





AMERICAN SUBBES

WORTHY STRATEGY GROUP - SEPTEMBER 2024

In an election year when many Americans are grappling with where America ought to go, the essence of American values, and how Democrats can effectively communicate these ideals – especially when they seem co-opted by Republicans – it's more important than ever to understand how Americans define patriotism and what it means to be American. Leaders must be able to tap into these perspectives and communicate them in ways that resonate.

Recognizing this, Worthy Strategy Group – a firm known for uncovering what moves people and why in culturally competent ways – employed an innovative research approach with uncommitted independent voters willing to vote for Democrats to uncover how they felt about patriotism, what's fundamentally American, and what – in essence – are the vibes of America right now – by asking Americans to bring in images, videos, music and more to capture how they think and feel at this moment.

What follows are the results of our exploration, yielding promising insights into what's possible for 2024 and beyond with this key segment of Americans.

Our work seeks to uncover the why behind, providing clear guidance to key stakeholders around issues that matter and impact people's lives.



THE RESEARCH APPROACH

We used an online ethnographic approach in this research, **prompting participants to answer questions online** through open text responses and metaphorical image gathering, card sorting, creative exercises, and more, in order to gain a **comprehensive understanding of how people truly think and feel.**

This approach, using metaphor as well as a variety of sensory exercises, was designed around the way that people think and the way thought is structured, leveraging best practices from the world of psychology and neuroscience in order to give participants the time and the space to share what matters most to them in an unfiltered manner.

PARTICIPANTS

Who: For our sample, we spoke with n=35 Americans who are registered to vote from August 20-27, 2024. Although they're undecided on who they're voting for come November, every participant was open to voting for the Democratic candidate in the upcoming election. Our sample was socio-demographically representative and pulled from key swing states across the United States, including Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Georgia, Nevada, Arizona, and North Carolina.

Unsure, Leaning Democrat	n=14
Unsure, Leaning Republican	n=9
Unsure, Leaning Third Party	n=3
Undecided	n=9

Research commissioned by and conducted for: Winning Jobs Narrative Project (501c4) (slides 6-24), CFFE PAC (slides 25-52)

KEY STUDY CONCLUSIONS

American Values are Alive and Well – Voters Want to Keep Moving Forward and Come Together

Core American Values Ring True

Americana vibes are strong with uncommitted voters, who are attracted to the fundamental American ideas of freedom, democracy and unity.

While voters perceive we are divided, that doesn't stop them from wanting their leaders to bring them together, no matter how difficult the perceived task.

Real Patriots Fight for Their Beliefs, Care for Each Other, and Vote

While the term patriot has been politicized, in the minds of our voters, real patriots care about their neighbors and stand up for what they believe in. They want everyone to enjoy America's promise of freedom, and have every opportunity to succeed and prosper. While plenty of people say they love their country, that doesn't necessarily make them patriots – actions speak louder than words and real patriots demonstrate their love of country (often with some amount of personal sacrifice) by voting, advocating for others, speaking out against injustice, or joining the military.

Hard Work & Respect

Hard work is an important idea for these voters, and signalling respect for hard work and the dignity of work is key. So is respect for the American experience in 2024 (and over the past few years) – struggling with the cost of living, wanting more opportunities, and wanting to achieve success on their own terms.

What's notable is that Americans are remarkably self-reliant, yet feel like a lot of control has been taken from them. They want it back and they want the opportunity to succeed and create a better future for themselves and their families by having government remove obstacles, giving them more chances and an easier time getting ahead. This looks like equal opportunities for all and fair and livable wages.

The emphasis on working families in the existing content we reviewed strikes the right tone – acknowledging Americans' hard work and their struggles while showcasing Kamala Harris as a leader with plans to help them get ahead, not just by – a powerful theme that should continue to be leaned into.



LIFE IN AMERICA

We asked participants to think about what the current state of America is like – if it was a movie what kind of movie would it be and why?



DIVIDED

With a majority of participants feeling like the country is in conflict and far from united, the best type of media to depict the current state of America was anything that highlighted division, from a fight between Zac and Slater on "Saved by the Bell" to a clip from the movie *Civil War* that asks, "What kind of American are you?"



FALLING APART

Feeling like the country has lost its way, is falling apart, and straying from its values, the decline and fall of America was also a key creative direction participants felt depicted the current state of the country. One voter said it's "very reminiscent of the fall of Rome" while another brought in a clip of Los Angeles sinking into the sea in the movie 2012.



UNFAIR

And, they feel like the powers that be are taking advantage of them, so they're drawn to movies and tv that highlight corruption and unfairness, like a scene from "Black-ish" that talks about police brutality against Black people. While people are feeling the struggles of everyday life, they're also seeing a country struggling to be fair for all.

Worthy Strategy Group - September 2024

THE ECONOMY & COST OF LIVING

Voters are looking for presidential candidates to acknowledge their economic concerns and advocate for policies that **aid the middle/working class** like...

- → Increasing the minimum wage to a livable wage (e.g \$25-30/hr)
- → Affordable housing rent control, affordable housing units, bans on corporations buying residential properties
- → Lower food costs (which can be done by breaking up massive conglomerates)
- → Tackling inflation and "mak[ing] the cost of living more manageable" a simple acknowledgement that the cost of living is rapidly rising will go a long way
- → Energy independence and lower energy & fuel prices (right-leaning men)
- → Bringing more jobs (back) into the US
- → Investing in childcare through increased government funding, subsidies, and CTCs

Now, if you listed policies, do you think they're realistic?

91%
9%

I DIDN'T LIST A POLICY

There is an overwhelming feeling that the policies voters are asking for are realistic – and Kamala Harris championing some of them, like housing assistance for first time home buyers and bringing back the Child Tax Credit, shows just how realistic they are.

And because these policies would lead to an overall reduction in the cost of living, voters wouldn't feel ongoing financial stress. Financial security would be within reach, along with things like retirement and owning a home, and they would **feel more stable and more in control**, leading them to feel empowered, optimistic, and hopeful.

But most importantly, these voters would feel respected – that politicians are actually listening to them.

ON JOBS & WORK

On one hand, voters characterized Americans' relationship to work positively, taking pride in America's hard working ethos.

For many, there is still a firm belief that if you work hard in America, you can be successful.









AN HONEST DAY'S WORK

Independent and Republican voters express a deep respect for manual labor and jobs that require some elbow grease, like farming and construction – essential industries and jobs in the US to make our country function. They provide our homes, roads, and food, and are positions that should be respected and revered.



"It was not so much work easy, it was honest, hard work with the sweat of your brow.

Diligent, hard, relentless work, dedicated, respect for your hard work that bought satisfaction to your accomplishments at your job for good wages and job security that counted." - Martin M, Independent, Unsure - Leaning Republican





"I wanted a picture of a child tying their shoe. It is something that takes hard work and practice for a kid, but once they work hard, they can do it consistently and well. American work is the same way. It may be hard, but with hard work it pays off and becomes part of life and meaningful." - Michael, Democrat, Unsure -Leaning Democrat

HARD WORK PAYS OFF

Praise for a strong work ethic and a belief that if you put in the work, you'll reap the benefits. While hard work is talked about as a choice, there's a feeling that hard work is innate to successful Americans.















TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF

To put it bluntly, American workers aren't treated well – they're taken advantage of. From low wages (especially for hourly employees), taxes, and a stark imbalance in what corporations pay executives and gain in profits vs. what workers are paid, there's a feeling that companies are profiting off the backs of their workers, and at workers' expense.

"I am a UAW worker and in order for us to get fair wages for our work we had to go on strike.

Corporations are making billions and billions of dollars and we get the crumbs that they think we still are not deserving of..." - Sheryl, Democrat, Unsure - Leaning Democrat





"I feel like a lot of Americans are stressed and overworked and unable to disconnect. No matter where we are, we cannot get away from work and feel constantly on call and that we should be available, which leads to feeling burnt out." - Brandon, Independent, Undecided

LACKING WORK-LIFE BALANCE

Stress. Fatigue. Anxiety. Exhaustion. With so much pressure to succeed, boundaries are blurred for American workers – there's always something to attend to, a fire to put out, and that lack of work-life balance leads to burn out.









AMERICAN VIBES

ON JOBS & WORK

But overall, the prevailing sentiment was negative –

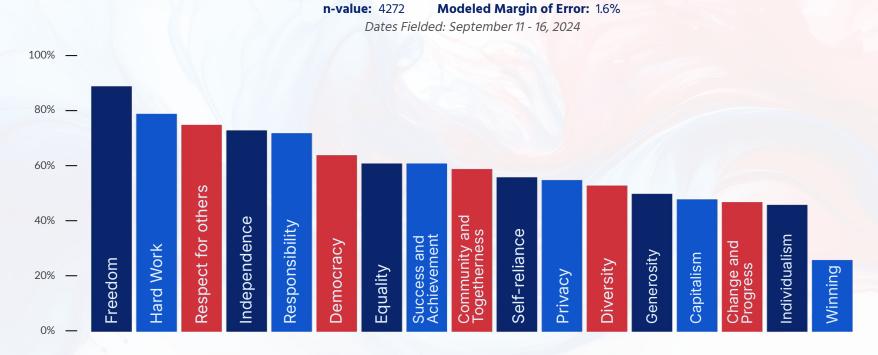
That American workers get the short end of the stick.

That the people who do so much are rewarded with so little.

That the 'hard work, hustle, success at any cost' culture that's been hailed for so long is due for a reckoning.



Thinking more generally, which of the following do you think best represent a fundamental American value?



Data provided courtesy of Worthy Strategy Group with polling completed by Change Research

WHAT'S AMERICAN?

We asked Americans to gather an image of something they feel is a true American value – that embodies American principles, and feels truly American.

Their images were reflective of the following themes.











FREEDOM

Of speech, religion, to bear arms, and to make one's own choices. This feeling of **limitlessness** is represented by open and spacious landscapes, soaring eagles, and broken chains. And, iconic American symbols like the Statue of Liberty and Mt. Rushmore are heavily associated with freedom.

"This picture represents **freedom** and the ability to do and say what you want and do what you want to do **without any constraints.** To be free in the USA is the ultimate dream of what being an American is all about. It makes me feel that I belong and that I can achieve whatever dreams I want to have and achieve." - Keita, Independent, Undecided





"I view America as the land of **opportunity** and freedom. This image shows several doors that you can choose and in America, **we have several paths/doors we can choose to go through,** some good and some bad, but ultimately, it's up to us to choose." - *Brandon, Independent, Undecided*

THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

Opportunity in America is about **embracing those who believe in taking action.** It's about being the place where people can rise to the occasion and achieve their dreams.





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PEOPLE COMING TOGETHER ACROSS DIFFERENCES

While the melting pot is the most common phrase to describe it, the ability to **come together in community, across differences**, and generate something new, strong, and innovate is something Americans take great pride in, and see as something that's only possible here.



"This picture of gumbo has meat, spices, vegetables, etc that make it a dish. You can individually pick them out, but they work together to make the dish taste amazing. I think the American core value [of coming together is] the same. We all bring our personalities, habits, points of view, and experiences to the table. This is what makes America great. We can use these differences as a strength to continue to grow." - Lena, Democrat, Unsure - Leaning Democrat

Worthy Strategy Group - September 2024



"This deeply rooted tree symbolizes core American values like resilience, community, and the pursuit of growth. The strong roots represent a foundation in shared principles, while the branches reaching upward embody the drive for progress and opportunity. The open sky and landscape suggest freedom and limitless potential, echoing the American Dream. It evokes a sense of unity, pride, and connection to the enduring strength and optimism that define the American spirit - striving for betterment while remaining grounded in collective ideals." - Destiny, Independent, Unsure -Leaning Democrat

AMERICAN STRIVING & HARD WORK

The belief in better is truly
American – **striving and making progress through hard work,** and taking pride in
the pursuit of better. The feeling
of optimism – that it's *always*possible.



WHAT'S UN-AMERICAN?

We asked Americans to gather an image of something they feel is un-American, that goes against who we truly are and that is happening today in America.

Division, economic disparity, and abuse in various forms topped the list.

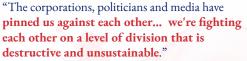






AMERICA DIVIDED

Even though Americans agree that healthy debate is part of democracy, many feel it's un-American to be as divided as we currently are. They're worried about how we treat those who don't share our views and whether our differences can even be bridged. Some blame politicians and big corporations for fueling the division, while others feel it's something we've done to ourselves.



- Steven, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Republican











"When I think of America, I think of unity. I think of raising up our fellow man and doing the best to support one another. While the divide in rich and poor is very strong in America, I believe it is extremely anti-American to not aid others where you are able to." - Melissa, Independent, Undecided

ECONOMIC **HARDSHIP**

Many feel that America's issues with poverty and wealth disparity should be a thing of the past – or at least much less prevalent – in a country with as much wealth as the US. People are suffering, whether they're anxious about their next bill, have to work into old age because they can't afford to retire, or have run out of options and have to live on the street. The idea that the US allows people to amass unfathomable wealth while also allowing citizens to live on the streets makes voters feel angry, disappointed, and ashamed.

WHAT'S UN-AMERICAN?



"This image... symbolizes the growing division and disunity that feels un-American. The mirror, meant to reflect a clear and unified image, instead shows a fragmented, distorted reflection, representing the breakdown of shared values and a loss of collective identity. The cracks suggest deep rifts and a sense of alienation, where misinformation and mistrust have eroded the cohesion that once defined the American spirit. This image makes me feel concerned and unsettled, as it captures the troubling sense of a country losing sight of the principles that traditionally unite it."

- Destiny, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

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HATE, OPPRESSION, & ABUSE OF POWER

Voters feel that standing by while other people suffer injustice is un-American. While there is concern about deteriorating relations between people with differences of opinion, this group is **more concerned with hate towards people due to their identity.** Others shared concerns about the dangers of nationalism and "might is right" thinking, sharing that at times our political rhetoric and/or our government's actions are not becoming of what they think should be the greatest country on Earth.









"I think that America is becoming way too nationalistic in that we start to fear and hate the other for their beliefs, even if they do not impact us. We don't have to agree with others, but we should accept their values (to an extent of course)..." - Michael, Democrat, Unsure - Leaning Democrat



COSTUME PARTY

We asked participants to imagine that there's a global costume party and America shows up.

What costume ought America wear and why? And what does it say about us?





A BEACON OF HOPE & FREEDOM

The overwhelming "costumes" for America were the statue of liberty and eagles – representing our desire to be seen as "beacon of hope and freedom, committed to justice and equality" and our journey to live up to the best ideals we set forth at our founding.



A PILLAR OF STRENGTH

In a "big, bad world", Americans wanted to be seen as strong, **not just able to flex on the global stage, but able to get things done domestically**, reducing discrimination, increasing opportunity, and finding ways to make things better for all Americans.



ROGUE FIGHTERS FOR GOOD

From business leaders to rebel fighters,
Americans wanted to be seen as the
good guys, "fighting tyranny to bring
democracy back to the galaxy and help
good triumph over evil." This was a story
about American innovation and
goodness – and the ability to get things
done in our unique, roguish way.

A BETTER AMERICA



LISTEN TO THE PLAYLIST



AMERICA FLEX

From Eminem's "Not Afraid" to "Courtesy Of The Red, White And Blue" and more, participants referenced the idea of America being knocked down and getting back up, stronger, more united, and more effective than ever to take on the toughest problems.



AMERICA UNITED

From Beyonce's "Freedom" to Pharrell's "Freedom" and more, the idea of getting back to the freedom we were born with, fighting for the freedoms we don't have, and **remembering who we are was strong**.



AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY

From Brooks and Dunn's "Only in America" and more, participants wanted to be **reminded of the opportunity of America** – that in the America they dreamed of, anyone could do anything and everyone could pursue their dreams.



PATRIOTISM, PART 1

We asked Americans to find an image of what patriotism means to them.







OUR FLAG & THOSE WHO DEFEND IT

While the flag may mean different things to different people, it represents the USA to everyone. People associate it with resilience, freedom, love of country, and national pride. Pictures of troops were also popular, showing people making personal sacrifice on behalf of their country.



Patriots want their country to be the best in the world, and believe that citizens of the best country in the world come together to take care of each other and help the less fortunate











FIGHTING FOR YOUR BELIEFS Blind loyalty to a country would be nationalism, but patriotism demands vigilance and activism.

Real patriots fight against injustice, speak out against the bad in the world, and perform their civic duty by voting.



A MESSAGE FROM **VOTERS**

WE NEED A REAL LEADER
TO UNITE US

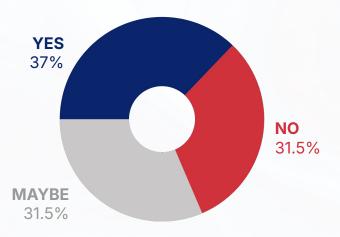


"...we need someone who is going to encourage Americans to come together as one. We don't need someone who's going to divide. More than ever, I feel like in this country, we really, really need to focus on helping our fellow man and being there. For people who don't necessarily have the same beliefs, views, or anything as us, at the end of the day, this country is about being free to believe what you want to believe and still feel safe."

- Melissa, Independent, Undecided

POLL

Is it possible for someone to be too patriotic?



Voters who answered "yes" see danger when someone's love of country "blinds them to its flaws." Some real life examples they provided were January 6th, Nazi Germany, and the connection between patriotism and the right for civilians to own military grade weapons in the US.

"If someone is unwilling to listen to facts, acknowledge that America has some very dark spots on their history, and will hear no argument that conveys that America is not perfect and has a lot of room for improvement, then they are 'too patriotic.'" - Brandon, Independent, Undecided

Voters who answered "no" believe that patriotism is first and foremost love for one's country. Therefore, when people commit acts of violence in the name of patriotism, it is because they are misguided. What may have started out as patriotism has become something else.

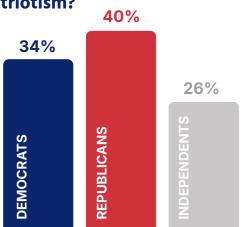
"Patriotism is a mindset that shouldn't hurt anyone. If it does it's not patriotism any longer."
- Michelle, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

ON PATRIOTISM, PART 2

Participants made top 3 lists of values Democrats and Republicans uphold that are patriotic. Broadly speaking, people see **Democrats as better advocates for each American individually while Republicans are more supportive of systems and institutions** such as religion, capitalism, and the military. Voters easily coalesced around Democratic patriotic values whereas only national security and strong borders were standouts for Republicans, which could indicate that Democratic ideals fit a more universal idea of patriotism.

POLL

Which political party do you think better aligns with your idea of patriotism?



DEMOCRATS

- Supporting the working class
- → Social Justice
- Valuing Diversity
- Supporting Roe v. Wade
- → Supporting freedom and protecting rights (especially freedom of expression and free and fair elections)
- Increasing access to healthcare
- Compassion

REPUBLICANS

- National Security
- Maintaining Strong Borders
- → Christian Values
- → Capitalism

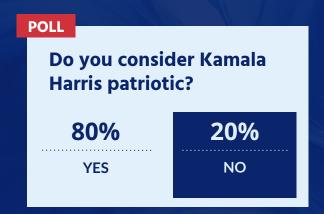
- → Respect for the military
- **→** National Pride
- → The right to bear arms

PART 2: CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND THEIR VISION FOR THE FUTURE





ON KAMALA HARRIS



*NOTE: Percentages are provided to indicate directionality only and should not be interpreted as representing larger quantitative findings.

Every voter leaning toward Democrats believes that Kamala Harris is patriotic. In fact, more voters from every segment believe her to be patriotic than those who don't, including those who are leaning toward Republicans. Her background as a prosecutor who targeted corporations and gangs lines up with the belief that standing up against injustice is patriotic.

"I think she represents freedom for underserved people and communities. I think she represents the upholding of Rights for underserved people in communities. I think she represents freedom from tyranny and oppressive government; a contrast to her Republican opponent. These things that I've described are American; she's patriotic as long as she exemplifies these things." - Matthew, Democrat, Unsure - Leaning Democrat

"I am concerned about her **progressive / liberal background.** I'm not sure she is good on border security / illegal immigration."

- Moss, Republican, Unsure – Leaning Third-Party

Among the minority of our respondents who think she isn't patriotic, Harris' agenda and her true intentions are their main concerns. Some feel that she is simply ambitious and will weaponize patriotism in pursuit of higher office while others believe that while she may be genuine, her agenda is progressive to the point of being unpatriotic.

AMERICAN (OR NOT) PHOTOS OF KAMALA HARRIS



- → They feature the military, servicemen or veterans.

 The military is seen as a fundamentally American institution, and people appreciate her respect for those in uniform.
- They show racial diversity.
- → There's a family focus.
- → American flags are present as long as the picture doesn't frame Kamala like a dictator.
- → There's connection, not isolation she's among groups of people.
- There's a formality that conveys she takes her role seriously – she has real authority in a suit.
- → These photos don't feel staged they feel real, and the smiles are genuine.



- Kamala is the only person in the photo, or not interacting with a crowd.
- → For Republicans, the photos of her at Pride events are "polarizing" – they "do not reflect the values of our country".
- They feel staged, too formal, and don't feel authentic – they look like they're purely photo ops.
- They show a level of casual that's slightly undesirable for a leader, especially where strength and perceived respect are important.

Below is a list of statements made by Vice President Harris. Please read through the statements and sort them into one of three groups based on your feelings. (full statements available in the appendix)	TOTALLY PATRIOTIC AND AMERICAN	NOT AT ALL PATRIOTIC OR AMERICAN	NOT SURE
*NOTE: Percentages are provided to indicate directionality only and should not be interpreted as representing larger quantitative findings.			
"Congressman John Lewis, before his passing, wrote: 'Democracy is not a state. It is an act.' It is only as strong as our willingness to fight for it, to guard it and never take it for granted"	94%	6%	0%
"Now is the time to chart a new way forward. To build an America where everyone has the opportunity not just to get by but to get ahead."	83%	6%	11%
"There are some people who think we should be a country of chaos, of, fear, of hate, but us, we choose something different. We choose freedom"	77%	23%	0%
"A patriot is not someone who condones the conduct of our country, whatever it does. It is someone who fights every day for the ideals of the country, whatever it takes."	77%	11%	1%
"Democracy just cannot flourish amid fear. Liberty cannot bloom amid hate. Justice cannot take root amid rage We must dissent from the fear, the hatred, and the mistrust."	74%	6%	20%
"As president, I will be laser-focused on creating opportunities for the middle class Together, we will build what I call an "opportunity economy" – an economy where everyone can compete and have a real chance to succeed"	71%	14%	14%
"The middle class is one of America's greatest strengths, and to protect it, then, we must defend basic principles – such as, your salary should be enough to provide you and our family with a good quality of life"	71%	17%	11%
"it is the highest form of patriotism to fight for the ideals of our country. That is how we preserve the promise of AmericaTim Walz and I are two middle class kids Only in America is it possible for them together to make it all the way to the White House."	71%	9%	20%
"Most businesses are creating jobs, contributing to our economy, and playing by the rules, but some are not, and that's just not right as President, I will go after the bad actors"	54%	20%	26%
"You don't add the intractable problems to the list because they are new, but because they are big, because people have been fighting against them for dozens – maybe even hundreds – of years, and that duty is now yours"	25%	25%	50%

AMERICAN (OR NOT) STATEMENTS BY KAMALA HARRIS

Participants decided a statement was highly patriotic if the statement highlighted American values and fundamental American ideas like democracy or "what our country was founded on." They also felt drawn to statements that showed active engagement, lifted up the middle/lower classes and spoke about opportunity. Participants also felt called to statements that unified and celebrated Americans. Linguistically, the use of the word "patriot" was also appreciated.

NOT PATRIOTIC

- Missing a call to American/foundational values
- → Policy and legislative points
- → Vague, unclear, "word salad"

- Oversimplifications
- Seemingly out of touch statements about ease work and the economy
- → Divisive/exclusionary

66

"I think what stood out to me that stood out as totally Patriotic is the values of how this country was founded and what our forefathers built this country to be with The Constitution. The ones that are not patriotic did not fit because it was more so about policy issues and changes."

- Keita, Independent, Undecided

"Some are party policies or her personal beliefs **patriotic statements have to have everyone included** as America as a whole." - *Martin M*, *Independent, Unsure – Leaning Republican*

"Not all Republicans are weird. With that said, Project 2025 is scary and weird, Trump is unhinged and weird. I know no one in a political party is allowed to say anything bad or they'll be banished to a cornfield, but I admire people who call out bad behavior." - Joel, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Third-Party

"I don't think they are weird. **They may be different, but weird has a negative connotation.** One could say from a conservative perspective, liberal policies are also 'weird'". - *Todd, Republican, Undecided*

"I honestly don't think the word captures the current Republicans in leadership, or the Republican candidates. I think surprising or offensive would be more appropriate. I don't find their policies weird, I find them surprising and frightening at times." - Michael, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

"I understand the use of the term weird. I don't disagree that some of the messaging and policies of Republicans are strange and ineffective (cat ladies, post menopausal women, calling people, stupid, etc). I think weird can be overused, and can also minimize the severity of some of this messaging. I would rather have a variety of descriptors such as 'inhumane' 'mean' 'unpatriotic' 'scary' etc." - Bryan, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

AMERICAN VIBES

THAT'S WEIRD

What do uncommitted voters make of the use of "weird"?

A sizable number of our participants said yes, in fact, Trump/Vance are "weird" – whether that pertains to Project 2025 or some of their general rhetoric and talking points.

There was no single universal reaction to the phrase.

Descriptions included inaccurate and immature, but people also found "weird" not harsh enough. The most common response we saw, however, was wanting to vote against Trump.

Voters also clearly called for focus on issues and policy rather than just call their opponents "weird," but there's **no indication the Harris/Walz campaign is entirely built on that sentiment.**

Our view? While weird is not a whole campaign, if it mobilizes – it ain't broke, don't fix it.

ON DONALD TRUMP

POLL

Do you consider Donald Trump patriotic?

51%

YES

49%

NO

*NOTE: Percentages are provided to indicate directionality only and should not be interpreted as representing larger quantitative findings.

Answers to this question closely followed party lines. Of those that think Donald Trump is patriotic, nearly half were leaning toward voting Republican at the time of the study. Almost everybody agrees that Donald Trump frequently engages in patriotic rhetoric such as wanting to put "America first," but whether or not someone considers him patriotic seems to depend on if they believe that rhetoric is genuine.

Interestingly, even people who said Trump was patriotic went on to reference his unpatriotic behavior – many of the respondents in this category excused those instances on the grounds that he "says what he thinks" and isn't always the best communicator or gets "a little self absorbed from time to time."

"He is the type of man that puts his country first, even in the face of constant and unrelenting criticism; and does so as a proud American every day!" - Chris, Republican, Unsure - Leaning Republican

"His rhetoric encourages division among the different groups and he's very hostile to those who oppose him. I do not feel he cares about all Americans, only those who support him."

- Brandon, Independent, Undecided - answered yes to poll

Conversely, those leaning Democrat made up the majority of the group that believes Trump is **not** patriotic. They see him as someone who **"only cares about himself and doesn't respect the Constitution" – someone who challenges elections, seeks power for their own gain, and divides people to the extent that he does cannot be a real patriot. In other words, they recognize Trump's use of patriotic symbols and rhetoric, but believe it only serves to advance his own personal agenda.**

"He is about himself, he talks of using the government to punish enemies, he didn't concede the election, and it disturbs me how easily he casts aside people he has no use for. None of this is patriotic." - *Joel, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Third-Party*

Below is a list of statements made by former President Donald Trump. Please read through the statements and sort them into one of three groups based on your feelings. (full statements available in the appendix) *NOTE: Percentages are provided to indicate directionality only and should not be interpreted as representing larger quantitative findings.	TOTALLY PATRIOTIC AND AMERICAN	NOT AT ALL PATRIOTIC OR AMERICAN	NOT SURE
"As Americans, we are bound together by a single fate and a shared destiny. We rise together. Or we fall apart."	88%	6%	6%
"It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots"	86%	3%	11%
"But now we have unbelievable technology. And why should other countries have this, and we don't? No more sending it out to other countries in order to help. It's America first"	51%	26%	23%
"We will not let countries come in, take our jobs, and plunder our nation. They come and do that. They plunder our nation"	51%	29%	20%
"We literally are a third world nation. We're a banana republic in so many ways from the day I take the oath of office, we will rapidly drive prices down and make America affordable again"	26%	60%	14%
"Today, our cities are flooded with illegal aliens. Americans are being squeezed out of the labor force and their jobs are taken One hundred and seven percent of those jobs are taken by illegal aliens"	20%	51%	29%
"We are a failing nation where banks are collapsing and interest rates are far too high where energy costs have reached their highest level in our history"	20%	66%	14%
In an interview with Elon Musk, Donald Trump "praised Musk for firing workers who went on strike."	14%	74%	11%
"I gave Harris and Biden an economic miracle and they quickly turned it into an economic nightmare."	8%	69%	23%

AMERICAN (OR NOT) STATEMENTS BY DONALD TRUMP

Participants felt Trump was most patriotic when he spoke on themes of unity, America's strength, values, and greatness. Participants felt most drawn to statements that highlighted the idea that every American bleeds the same, a shared destiny, calling on the "old wisdom" of our soldiers, and wanting to make America great for all.

NOT PATRIOTIC

- → Divisive
- → Negativity, hyperbole, nastiness
- → Personal jabs
- → Complaints
- → Isolationist ideals

- Condemning America
- Self centered
- → Bashing unions
- → Racism
- Firing workers for striking

66

"What stands out as most patriotic and American in the statements you marked as such is the emphasis on unity, national pride, and a shared destiny. These statements invoke the image of a strong, cohesive nation where every citizen, regardless of background, is valued and integral to the country's success. The idea of "making America great again" through collective effort and reverence for American symbols and values resonates deeply as a patriotic sentiment. Particularly, the passage about soldiers, shared blood, and the American flag captures a spirit of unity and resilience that many associate with patriotism..."

- Destiny, Independent, Unsure - Leaning Democrat

"The majority of his statements I marked as not patriotic at all because they divide our country, don't lend support to those who are different than us, or who want to become American citizens, and doesn't support us joining with other countries for a mutual benefit.

- Debbie, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat



HOW ARE YOU ACTUALLY GOING TO FIX THINGS?



"I think that you're not going to win the election if you don't come up with and address the concerns that the people have..."

- Todd, Republican, Undecided







fools."

A MOVE TOWARD UNITY & POSITIVITY



With an overarching metaphor of **connection**, voters described their vision for America as one where everyone is united and stands together. Images of hugs and embraces were common, as were hands reaching out to both give and receive help.

Images with diverse groups of people illustrate their hope for a future that is better for everyone – all races and genders, any age or political persuasion.

And there's an innate sense of optimism for this new beginning, represented by sunrises.

Pathway and bridge imagery was also common, showcasing voters' belief that this vision for a united and positive America won't just simply happen, but instead require us all to go on a journey, with the goal of arriving at a new cultural reality where our leaders are capable of working together to deliver policies centered around caring for











EMPOWER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

And with an overarching metaphor of **control**, voters talked about their desire for more power and autonomy to be returned to the American people.

They brought in images depicting resources, freedom, stability, and balance to characterize their ultimate goal of prosperity, not only for themselves, but the country as a whole.

Some focused on economic freedom – easier paths to homeownership, more manufacturing jobs in the US, or less regulation on small businesses.

But personal freedoms were referenced, too, especially women's reproductive freedom.

These voters believe that making America stronger on the global stage begins by empowering each of its citizens as individuals, resulting in feelings of agency and control that counter their current feelings of disappointment because of unmet expectations. While they may be disappointed now, it's only because of their patriotic belief that America can do better.







THE INFLATION STRUGGLE IS REAL



"It's hard to get by and I fear that it's only going to get higher and I'm not going to be able to afford it."

- Destiny, Independent, Unsure - Leaning Democrat

ON PATRIOTISM

VISION FOR AMERICA, PART 2

- Now, think about what really, really matters to you and would make a big, positive difference in your life if addressed what is the one issue you wish they'd address and why?
- How do you want them to address it? For example, is it most important to you that they show understanding/compassion or do you want to hear a specific, detailed plan? Or is there something else you're looking for?

Addressing the economy has to be a priority in 2025.

Nearly half of participants picked an issue tied closely to the economy, namely wanting relief from inflation and rising costs. The rest were split up between forgiving student loans, addressing economic inequality, and providing opportunities to small businesses.

While no other issue was as salient as the cost of living, healthcare reform and adjustments to government spending came up multiple times. Voters would like to see the cost of healthcare go down and for more government spending to go to domestic healthcare and infrastructure rather than other countries or assistance programs.

As far as how to address issues, **people want both compassion and concrete plans**, though for most of them, a politician addressing issues with real solutions would be compassionate enough.

"What would make a huge, positive difference in my life would be **decreasing the cost of living.** Rent and mortgage prices are out of control as well as food.

Affording it all is becoming more challenging as the years go by."

- Lena, Democrat, Unsure - Leaning Democrat

A PATRIOTIC SPEECH

In a patriotic inaugural speech, voters indicated a desire to hear things that inspire unity, fairness, and collaboration for and between all Americans regardless of background and party status. They want a President to stop the conflict and division within the U.S. and remind the people that we are in this together. Additionally, they want the next President to articulate a clear path forward for progress and improvement – they want to know how the next President plans to make America better. Tonally, they are looking for something positive, bright, uplifting, optimistic, honest, and firm.

These things are important and reflect American patriotism in their focus on restoring pride and the strength of America both domestically and abroad while also encouraging unity and togetherness as key American values.



66

"A speech that is positive and action oriented, as specific as possible. A message of unity and recognition that they (the president) works for the people. The voices of everyone will be heard and everyone's needs will be considered. We will act like the best country in the world. Set a good example in our communications and actions."

- Bryan, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

"A unifying speech that **speaks positively about all Americans, that places America's needs first** and tries to reduce the wealth inequality, and that will reinvest back into our communities. This is important because I think America is the greatest country on earth and I want us to fortify our own country, so that we have the population that is well taken care of and productive and unified." *- Brandon, Independent, Undecided*

"The very first reference I would expect to hear would be a message that included "all Americans" or "all of us, or perhaps even "every American"; this would be something that all politicians should in fact strive for as we move forward and try to heal the nation. All of this with the tones of acceptance, tolerance and unity would be a great way to address the nation of this day too."

- Chris, Republican, Unsure - Leaning Republican

"No complaining, no attacks, positive change, real talk of where we're going under new leadership, specific examples how it will get better and how to fix the toxicity problem."

- Steven, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Republican

"I would like to see the new president talk about **bringing all**Americans together (after what will most likely be a rough election cycle with lots of divisive emotions going around) and making the US the best country for kindness and understanding amount all."

- Jane, Independent, Undecided

"For me, an inspiring patriotic speech from the new president should have a tone of unity and hope. I want to hear about how our diversity makes us stronger and how we can work together for a better future. It's important that the president acknowledges the sacrifices people have made for our country and shows a commitment to our democratic values. I believe a message of inclusivity, where every American feels valued and included, would resonate deeply with my sense of patriotism. This kind of speech would fill me with pride and hope for what we can achieve together."

- Imanii, Independent, Undecided

TEAM USA

We asked Americans to envision a Team USA not of athletes, but of people who exemplify the America they want to see, what values they'd have, and what obstacles the team needs to overcome.

PEOPLE ON TEAM USA NEED TO BE:

TEAM USA

VALUES:

HURDLES

TO

- → Compassionate
- → Problem Solvers
- Universally beloved
- Visionaries and Innovators
- → Strong leaders
- → Advocates
- → Knowledgeable

- Unity
- → Everyone is valued
- → Progress and Excellence
- → Fairness, Equality, and Justice
- → Delivering tangible help
- → Hard Work and Dedication
- → Positivity, Kindness, Compassion

ness, Compassion

→ **Division** (more than 2x as many mentions)

- → Inflation/The Economy
- → Injustice, Inequity, Corruption
- → Disease and Health Crises
- → Apathy, Fear, Resistance to Change
- → Foreign Wars and Adversaries
- → Homelessness

"One – a very **strong leader** that all Americans respect and trust. This person wouldn't be too old or too young to take on this position. Two – a very **smart** person that has good worldwide knowledge and knowledge about all races/people/industries etc. This person would be the backup leader, too, if anything happened to the leader. Three – someone to represent the younger voters best. This would be also a leader and smart person, but definitely someone that the younger voters could relate to. All three people would be **kind** and not bigoted towards any gender or race. All three would be respected by all other nations and their leaders." *- Jane, Independent, Undecided*

"Our values are that **we stand up for everyone in this Country.** We fight for everyone's rights and believe that we can truly accomplish great things if we stand by one another and support each other to make positive changes so we can all have a better life. We would be fighting to Win! A win for one is a win for all. **We are fighting for our continued freedoms and a better life for all of us.** We are fighting to enjoy the fruits of our labor and realize our dreams, whatever they may be..." - *Debbie*, *Democrat*, *Unsure – Leaning Democrat*

"The hurdles they'd face represent the challenges of **division**, **inequality**, **and fear**, but with their strength and determination, I believe they could overcome them and win gold." - *Imanii*, *Independent*, *Undecided*

OVERCOME:

MEDIA RESPONSE

How Uncommitted Voters View Campaign Messaging





MEDIA #1: HANDS

With 94% of participants saying hard work is a fundamentally American value, it's no wonder that Hands really resonated with voters. The opening shot of dirty hands and the subsequent work montage that culminates in a tired nurse were powerful images that reinforced the theme of hard work.

Feeling that the ad focused on the working and middle class, voters love the focus on a better future. Many drew a personal connection, noting that they themselves work hard to achieve a better future.

And, they like that **the ad lays out Kamala Harris' vision for a better future** – reducing costs for prescriptions, childcare, housing, and protecting Social Security and Medicare while making corporations pay what they owe.

Their excitement over these policies show that prices and costs are still top of mind, and that Harris understands their struggles and is prepared to do something to offer them relief – that she cares about them and is invested in their success because she knows the middle class is the backbone of America.

"The part about these hands, and putting in work stood out because the working class, the middle class in America is what makes America go round and need significant help." - Braelyn, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Democrat





"Fundamental American value - work hard to build a better future."



"Working to bring down costs for us all, especially for the majority who are struggling."



"This is very positive messaging. It makes it seem like she has been listening and wants to help people who truly would benefit."

MEDIA #1: HANDS

POLL

Does this make you more or less likely to vote for Kamala Harris & Tim Walz in November?

54% More Likely

20% Less Likely

26%

Doesn't Move Me Either Way

Voters who are leaning toward Democrats or are undecided were most likely to say this ad makes them more likely to vote Harris/Walz in November – they feel that their policies would **positively impact** their lives and create a better future for them and future generations. This ad **makes them feel seen** with its references to hard work and the middle and working class.

Republican and Independents (more likely to be men) who aren't leaning toward Democrats said the ad made them less likely to vote for Harris/Walz – they feel the proposed policies are merely "lip service," empty talking points to gain votes.



66

"Due to her initiatives being geared towards the middle working class, which **myself and my family are a part of**, makes me more likely to vote for her. I feel as though she will create policies with the majority of America in mind, aside from only the wealthy, which is the minority." - *Imanii*, *Independent*, *Undecided*

"I feel as if the Harris/Walz ticket is simply giving lip service to this and has a VERY poor (if any) plan to accomplish this. We have seen what Ms. Harris has done in almost 4 years...very little to reduce costs." - Chris, Republican, Unsure – Leaning Republican

MEDIA #2: FREEDOM

With strong working class cues like industrial imagery, steel mills, and blue collar workers, participants love that this ad focuses on supporting workers. The theme of **strengthening the working class is extremely compelling**, whether it's talking about the importance of small businesses or how working families are the backbone of America and the economy, and many walked away from the video feeling that Kamala Harris will pay attention to and look after the little guy.

Voters also deeply resonate with the language of "not just to get by, but to get ahead." They're yearning for a chance to get ahead, and this ad positions Harris as the woman to make it happen.

And while Democratic-leaning voters didn't object to holding greedy corporations accountable, **Independent and Republican voters who aren't leaning toward Democrats are alienated by the language of "greedy corporations,"** feeling like it's a knock against how they earn their money and that inflation is the true cause of the budget squeeze families are feeling.

"Nothing bad. Liked that they were looking out for the 'little guy."

- Martin G, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Third-Party





"Like the focus on working families, that is what makes up our country."



"The Freedom not just to get by, but to get ahead. We all want that."



"Most of us work for 'greedy corporations."

MEDIA #2: FREEDOM

POLL

Does this make you more or less likely to vote for Kamala Harris & Tim Walz in November?

49% More Likely

23%

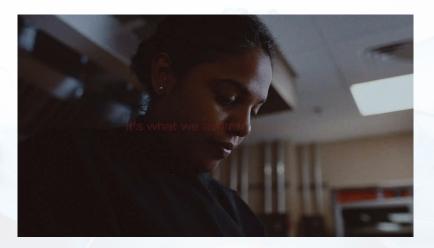
Less Likely

29%

Doesn't Move Me Either Way

Resonating with a plurality of voters, they feel that Harris will focus on the working class and that her policies will remove obstacles, allowing them to get ahead, not just by. This was a deeply powerful theme, tying the innately American value of hard work into upward mobility and success.

Those who said the ad makes them less likely to vote for Harris/Walz were Republican and Independent voters who aren't leaning toward Democrats and who feel that inflation, not greedy corporations, are the cause of higher prices; who dislike "class warfare" – the pitting of us vs. them – and worry about it causing further division; and who, again, feel that the middle class are simply "pawns" to gain votes.



66

"Again, the message and the idea of "Freedom to not just get by but to get ahead" resonate with me personally. I really want to believe that Kamala Harris will carry out a plan to make this idea an American reality." - Matthew, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat

"I think they are **using the middle class as pawns**." - *David, Independent, Unsure – Leaning Republican*

MEDIA #3: BUDGET PRIORITIES

Drawing voters in with a different flavor than typical political ads, voters like the **lighthearted and fun beginning** of Budget Priorities. However, the tides quickly turn – while left-leaning voters are angry with Trump for running up the national debt by a jaw dropping \$8 trillion, Independent and Republican voters aren't sure this point is so black and white. They cite other factors, like high stock prices, that point to the economy having been decent under Trump, but more importantly, **they call out the Biden administration's similar (and if not worse in their view) handling of the federal budget.** Many voters, regardless of affiliation, were turned off by the "negative" attacks on Trump.

Voters love that Kamala Harris has a plan to reduce the debt while bringing back the Child Tax Credit, reducing costs, and protecting Social Security – **her priorities are aligned with voters' needs** and would greatly help the middle class. And while they also liked that this ad used data to back up its claims, **they need more clarity about what costs Harris will reduce and how she'll do it** to really drive the point home.

"Best add. fun and exciting actors/actresses in first few seconds. Spot on about trump's policies. LOVED the clear statement of Harris's policies. wish they had more information about how she wants to do this (maybe a reference or link to her website?)." - Michael, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat





"Cutting our National Debt while reducing costs, expanding the child tax credit and protecting social security helps us all to rest a little easier."



"Prioritizing working families seem to me to be the most patriotic initiatives that a presidential candidate can have."



"Yeah, he ran it up, so did Biden under your watch, be honest..."

MEDIA RESPONSE

MEDIA #3: BUDGET PRIORITIES

POLL

Does this make you more or less likely to vote for Kamala Harris & Tim Walz in November?

49% More Likely 20%

Less Likely

31%

Doesn't Move Me Either Way

Voters who are undecided or leaning toward Democrats were more likely to say this ad makes them more likely to vote for Harris/Walz – they like the upbeat tone of the ad, and like that pays attention to an important priority (lowering the federal debt). This ad makes them feel like Harris has their back, and they like that she has a plan for how to tackle the national debt and make life more affordable for working class families.

Republican-leaning voters said the ad makes them less likely to vote for Harris/Walz, feeling that the ad either **lied about Trump's handling of the budget/national debt** during his presidency or who want to see a comparison between Trump and Biden's handling of the national debt.



66

"People need hope, **they need to know that someone has our back and will fight for us.** The middle class feel like the forgotten ones and the ones who are most affected by budgets." - *Debbie, Democrat, Unsure – Leaning Democrat*

"I don't think it's an effective ad. **What is the total amount for the last 4 yrs - Biden/Harris deficit?** How does it compare to figure quoted for Trump's 4 yrs? Questions like that are left unanswered". - *Jane Independent, Undecided*

APPENDIX

Additional Content from the Presidential Candidates

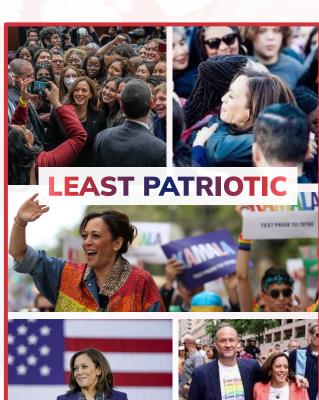




PHOTOS OF KAMALA HARRIS







STATEMENTS BY KAMALA HARRIS

No. indicates patriotic ranking (1 is most patriotic)

- "Congressman John Lewis, before his passing, wrote: 'Democracy is not a state. It is an act.' And what he meant was that America's democracy is not guaranteed. It is only as strong as our willingness to fight for it, to guard it and never take it for granted. And protecting our democracy takes struggle. It takes sacrifice. There is joy in it and there is progress. Because we, the people, have the power to build a better future."
- "As president, I will be laser-focused on creating opportunities for the middle class that advance their economic security, stability, and dignity. Together, we will build what I call an "opportunity economy" an economy where everyone can compete and have a real chance to succeed; everyone, regardless of who they are or where they start, has an opportunity to build wealth for themselves and their children; and where we remove the barriers to opportunity so anyone who wants to start a business or advance their career can access the tools and the resources that are necessary to do so."

- "Now is the time to chart a new way forward. To build an America where everyone's work is rewarded and talents are valued, where we work with labor and business to strengthen the American economy, and where everyone has the opportunity not just to get by but to get ahead."
- "Key to creating this opportunity economy is building up our middle class... The middle class is one of America's greatest strengths, and to protect it, then, we must defend basic principles

 such as, your salary should be enough to provide you and our family with a good quality of life. Such as, no child should have to grow up in poverty. Such as, after years of hard work, you should be able to retire with dignity. And you should be able to join a union if you choose. Building up the middle class will be a defining goal of my presidency, because I strongly believe that when the middle class is strong, America is strong."
- "There are some people who think we should be a country of chaos, of, fear, of hate, but us, we choose something different. We choose freedom. The freedom not just to get by, but get ahead. The freedom to be safe from gun violence. The freedom to make decisions about your own body. We choose a future where no child lives in poverty, where we can all afford healthcare, where no one is above the law. We believe in the promise of America and we're ready to fight for it because when we fight, we win."
- "And I do believe it is the highest form of patriotism to fight for the ideals of our country.

 That is how we preserve the promise of America...Tim Walz and I are two middle class kids...

 Only in America is it possible for them together to make it all the way to the White House."

"A patriot is not someone who condones the conduct of our country, whatever it does. It is someone who fights every day for the ideals of the country, whatever it takes."

- "Most businesses are creating jobs, contributing to our economy, and playing by the rules, but some are not, and that's just not right, and we need to take action when that is the case. As attorney general in California, I went after companies that illegally increased prices, including wholesalers that inflated the price of prescription medication and companies that conspired with competitors to keep prices of electronics high. I won more than \$1 billion for consumers. So, believe me, as President, I will go after the bad actors. And I will work to pass the first-ever federal ban on price gouging on food. My plan will include new penalties for opportunistic companies that exploit crises and break the rules, and we will support smaller food businesses that are trying to play by the rules and get ahead."
- "Democracy just cannot flourish amid fear. Liberty cannot bloom amid hate. Justice cannot take root amid rage. America must get to work.... We must dissent from the indifference. We must dissent from the apathy. We must dissent from the fear, the hatred, and the mistrust."

"You don't add the intractable problems to the list because they are new, but because they are big, because people have been fighting against them for dozens – maybe even hundreds – of years, and that duty is now yours. What matters is how well you run the portion of the race that is yours."

STATEMENTS BY DONALD TRUMP

No. indicates patriotic ranking (1 is most patriotic)

"The discord and division in our society must be healed. We must heal it quickly. As Americans, we are bound together by a single fate and a shared destiny. We rise together. Or we fall apart."

"Our country has become a third world nation. We literally are a third world nation. We're a banana republic in so many ways and we're not gonna let that happen because...from the day I take the oath of office, we will rapidly drive prices down and make America affordable again."

"It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms and we all salute the same great American flag. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the wind-swept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator. So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And yes, together we will make America great again."

"Today, our cities are flooded with illegal aliens. Americans are being squeezed out of the labor force and their jobs are taken. By the way, you know who's taking the jobs, the jobs that are created? **One hundred and seven percent of those jobs are taken by illegal aliens.** And you know who's being hurt the most by millions of people pouring into our country? The Black population and the Hispanic population. Because they're taking the jobs from our Black population, our Hispanic population. And they're also taking them from unions. The unions are suffering because of it."

"But now we have unbelievable technology. And why should other countries have this, and we don't? No, no, we're going to build an iron dome over our country, and we're going to be sure that nothing can come and harm our people. And again, from an economic development standpoint, I'm going to make it all right here. No more sending it out to other countries in order to help. It's America first, America first. We will unleash the power of American innovation, and as we do, we will soon be on the verge of finding the cures to cancer, Alzheimer's disease and many other diseases."

"We are a failing nation. We are a nation with the highest inflation rate in 50 years, where banks are collapsing and interest rates are far too high. We are a nation where energy costs have reached their highest level in our history ... We are a nation that is consumed by the radical left's new deal ... everyone knows ... will lead to our destruction."

"We will not let countries come in, take our jobs, and plunder our nation. They come and do that. They plunder our nation. The way they will sell their product in America is to build it in America, very simple. Build it in America and only in America. And this very simple formula, and congress has to go along with us and they will. This very simple formula will create massive numbers of jobs. We will take over the auto industry again and many many, hundreds of thousands of jobs, we lost so many jobs over the years. If you go back 20, 25 years they've stolen, going to China and Mexico, about 68 percent of our auto industry. Manufacturing jobs. We're going to get them all back. We're going to get them all back, every single one of them."

In an interview with Elon Musk, Donald Trump "praised Musk for firing workers who went on strike." He told Musk, "You're the greatest cutter... I look at what you do... I won't mention the name of the company but they go on strike and you say, 'That's okay. You're all gone."

"We had the strongest economy in history. There's never been a country that had an economy like us. I gave Harris and Biden an economic miracle and they quickly turned it into an economic nightmare."