans, independents, and Republican women.

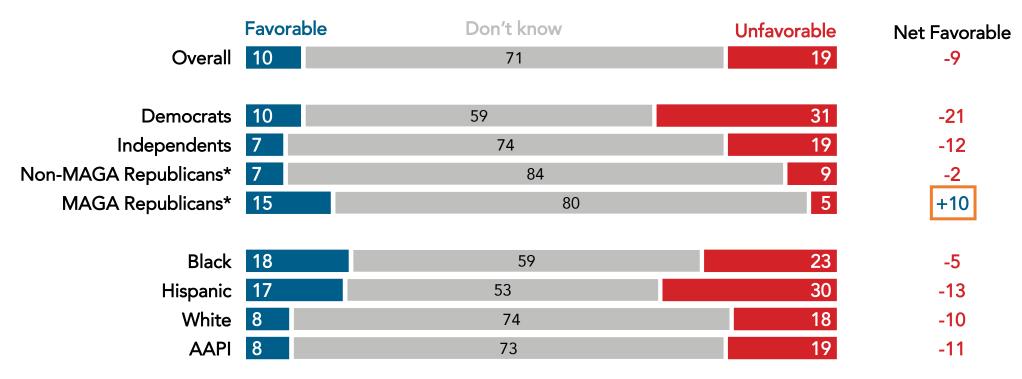


### Project 2025: The Message

## Seven in Ten Americans Have No Opinion of Project 2025, Though More View It Unfavorably Than Favorably

Self-identified MAGA Republicans\* are the only partisan or racial group that holds net favorable views of Project 2025 (net +10 favorable), though majorities across party and racial lines have no opinion of it.

Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you are to: Project 2025.



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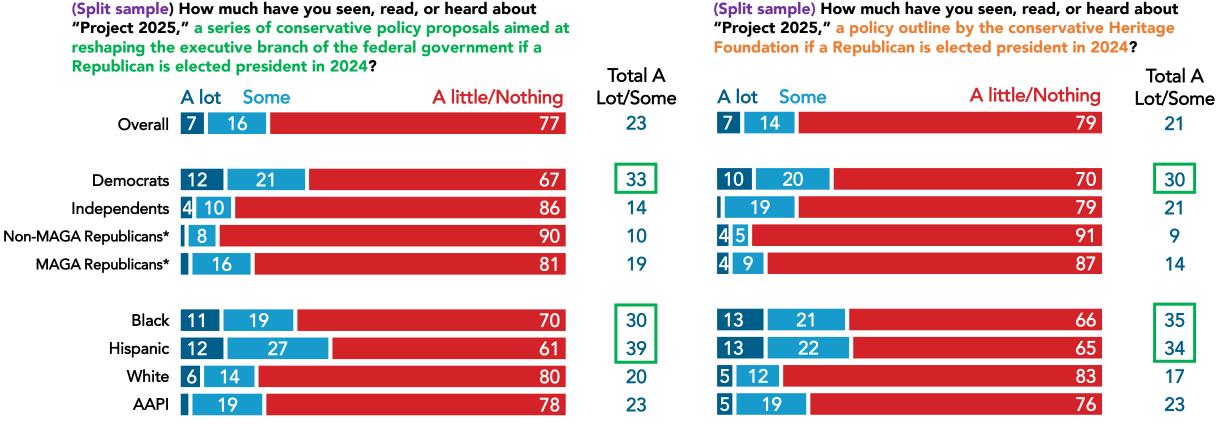
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#### Few Have Heard About Project 2025

Democrats are the most likely partisan group to have heard "a lot" or "some" about Project 2025, whether it's described as "a series of conservative policy proposals aimed at reshaping the executive branch" (33%) or "a policy outline by the conservative Heritage Foundation" (30%) – but large majorities across party and racial lines report hearing "a little" or "nothing" about it.



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## Project 2025: A Dangerous Takeover That Threatens Rights and Hurts the Middle Class in Order to Help Trump and the Wealthy

Initial branding guidance on Project 2025 points to:

• Project 2025 is a (takeover, agenda, or plot) that (threatens rights and freedoms, hurts the middle class, or threatens democracy) led by (Trump and his loyalists, wealthy billionaire donors, or MAGA Republicans) because they are (dangerous, power hungry, extreme).

#### The HOW (Mechanism):

- Takeover
- Agenda
- Plot



#### The WHAT (Impacts):

- Threatening rights and freedoms
- Hurting middle class
- Threatening democracy



#### The WHO (Villains):

- Trump and his loyalists
- Wealthy billionaire donors
- MAGA
   Republicans



#### The WHY (Motive):

- Dangerous
- Power hungry
- Extreme



### Most Concerning on Project 2025: Threats to Rights and Freedoms, Harm to Middle Class, Threats to Democracy

Democrats and independents are most concerned that Project 2025 "would threaten American rights and freedoms" (63% and 56% most concerning, respectively), while roughly equal shares of non-MAGA Republicans\* are concerned that it "would hurt the middle class and working families" (41%) as are concerned about the threat it poses to rights and freedoms (39%).

Which of the following Project 2025 impacts do you find most concerning?

	% top three most concerning	Dem	Ind	MAGA Rep*	MAGA Rep*
It would threaten American rights and freedoms	49%	63	56	39	26
It would hurt the middle class and working families	35	34	44	41	27
It would threaten our democracy	32	49	31	22	8
It's all about Trump taking control and protecting himself and his allies	27	43	22	19	6
It would protect the rich and big corporations	23	20	29	31	21
It has dangerous, extreme Republican ideas	23	32	20	16	12
It would take us backwards/in the wrong direction	18	24	22	12	9
It would weaken our economy	15	13	21	23	11

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

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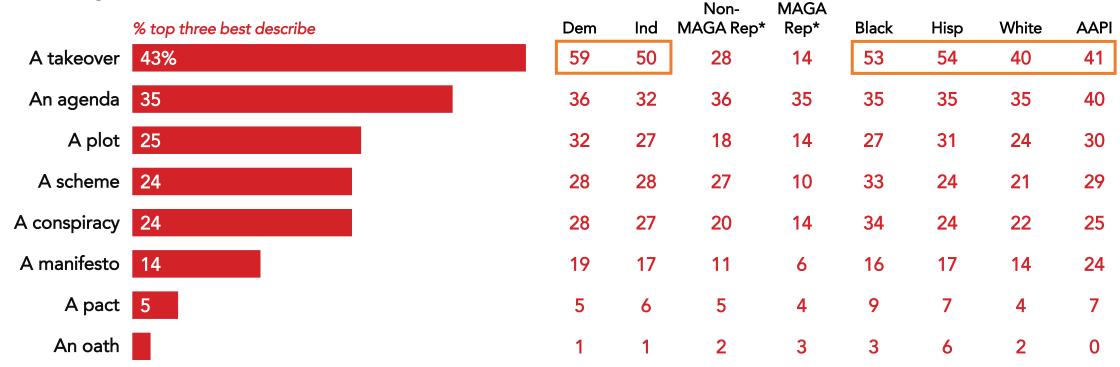


Non-

#### Project 2025 Best Described As a "Takeover"

Democrats and independents who do not strongly support Project 2025 after learning more are most likely to describe Project 2025 as a "takeover" (59% and 50%, respectively), while non-MAGA\* and MAGA Republicans\* opt for calling it an "agenda" (36% and 35%).

[If do not strongly support Project 2025 after reading policies included] Having learned a bit more about Project 2025, which of the following best describes it?



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

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### Trump and His Loyalists, the Wealthy, MAGA Republicans Have Most to Gain From Project 2025

"Trump and his loyalists" are seen as having the most to gain from Project 2025 (45% gain overall, 66% among Democrats, 49% among independents, and 34% among non-MAGA Republicans\*).

#### Who do you think has the most to gain from Project 2025?

	% top two most to gain	Dem	Ind	Rep*	Rep*
Trump and his loyalists	45%	66	49	34	12
Wealthy billionaire donors	31	36	38	30	21
MAGA Republicans	24	28	25	15	23
Corporate CEOs	19	16	21	24	17
Right-wing politicians	14	16	12	10	14
Religious extremists	6	7	3	7	5

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

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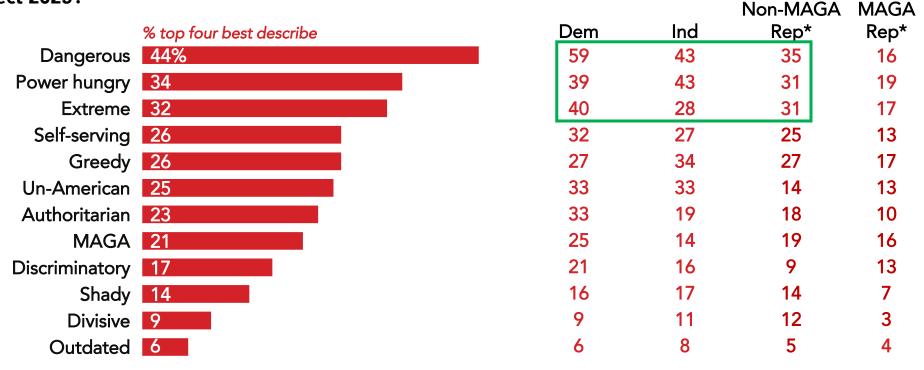


Non-MAGA MAGA

## "Dangerous", "Power Hungry", "Extreme" Best Describe Those Who Support Project 2025

Americans say Project 2025's supporters are best described as "dangerous" (44% overall, including 59% of Democrats, 43% of independents, and 35% of non-MAGA Republicans\*).

[If do not strongly support Project 2025 after reading policies included] What are the best words and phrases to describe those who support Project 2025?



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## Americans Most Concerned Project 2025 Is an Unprecedented Plan To Fundamentally Alter Government & Take Away Rights

Democrats and independents are most concerned that Project 2025 is "unprecedented" and is a plan to "roll back and eliminate... rights and freedoms", while independents and Republicans are concerned that it "will hurt hard-working American families and seniors."

% chance selected as most concerning	Dem	Ind	Non-MAGA Rep*	MAGA Rep*
18.8%	29.3	15.8	13.3	7.8
	12.2	15.4	12.8	15.1
	11.7	11.0	13.6	13.0
12.3	9.7	13.5	15.0	15.2
11.2	10.7	11.3	11.1	10.6
	7.9	10.8	11.4	13.1
	7.2	8.4	8.9	9.7
	6.2	6.3	6.6	7.8
6.5	5.1	7.6	7.3	7.7
	18.8%  13.7  12.5  12.3  11.2  10  8.3	most concerning       Dem         18.8%       29.3         13.7       12.2         12.5       11.7         12.3       9.7         11.2       10.7         10       7.9         8.3       7.2         6.8       6.2	most concerning       Dem       Ind         18.8%       29.3       15.8         13.7       12.2       15.4         12.5       11.7       11.0         12.3       9.7       13.5         11.2       10.7       11.3         10       7.9       10.8         8.3       7.2       8.4         6.8       6.2       6.3	Dem       Ind       Rep*         18.8%       29.3       15.8       13.3         13.7       12.2       15.4       12.8         12.5       11.7       11.0       13.6         12.3       9.7       13.5       15.0         11.2       10.7       11.3       11.1         10       7.9       10.8       11.4         8.3       7.2       8.4       8.9         6.8       6.2       6.3       6.6

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

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#### "Double Haters" and All Voters, Regardless of Motivation, Most Concerned Project 2025 Is Unprecedented, Will Roll Back Rights

A range of groups, including "Double Haters"\*, Americans who are highly motivated to vote, and those who move toward saying the Republican Party is focused on the wrong things after messaging\*\*\*, are most concerned that Project 2025 is "unprecedented."

Project 2025 is	% chance selected as most concerning	*Double Haters	**10/10 Motivation	Not 10/10 Motivation	***GOP Movers
an unprecedented, extreme Republican plan that will fundamentally alter the American government, making Trump even more dangerous in a second term by granting him presidential powers like no president before him has ever had.	18.8%	20.5	20.4	17.1	20.7
an extreme Republican plan to roll back and eliminate Americans' constitutionally protected rights and freedoms.		15.5	13.4	14.0	12.9
a Republican plan to implement their extreme agenda, removing the checks and balances across our federal government that keep any one branch or political party from having too much power.		13.0	13.3	11.5	10.3
an extreme Republican plan that <mark>will hurt hard-working American families and seniors</mark> , while making it harder for future generations to succeed.	12.3	13.0	11.6	13.1	13.9
a plot by extreme Republican politicians who are <mark>making backroom deals with unelected political groups</mark> who will really be the ones calling the shots in a second Trump term and causing even more destruction.	11.2	9.7	11.4	11.0	10.8
an extreme Republican plan that <mark>rewards the rich and big corporations at the expense of working families and seniors struggling to get by.</mark>		9.4	8.7	11.6	11.0
a plot for extreme Republicans to protect their own self-interests, including their wallets and their ability to hang onto power regardless of what voters decide.		7.0	8.0	8.7	8.0
an attempt by extreme Republicans to ignore the will of voters and impose their extreme views on others.		5.4	7.2	6.3	5.7
a power grab by extreme Republicans who want to control how Americans live.	6.5	6.3	6.2	6.8	6.7

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Double Haters" say they view both Biden and Trump unfavorably on separate questions. \*\*"10/10 Motivation" rate their level of motivation to vote in the 2024 election as a 10 on a scale from 0-10. \*\*\*"GOP Movers" move toward saying the Republican Party is focused on the wrong things over the course of the survey. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted June 20-June 24, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

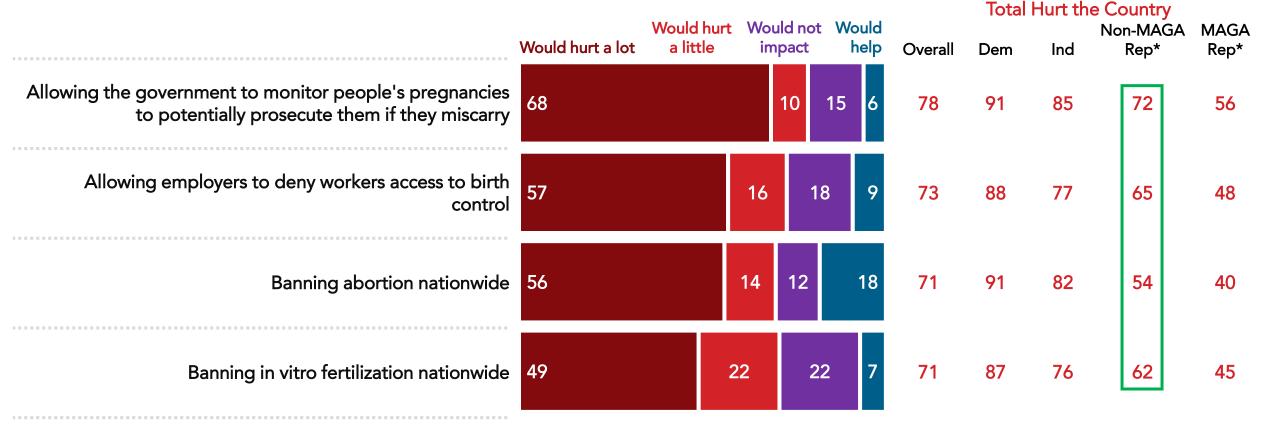


#### **Project 2025: The Policies**

## Harmful Project 2025 Reproductive Policies: Monitoring Pregnancies, Birth Control Restrictions, Abortion and IVF Bans

Majorities of non-MAGA Republicans\* see a range of reproductive restrictions as harmful.

Below is a list of policies proposed in Project 2025. Please indicate whether you think each one would help the country, hurt the country, or would have no impact.



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

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## Harmful Project 2025 Economic/Health Care Policies: Stopping Overtime Pay, Removing Protections for Pre-Existing Conditions

For non-MAGA Republicans\*, policies cutting overtime pay and making health care less affordable and accessible are seen as most harmful.

Below is a list of policies proposed in Project 2025. Please indicate whether you think each one would help the country, hurt the country, or would have no impact.

Total Hurt the Country

	Would hurt a lot	Would hurt a little	Would no impact	t Would help	Overall	Dem	Ind	Non-MAGA Rep*	MAGA Rep*
Allowing employers to stop paying hourly workers overtime	71		14	10 6	84	93	87	84	67
Removing health care protections for people with pre-existing conditions	65		17	10 8	82	92	85	82	63
Banning Medicare from negotiating for lower prescription drug costs and eliminating the \$35 monthly cap on the price of insulin for seniors			14	12 9	79	92	85	69	56
Putting a new tax on health insurance for millions of people who get insurance through their employer			20	11 9	80	90	82	81	61
Changing tax brackets so the wealthy would pay an even lower percentage in taxes than they do now			15 11	15	74	90	80	72	43
Cutting Social Security benefits by raising the retirement age	59		19	11 11	78	90	81	71	58
Cutting corporate taxes by \$500 billion, which would mean the lowest corporate tax rate in over 80 years	50	16	12	22	66	88	64	62	30

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### Harmful Project 2025 Administrative Policies: Eliminating Head Start, the NWS, and the DOE, Unchecked Presidential Power

Most non-MAGA Republicans\* say eliminating programs like Head Start and giving the president unchecked power would hurt the country.

Below is a list of policies proposed in Project 2025. Please indicate whether you think each one would help the country, hurt the country, or would have no impact.

	Would hurt a lot	Would hurt a little		ıld no pact	t Wou he		Dem	Ind	Non-MAGA Rep*	MAGA Rep*
Eliminating the Head Start program, ending preschool education for the children of low-income families			1	6	13	79	92	88	78	50
Eliminating the National Weather Service, which is currently responsible for preparing for extreme weather events like heat waves, floods, and wildfires	60		17	'	15	<b>77</b>	90	78	79	49
Abolishing the Department of Education			14	12	2 1	<b>73</b>	91	78	65	43
Allowing the president to have unchecked legal power, including control over the Department of Justice	56		15	13	1	<b>71</b>	89	83	65	34
Allowing the president to fire thousands of federal civil servants and replace them with Trump loyalists		1	10 1	12	2	2 66	93	75	46	25
Making it easier to discriminate against LGBTQ+ people	51	10	6	23	1	0 68	90	69	48	39
Gutting the "red flag" provisions that prevent at-risk individuals from accessing guns	49	14	1	6	2	1 64	82	66	52	37
Increasing the size of the military budget while cutting spending on domestic programs	42	21	12	2	2	63	84	74	53	27

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

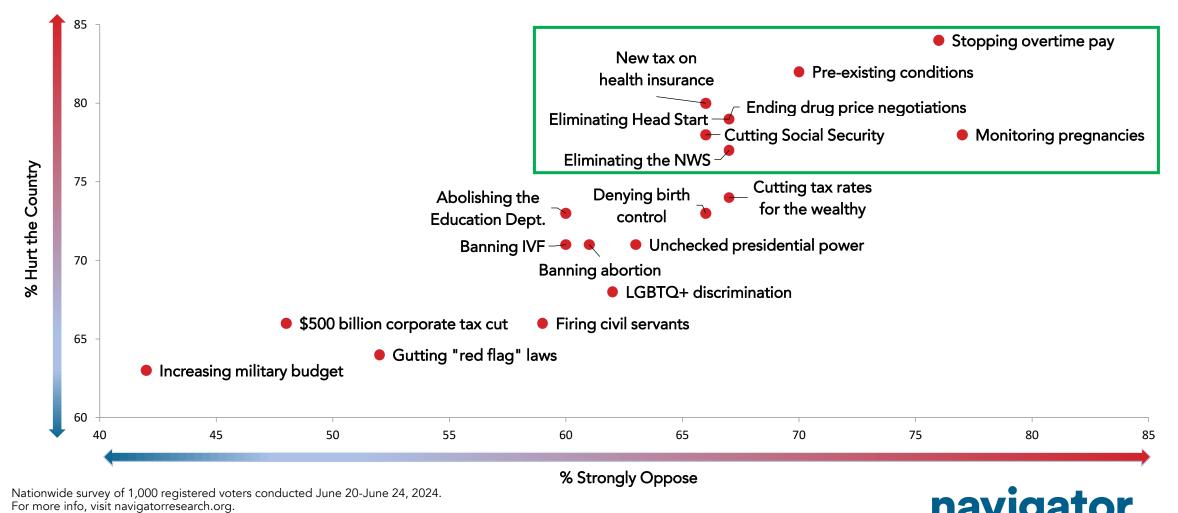
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Total Hurt the Country

## Most Unpopular and Harmful Policies: Ending Overtime Pay and Protections for Pre-Existing Conditions, Monitoring Pregnancies

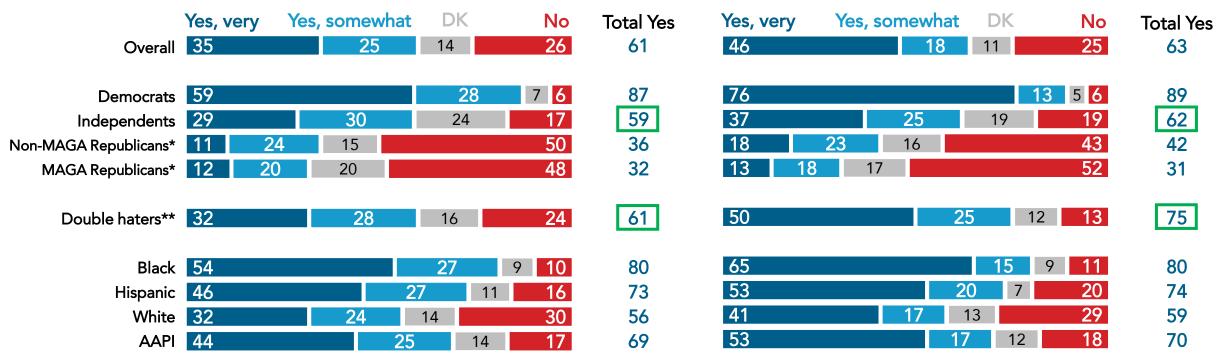


### Project 2025 Is Believable As a Reflection of Trump and the Republican Party's Values

Roughly three in five independents say Project 2025 accurately describes what Donald Trump stands for (62%), while three in four "double haters"\*\* who are unfavorable to both Biden and Trump say the same (75%).

After what you've learned about Project 2025...do you think Project 2025 accurately describes what the Republican Party and its candidates and elected officials stand for?

After what you've learned about Project 2025...do you think Project 2025 accurately describes what **Donald Trump** stands for?



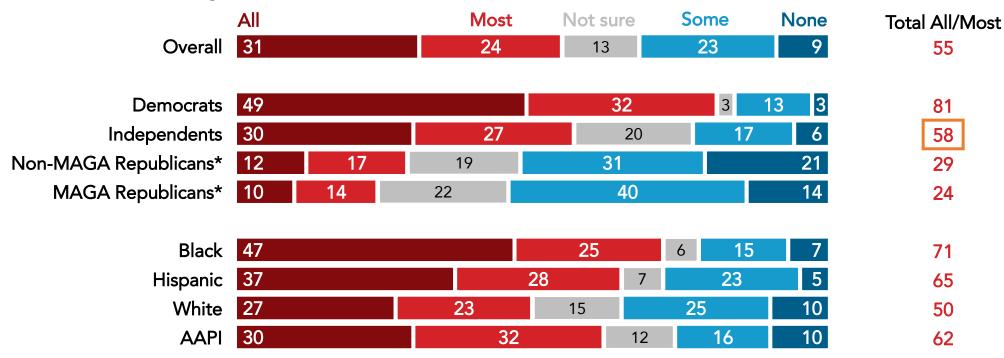
<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure. \*\*"Double haters" view both Biden and Trump unfavorably on separate questions. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted June 20-June 24, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



### Majorities Say All Or Most of the Project 2025 Agenda Would Be Implemented By Republicans

Nearly three in five independents (58%) say Trump and Republicans would put "all" or "most" of the Project 2025 agenda into place if they win control of the White House and Congress in 2024.

And how much of the Project 2025 agenda do you think Donald Trump and Republicans would put into place if they win control of the White House and Congress in 2024?



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### Most to Gain From Project 2025: the Wealthy and CEOs; Most to Lose: LGBTQ+ Community, Women, Seniors, Children

After learning a bit more about Project 2025...please indicate whether you think Project 2025 would have a positive or negative impact on each of the following groups, ideas, and other items.

Total Negative

				Some	vhat Very			,	Non-MAG	A *MAGA
	Positive		No	impact negat	ive negative	Overall	Dem	Ind	Rep	Rep
The wealthiest Americans	61			20	8 11	19	20	22	18	17
CEOs and corporations	60			21	7 12	19	22	25	19	11
The economy	29	13	17		41	58	84	67	42	16
Small businesses	25	17	22		36	58	82	66	42	21
The way our government works	25	15	15		45	60	85	66	46	18
The middle class	24	16	19		41	60	83	66	48	20
Personal freedoms	24	14	15		47	62	85	68	48	23
Working class families	24	14	16		46	62	85	71	49	23
America's children	22	16	16		46	63	85	69	52	23
You and your family	21	19	20		40	60	85	66	46	18
Your personal financial situation	20	20	20		40	60	84	64	47	21
Seniors	18	15	18		49	66	86	69	56	35
Women	18	16	15		51	66	88	69	53	32
Your retirement	16	24	17		44	60	84	66	47	22
The LGBTQ+ community	11	23	15		51	66	86	68	53	37

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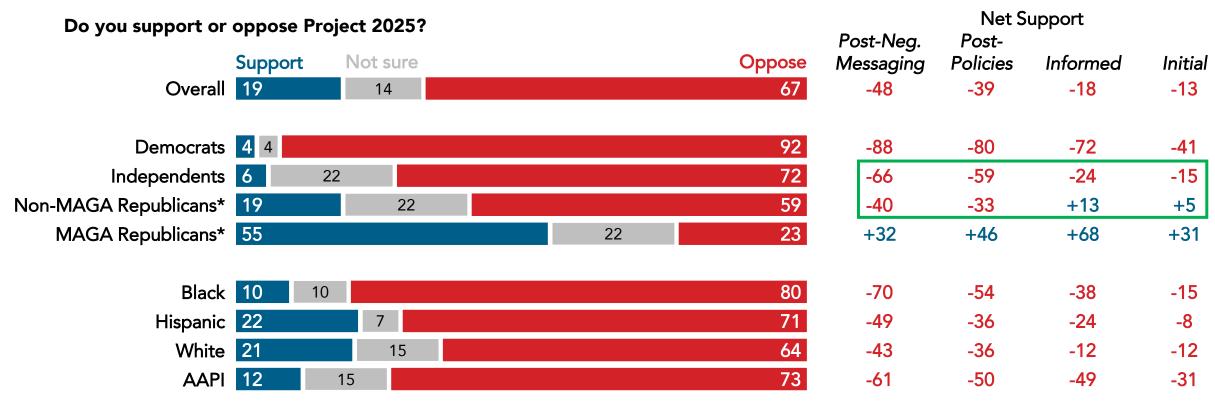
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#### Project 2025: Who Moves

## Project 2025 Is Deeply Unpopular with Americans, As Education About Its Policies and Negative Messaging Drive Up Opposition

After learning about the policies included in Project 2025 and hearing negative messaging about the plan, independents shift by a net 51 points (from net -15 support on the initial read to net -66 on the final read) and non-MAGA Republicans\* shift by a net 45 points (from net +5 to net -40).



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure.

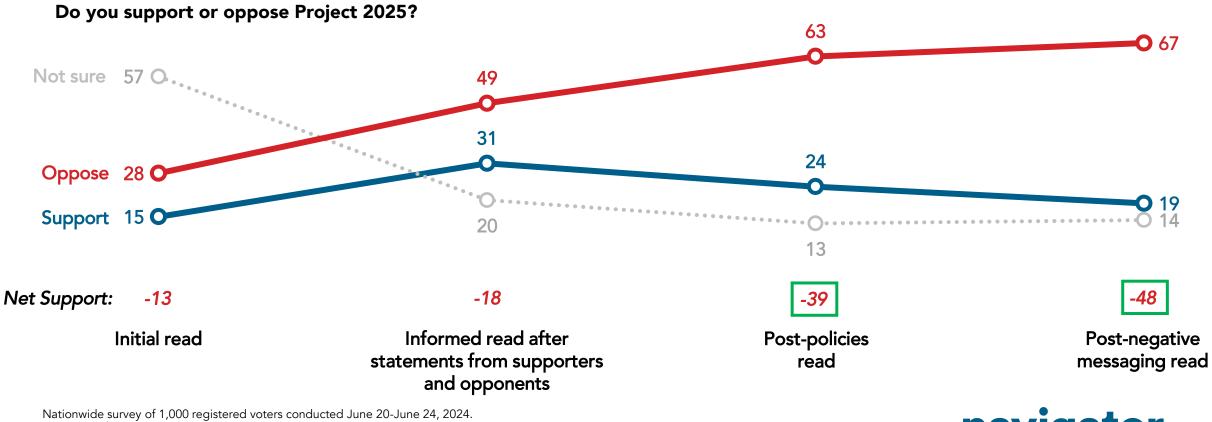
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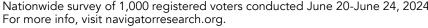
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### As People Learn More About Project 2025, Their Opposition to It Grows

After learning about the policies in Project 2025 and reading negative messaging about the plan, independents shift from opposing Project 2025 by a net 15-point margin initially (10% support, 25% oppose) to opposing it by net-66 points (6% support, 72% oppose).



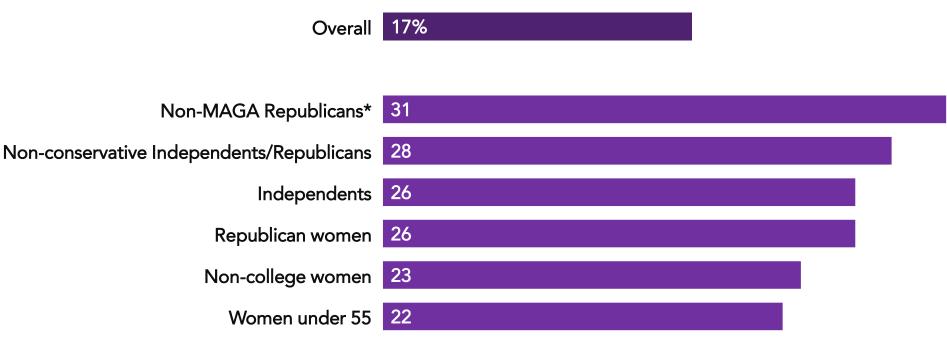




#### Nearly One in Five Americans Shift to Opposing Project 2025 After Learning About the Policies Proposed In It

Those most likely to shift to opposing Project 2025 after learning about the policies included in the plan include non-MAGA Republicans\* (31% are "Project 2025 Policy Movers"), non-conservative independents/Republicans (28%), independents generally (26%), and Republican women (26%).

Project 2025 Policy Movers (17% of Americans): those who shift from supporting Project 2025 or being unsure to opposing the plan after learning about the policies proposed in the plan.



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure on a separate question. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted June 20-June 24, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

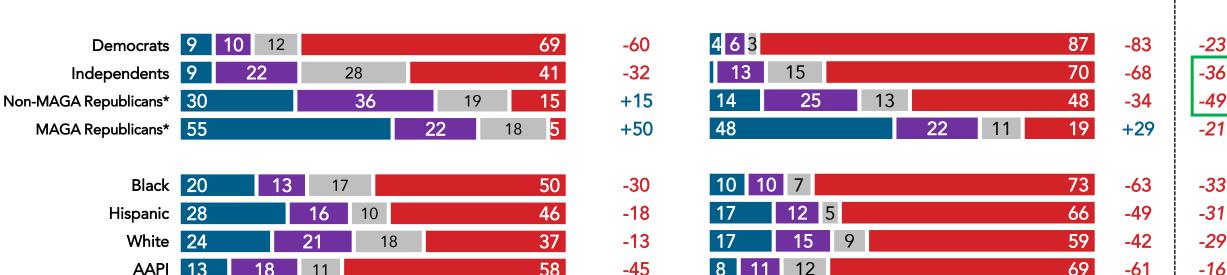


#### Learning About Project 2025 Leads Far More to Say the Plan Will Have a Negative Impact on Them Personally

After learning about the policies in Project 2025 and hearing messaging about it, independents (net -68 positive impact, down from net -32 initially) and non-MAGA Republicans\* (net -34, down from net +15) shift the most toward saying the plan will have a negative impact.

[Pre-policies and messaging\*\*] What kind of impact do you

think Project 2025 will have on you and your family? kind of impact do you think Project 2025 will have on you and your family? Net **Positive** No impact DK Negative Positive Change **Positive** No impact Negative **Net Positive** 24 40 -16 62 -46 -30 Overall



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure. \*\*This question was asked after respondents read statements from supporters and opponents of Project 2025, and again after respondents learned about the policies included in Project 2025 and read negative messaging about the plan. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted June 20-June 24, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



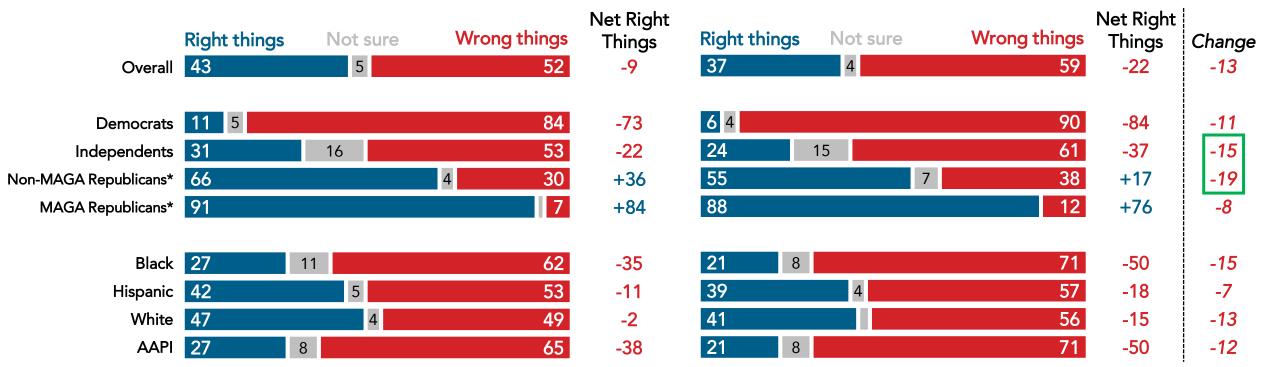
[Post-policies and messaging] And one more time... What

## Having Learned About Project 2025, More Americans Say Republicans Are Focused on the Wrong Things

After learning about the policies in Project 2025 and hearing messaging about it, independents (net -37 right things, down from net -22 initially) and non-MAGA Republicans\* (net +17, down from net +36) shift the most toward saying the GOP is focused on the wrong things.

[Pre-policies and messaging\*\*] Do you think the Republican Party is focused on the right things?

[Post-policies and messaging] Again... Do you think the Republican Party is focused on the right things?



<sup>\*&</sup>quot;MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who identify as "a supporter of the MAGA movement" on a separate question, while "Non-MAGA Republicans" are Republicans who do not consider themselves supporters of the MAGA movement or are not sure. \*\*This question was asked before respondents learned details about Project 2025, and again afterwards. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted June 20-June 24, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



#### **Appendix: Survey Structure**

- In this survey, respondents learned progressively more about Project 2025 over three exercises, with measurements of support taken at four points:
  - 1. Initial read
  - 2. Informed read following introductory statements about Project 2025, including one sentence in support and one sentence in opposition
  - 3. Post-policies read following a detailed list of policies included in Project 2025
  - 4. Post-negative messaging read following a "MaxDiff" exercise\* where respondents rank the most and least concerning statements about Project 2025, out of a list of 9 statements

\*MaxDiff Methodology: To find the most concerning message, Navigator used a methodology called "MaxDiff." This approach is used in market research to understand consumer preferences when there is a list of items to consider. Instead of rating all items at once, respondents are presented with separate assortments of three messages and asked to choose the most and least concerning one. One benefit of the approach is that it allows researchers to differentiate between a large number of statements, even when they might receive similar scores if rated one-by-one. Importantly, the scores do not reflect how concerning each statement is in and of itself, but rather how concerning it is relative to the other statements tested in this exercise.





#### **About Navigator**

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Jessica Floyd, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

http://navigatorresearch.org

#### About the Study

Global Strategy Group conducted a public opinion survey among a sample of 1,000 registered voters from June 20-June 24, 2024. 100 additional interviews were conducted among Hispanic voters. 75 additional interviews were conducted among Asian American and Pacific Islander voters. 100 additional interviews were conducted among African American voters. 100 additional interviews were conducted among independent voters. The survey was conducted online, recruiting respondents from an opt-in online panel vendor. Respondents were verified against a voter file and special care was taken to ensure the demographic composition of our sample matched that of the national registered voter population across a variety of demographic variables.

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