

## **THE USA PRESIDENTIALISM AS THE REPRESENTATION OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE EVOLUTION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The United States of America is a unique state with an unprecedented history and leadership policy, being a worldwide sight to behold. The USA aptitude for influencing vast problem solving, overcoming global conflicts, forming coalitions and setting the world's agenda is trailblazing. However, many rigors the country has faced, it has always been able to hold a senior exterior position and to keep its political interior balance.

The research aims to determine the essence of American political culture and trace the key aspects throughout U.S. history by analyzing the inaugural addresses of ten American presidents: G. Washington, J. Monroe, J. K. Polk, A. Lincoln, W. Wilson, F. D. Roosevelt, J. F. Kennedy, R. Reagan, B. Obama and D. Trump. Their presidential terms reflect different periods of the American historical process, where the important events happened in the United States. In this article, the changes of priorities and characteristics of American Presidentialism were analyzed, which are strongly connected with the changes in the political and cultural traditions of American society. Presidentialism is presented as a complex phenomenon in our study, that means not only the personalities and leaders of the country but also other systemic components, such as norms and principles, communicative, political and cultural factors, etc. The phenomenon of the representation of American political culture evolution was studied based on this holistic approach to Presidentialism – one of the fundamental U.S. institutions. Our research is supposed to observe on the changing priorities and features of the U.S. Presidentialism, taking into

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consideration the political culture evolutionism of the American society within its historical span. This enables to detect the USA alterations throughout the centuries identifying its political intentions and placing novelty values in political culture in case of the latter appearance since the epoch of the Founding Fathers. The article demonstrates that the inaugural addresses of American presidents reflect the evolution of American political culture, which has an impact on the further development of the institution of the presidency in the U.S.

The research was conducted, using systems analysis. Structural-functional, institutional and communicative methods were used in the research. The empirical part of the research is based on content analysis of the presidential inaugural addresses, which proved the stability of the American participant civic culture traditions.

**Keywords:** The United States, Presidentialism, Political Culture, Inauguration.

## **Amerikan Siyasi Kültür Evriminin Temsili Olarak ABD Başkanlığı**

### **ÖZET**

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, benzeri görülmemiş bir tarihe ve liderlik politikasına sahip, dünya çapında görülmesi gereken bir ülkedir. ABD'nin geniş problem çözme, küresel çatışmaların üstesinden gelme, koalisyonlar kurma ve dünyanın gündemini belirleme konusundaki etkisi çığır açıcudur. Bununla birlikte, ülke karşılaştığı birçok zorluğa rağmen, her zaman üst düzey bir dış pozisyon elde etmeyi ve siyasi iç dengesini korumayı başardı.

Araştırma, on Amerikan başkanının (G. Washington, J. Monroe, JK Polk, A. Lincoln, W. Wilson, FD Roosevelt, JF Kennedy, R. Reagan, B. Obama ve D. Trump) göreve başlama konuşmalarını analiz ederek Amerikan siyasi kültürünün özünü belirlemeyi ve ABD tarihi boyunca kilit noktaların izini sürmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Başkanlık terimleri, önemli olayların Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde gerçekleştiği Amerikan tarihsel sürecinin farklı dönemlerini yansıtmaktadır. Bu makalede, Amerikan toplumunun siyasi ve kültürel geleneklerindeki değişikliklerle güçlü bir şekilde bağlantılı olan Amerikan Başkanlık sisteminin öncelikleri ve özelliklerindeki değişiklikler analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmamızda başkanlık, sadece ülkenin şahsiyetlerini ve liderlerini değil, aynı zamanda normlar ve ilkeler, iletişimsel, politik ve kültürel faktörler vb. diğer sistemik bileşenleri de ifade eden karmaşık bir fenomen olarak sunulmaktadır. Siyasi kültürün evrimi, ABD'nin temel kurumlarından biri olan Başkanlık sistemi bu bütünsel yaklaşım temelinde incelendi. Araştırmamız, Amerikan toplumunun siyasi kültür evrimciliğini tarihsel süreci içinde göz önünde bulundurarak, ABD Başkanlık sisteminin değişen önceliklerini ve özelliklerini gözlemlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu, ABD'nin yüzyıllar boyunca siyasi niyetlerini belirleyen ve Kurucu Atalar döneminden bu yana ortaya çıkması durumunda siyasi kültüre yenilik değerleri yerleştiren değişimleri tespit etmeyi sağlar. Makale, Amerikan başkanlarının açılış konuşmalarının, ABD'deki başkanlık kurumunun daha da geliştirilmesi üzerinde etkisi olan Amerikan siyasi kültürünün evrimini yansıttığını göstermektedir.

Araştırma sistem analizi kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Araştırmada yapısal-işlevsel, kurumsal ve iletişimsel yöntemler kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın ampirik kısmı, Amerikan katılımcı sivil kültür geleneklerinin istikrarını kanıtlayan başkanlık açılış konuşmalarının içerik analizine dayanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Başkanlık Sistemi, Siyasal Kültür, Göreve Başlama.

## **1.INTRODUCTION**

The United States has gone through a unique evolutionary process of a political, cultural, economic, and social nature. Often these changes left positive results for the state, because it became even more free, democratic, influential and advanced. The success of the United States lies not only in the conduct of strategic policy, but also in the peculiarities of the political culture of the Americans themselves, their values. The relationship between the American people and the president plays an important role in the evolutionary nature of the political system. This study helps to identify changes in U.S. Presidentialism as a representation of the evolution of American political culture, namely, how the institution of the U.S. presidency absorbs any changes in the country's political culture, as reflected in the overall dynamics of the United States. A unique phenomenon is that American society is 99% immigrants from different parts of the world, with different languages, religions, traditions and views. Despite such differentiation, they form a single nation with its classical system of values. The institution of the presidency was first formed in the United States. The whole world is watching the election of the American president, because his influence is spreading abroad. The policy of each head of state was reflected in the behavior and reaction of Americans. All these connections give rise to a certain political climate in the United States, mutual influence, common successes or failures. As a very strong state in many dimensions, the United States has been constantly changing internally, but these changes have never led to disintegration.

*The aim of the research is to study the development of the U.S. Presidentialism within the representation of the political culture evolution of the U.S. society. The object of the research is the U.S. Presidentialism. The subject of the research is the U.S. Presidentialism as the revelation of the political culture evolution of the U.S. society.*

*The theoretical and methodological background of the research are the principles of scientificity and objectiveness, i.e. the structural and functional method to study the structure and functions of political culture; the system analysis to consider political culture and Presidentialism as a system; the institutional method to identify the Presidentialism placement and role in society; the communicative method to analyze the political*

communication processes between the USA authority institutions, particularly presidency, and the society; content analysis to provide the study of the U.S. Presidentialism in terms of Presidential inauguration speeches with ten presidents to be examined.

## **2. THE DEFINITION OF THE BASIC CONCEPTS AND CATEGORIES OF THE RESEARCH I.E. «PRESIDENTIALISM», «POLITICAL CULTURE», «INAUGURATION»**

Political culture has been of paramount importance in the political system of any society affecting the formation and functioning of the whole integrity of its political institutions. Being intermingled with values, customs, traditions, as well as historical experience, political culture is a part of general human culture and spirituality. The experience under consideration produces an impact on the social political awareness formation, political mindset and behaviour. Advanced political culture is determined by two main criteria revealed in people's political behaviour, political engagement and proactivity. All countries are characterized by the uniqueness of their political culture giving light to the individuality of their government structure and democracy triumphs or collapses. Hence, political culture is a complex of political values, knowledge and ideas of citizens, principles and forms of their political behaviour.

American political scientists G.A. Almond and S. Verba studied social phenomena simultaneously relating to both cultural and political spheres, namely political engagement, behaviour, intentions, approaches etc. For G.A. Almond, political culture is a complex of individual positions of political actors; a subjective sphere effecting the basis of political actions. Political culture phenomena are national characters, stereotypes, myths, bio- and geofactors, including the realization of political knowledge, value orientation and behavioral patterns of a social individual (personality, class, society) in terms of political relations and political activity.

Political culture is deeply rooted into the human history comprising a fixed experience of laws and conventions of the society, its political power awareness, political relations and aptness to rationally evaluate social phenomena and take a particular position. A functioning political system

practice exists in tight correlation with political culture being its indispensable part.

The American political system is the one to have formed a peculiar type of the head state institution in contemporary research studies referred to as, Presidentialism. Presidentialism is a specific form of governance based on the principle of the institutional prominence of the state head who, on the one hand, occupies de jure and de facto the highest position in the structure of the state being coordinately a representative of the whole state. The state head functions both as a political representative and as a key prominent figure of the state mechanism in case of presidency. Presidentialism as a peculiar type and kind of state governance results in presidency appearing as an immanent phenomenon of the statehood and turning into a compelling social need of the society.

It should be noted that one part of modern researchers agrees on the fact that American political system is overpersonalized when it is habitual for the state head election to be accomplished in favor of an outstanding personality of a political leader with his/her individual personality features producing a palpable impact on the state development as a whole. Another part of American political scientists holds the view that national political system is rather an acting system of laws and institutions than the one of prominent personalities (Grinstein, 1995: 199). In terms of social studies, Presidentialism normally covers the following aspects, such as 1) a complex of constitutional law regulations; 2) a form and essence of political organization; 3) an organizational and functional structure. Thus, the phenomenon of Presidentialism is not transparently defined which proves its complexity and multifunctionality for the U.S. society. Consequently, Presidentialism has not been sporadically disputed in advanced contemporary studies of state governance.

Historically, the institution of presidency was initiated in the United States of America with further penetration into the countries of Latin America and Europe. The institutional spread reached its peak during the period of disintegration of the colonial imperialism system in the 20th century when new independent states began to emerge with the USA remaining the most successful country of Presidentialism as a sample of the presidential republic. The institution of presidency consists of constitutional

norms regulating presidential functioning; precedents evoked by the constitutional practice; an existing scope of the authority; structural subdivisions (the Executive Office). The presidential position is politically eminent due to the fact that the president forms the state policy, has the right to head the executive authority branch, as well as to be an arbiter (Parechina, 2003). Before the position occupancy, the president is obliged to give an inauguration speech at the official ceremony. The procedure of presidential inauguration has always been a glorious event in the history of the United States traditionally held on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January when a significant quantity of the American citizens tend to gather in front of the Capitol with the aim to manifest their involvement into an unprecedented political performance, followed by a conventional grand ball.

Inaugural speeches traditionally contain political and cultural values, national historical past and people's intentions, priorities and landmarks of the future state development in accordance with a social sphere etc. The state head gives promises and depicts the brisk realization plan of his/her future policy. The inauguration speeches were characterized by their conciseness or eloquence, for instance, George Washington's inaugural speech had only 133 words, whereas William Henry Harrison's one consisted of 8578 words with the duration of 100 minutes (Khoma, 2018 : 5). Inauguration speeches are vivid and worth empirical investigating the peculiarity of the U.S. political governance model, its evolution including the evolution of the U.S. society political culture.

Thus, processing the basic concepts of the given research is a necessary instrument in the study process of the foundations of the U.S. Presidentialism and evolutionary aspects of political culture. Presidentialism as a complex phenomenon is viewed not only as a personification of the head state and its ruler but also as a carrier of such systematic constituents as legal regulations, as well as procedural communicative, political and cultural factors etc. The abovementioned integral foundations of Presidentialism enables its consideration as the revelation of the American political culture evolution rooted in the U.S. Presidency institution.

### **3. THE MODERN RESEARCH SCOPE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENTIALISM AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE**

The phenomena of political culture and presidency have been intensively studied by both foreign and native researchers. The classical concepts of political culture are worked out by American scholars G. A. Almond and S. Verba in the scientific paper “The Civic Culture”. Political culture was here considered as a psychological phenomenon. Modern research papers bear the witness of political culture as an integral constituent of general culture being a complex and universal manifestation. The analysis of political culture in its natural core is provided in the works of M. Amelin, A. Arnoldov, M. Blinov, N. Ozhegov, A. Demidov, A. Migranian etc. The Ukrainian political science views various aspects of political culture, such as those examined in the works of V. Andruschenko, V. Babkin, O. Babkina, V. Gorbatenko, V. Kremen, I. Kresina, O. Nagorna, V. Potulnitskyi, M. Shulga etc. Foreign scholars tend to use the concept of political culture as a supportive element to examine the forms of governance, political system, political regimes, processes, national religions etc., for instance, it is presented in the following papers of T. S. Clark “Scaling Politically Meaningful Dimensions Using Texts and Votes” (2014), L. Zack “Who Fought the Algerian War? Political Identity and Conflict in French-Ruled Algeria” (2002) and X. Mei “Why Chongqing’s Red Culture Campaign Was not a Real Mass Campaign” (2017).

The USA political culture has also been examined in the scholar papers of V. Krashennikova “The Russian-American Dialogue as an Issue of Political Culture” (2007), O. Fedorova “The Afro-American Factor in the Political Process of the USA: Now and Then” (2010); in the papers of American scholars, such as D. Palets, D. Owen, T. Cook etc. Furthermore, the problem of the U.S. political culture has been partially studied by Z. Brzeziński in his works “The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives” (1997) and “The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership” (2004), by G. Filimonov in his “Cultural and Information Mechanisms of the USA Foreign Policy” (2012) and “A Soft Strength of the U.S. Cultural Diplomacy” (2010).

Presidentialism has been so far researched with the bulk portion carried out by American political scientists (M. Clementi, D. Augland,



B. Hersing, B. Peterson etc.) as the institution of Presidency could be traced as the longest in its existence. However, little has been developed regarding the comparative analysis of the presidential status and authority scope under various governance conditions. The issue has been studied to its tiniest degree in transformational societies (Parechina, 2003). S. Krylova, V. Aranovskyi, S. Parechina, N. Sakharov, I. Khutinaieva are worth mentioning among the Ukrainian scholars.

Thus, the phenomenon of political culture and Presidentialism have been complexly viewed by both foreign and native political scientists, correspondingly with its highest rate, in the USA being sufficiently explicit. Meanwhile, the U.S. political culture, its evolution and interdependence with presidential political system has not been fully studied in the political discourse, yet partially and contextually.

#### **4. THE STUDY PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF THE U.S. PRESIDENTIALISM**

The use of the fundamental methodological background should be an obligatory requirement to study the complexity of the U.S. Presidentialism and political culture in details.

The systems analysis allows a systematic overview of political culture revealing the propensities of its constituents for it is an entity of orientations, patterns and psychological features in their tight correlation. The systems analysis is due to identify a key interdependence of the U.S. Presidentialism constituents and their interconnection with the social environment, including organizational inner aspects.

The structural and functional method enables the consideration of the separate role of each of the elements of the structure with the relevance to their functions and identify their interdependence. The structure of political culture comprises political and historical experience, political awareness and behaviour. The worth mentioning functions are ones molding norms and values, regulations, education, integration and information. The Presidentialism structure is sufficiently complicated having involved not only presidency positions, but also the constitutional status and executive authority allocation.

The institutional method permits to analyze the placement and role of the institution of presidency in the U.S. society identifying its formation and development as those depending on particular circumstances, organization of the given political system, political conventions formed throughout the history etc.

The communicative method provides the evidence of the idiosyncrasy of the communication process between civic and political authorities as any presidency institution lies in constant interconnection with citizens and is responsible for decision-making, receives feedbacks and requirements. There is constant information sharing for neither political orientation, nor effective institution functioning could be otherwise possible.

In order to study the research factual material, content analysis has been applied. The categories have been sorted out to elicit the words with general meaning with the view of their synonymic capacity. Content analysis is a searching information technique based on the systematic identification of relevant aims and objectives of the study of the text characteristics (concepts, verbs, phrases, etc.). This method involves the use of certain standardized procedures that provide the formalization and evaluation of the studied features, allowing professional conclusions to be drawn about the nature and features of the object under the study. Particularly effective appeared to be the use of content analysis under the study of programs of political parties and movements, when the key concepts and phrases can illustrate the idea of the peculiar features of each of them. Content analysis as a scientific method developed in the USA in the 1920s-1930s, laying the theoretical foundations of classical content analysis further developed. The founder of the School of Classical Content Analysis is considered to be an American mass-media researcher H. Lasswell, who did not only use the quantitative analysis to study the content of military and political propaganda materials in the 1920s and 1930s, but also gave it a theoretical background. Classical content analysis is based on the procedure of segmenting the content of communication into separate units, linking units to a certain category and numerically measuring each category. In other words, the purpose of classical content analysis is to use verbal (non-numerical) text and convert it into quantitative data. During this process, the raw content is transformed into a standardized form (Averyanov, 2009; Boryshpolets,

2005; Semyonova, Korsunskaya, 2010). The implementation of content analysis will help to identify the values and meanings dominating in the speeches of the U.S. Presidents, the most frequently used words to be “rooted” in the minds of American citizens, novelties emerging in appeals and aspects subject to priority evolution etc.

Hence, the application of the abovementioned methods will provide the examination of the fundamental phenomenon of Presidentialism and political culture to their deepest that is a crucial factor for deducing the U.S. political system functioning, efficiency and life resistance

#### **5. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE U.S. POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE INAUGURAL SPEECHES OF THE USA PRESIDENTS (CONDUCTED VIA CONTENT ANALYSIS)**

The inaugural addresses of ten U.S. presidents were chosen for conducting content analysis. These presidents are the extraordinary leaders, whose names and achievements have been well known in the world: George Washington, James Monroe, James K. Polk, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump. The political leaders’ presidential terms reflect different periods of the American political process when the special for the USA events occurred. For instance, the foundation of the United States (1776), gradual admission of new states, the Civil War and the emancipation of slaves (1861-1865), two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), the end of the Cold War (1989), two deep economic crises (1929 and 2007) and also modern global challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the paper, the first term inaugural speeches were analyzed.

There were four categorical blocks created for conducting content analysis: Public Administration, Areas of Society, Values and Tendencies. The categorical blocks help us to understand what feelings have dominated in the presidential speeches and political culture of the American people through many years. Moreover, it helps emphasize certain evolutionary aspects of priorities, problems and views. According to the analysis, we came to some important conclusions.

Firstly, we can see the importance of domestic policy, comparing to foreign policy in the Public Administration block, especially during

instability in the country. Undoubtedly, the situation within the U.S. borders has been the main priority for American presidents. Polk (248), Lincoln (167), Monroe (88), Roosevelt (42) and Reagan (42) mentioned domestic policy most frequently. They often used such words as “Law”, “Constitution”, “Union”, “Duties”, “States” and “Government”. Being in office, these presidents faced economic or military issues. For instance, Polk led the Mexican-American War in 1846-1848; Lincoln focused on the preservation of the American Union during the Civil War in 1861-1865; Roosevelt faced the Great Depression, and Reagan was solving some economic and social problems, creating Reaganomics. Only Reagan and Trump mentioned terrorism in their speeches.

Polk (24), Kennedy (22) and Monroe (18) talked about foreign policy more than the other presidents. The words “Other powers/nations”, “Foreign countries”, “World”, “Alliance”, “Relations” and “Invasion” are dominant. Polk’s orientation focused on U.S. sovereignty during the Mexican War and the expansion of the Western territories under the doctrine “Manifest Destiny”. This term supports the idea of the United States destined right to admit new states. Monroe’s administration is famous for the Monroe Doctrine (1823) which forbade European countries to interfere in U.S. domestic policy and its relations with Latin America. For Monroe, the highest purpose of U.S. foreign policy should be its national interests (Khoma, 2018 : 45). Kennedy spoke about cooperation and other nations with friendly motives. Washington (1), Lincoln (2) and Wilson (3) almost did not mention foreign policy. Interestingly, Woodrow Wilson paid a lot of his attention to international relations during his presidency. Due to Wilson, liberal internationalism has become an important part of American foreign policy and the organizational principle of collective security was proposed (Khoma, 2018 : 216). Wilson promoted his Fourteen Points and supported the creation of the League of Nations.

All of the American presidents emphasized the importance of national security. The words “War”, “To protect/defend”, “Danger” and “Safety” were often used.

Secondly, we can see that the social area and the words “Equality”, “Life”, “Help”, “People” and “Public” are dominant in the block Areas of Society. Lincoln used the word “Slavery” twelve times in his speech. The

economic terms come next, which were mentioned mostly by Polk (35), Roosevelt (29), Reagan (29), Monroe (26) and Obama (21). It means that these presidents faced the economic issues or focused on economic relations. Washington used two words connected with economy. Interestingly, the word “Corruption” was used only by Barack Obama and it was related to other governments, not the USA. Furthermore, Obama and Trump mentioned technologies in their addresses. Then the political area follows as the third frequently used category. Here the leaders are Polk (34), Lincoln (26), Monroe (21) and the most frequent words “Citizens”, “Party” and “Institutions”. Also, the presidents mentioned the spiritual area: “Morality”, “Knowledge”, “Spirituality” etc.

The third big block is dedicated to democracy, meritocracy, religion, values and history. Some presidents mentioned the meritocratic categories more often than the democratic ones, especially those were Washington (10) and Monroe (28). The USA was founded as a meritocratic state. The Founding Fathers believed that the most talented and competent people should hold public offices. Furthermore, it is one of the reasons why Americans do not choose a president directly, but through the Electoral College. Most people are not quite competent in politics and often unaware of arguments of their choice, and this may lead to negative consequences in the political system. The authors of the Federalist Papers wrote: “the process of election affords a moral certainty, that the office of President will never fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications. Talents for low intrigue, and the little arts of popularity, may alone suffice to elevate a man to the first honors in a single State; but it will require other talents, and a different kind of merit, to establish him in the esteem and confidence of the whole Union, or of so considerable a portion of it as would be necessary to make him a successful candidate for the distinguished office of President of the United States” (Hamilton, A., Jay, J., Madison, 1788 : 14).

The United States was not a truly democratic state for a long time, because women, African Americans and other racial minorities did not have the right to vote, slavery existed. However, American democracy took a big step forward, as the society has become more tolerant. Nowadays, both meritocracy and democracy are equally important to Americans.

All of the presidents used religious words, like “God”, “Blessing”, “Almighty”, “Faith” etc. In 2017 Pew Research Center published the statistics, according to which most of the American presidents belonged to Protestant denominations. The only Catholic was John F. Kennedy. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln had no formal religious affiliation. Donald Trump is the nation’s ninth chief executive to be affiliated with a Presbyterian church. Also, a survey shows that many Americans care about their leaders’ faith. Half of all American adults say it is important for a president to share their religious beliefs (Masci, 2017: 16).

The United States was founded mostly by Protestants. A German sociologist Max Weber analyzed the connection between Protestant values and capitalism in his famous book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. He wrote that mental factors have influenced the economic success of Western countries, such as rationalism and hard-working mentality. Interestingly, Weber quoted Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the American Founding Fathers: “Remember, that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides” (Weber, 1930: 57). Here is another Franklin’s note: “He that wastes idly a groat’s worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day” (Weber, 1930: 59). In Weber’s opinion, Franklin’s moral attitudes are coloured with utilitarianism, as he emphasized special virtues, such as honesty, punctuality, industry and frugality (Weber, 1930: 60). So, the Protestant principles affected the economic success in America.

Another conclusion shows how important American values are to U.S. presidents. The words “Happiness”, “Success”, “Strength”, “America”, “United States”, “Support” were used most frequently in the inaugural speeches.

All of the presidents mentioned history in their addresses. Obama has the highest result here (18), Washington and Wilson have the lowest one (1). Usually, the leaders honored heroes, ancestors and the Founding Fathers.

The last block includes nationalist tendencies in the American Presidency. The categories contain the words “National”, “Our”, “American”, “Americans”, “Homeland/Our land”. Nationalism does not always mean something negative here. Moreover, it is important to note that nationalist tendencies were high in the early U.S. history (Monroe – 75, Polk – 110), and then they declined (Lincoln – 26, Wilson – 30, Roosevelt – 41, Kennedy – 27), and increased again at the end of the 20th century according to the results (Reagan – 74, Obama – 73, Trump – 68). In October 2018, at a meeting in Washington, President Donald Trump said the word “American” twelve times, and he called himself an "absolute nationalist" and said he was "proud of it."

Throughout American history, the eloquence and solemnity of inaugural speeches have declined. Texts are becoming simpler and clearer. For instance, it is very noticeable if we compare the addresses of the early American presidents to the recent.

In conclusion, the results of content analysis demonstrate some evolutionary aspects that are noticeable in the following points:

- the increase of the problem of terrorism;
- the evolution of democracy;
- the increase of nationalist tendencies in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries;
- fluctuating emphases on economic problems/crises;
- inaugural speeches have become simpler.

It is worth emphasizing that the U.S. Presidentialism still honors those classical American values, formed in the days of the Founding Fathers. The inaugural addresses stress the importance of the fundamental principles and encourage Americans to follow them. After all, this is the credo of the American society, the imperative of its historical mission.

## **6. THE USA PRESIDENTIALISM IN THE EVOLUTION ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE AMERICAN NATION**

The basic principles of the American political culture determine the existential foundations of the U.S. government. The unique history of this great country witnesses the stable character of the American political culture. However, some changes have happened. Firstly, the communication between American presidents and people changed due to the internet and social

media. The formative presidents, such as Washington and Monroe, governed in a republican political setting different from today's democratic one. Candidates were supposed to stand for office without appealing directly to the people. As with other political leaders, presidents were expected to distinguish themselves from the masses by possessing a superior character (Hamilton, 2001: 10). They were the aristocratic presidents, representatives of the elites. Gradually, political leaders started to meet with their electorate more often, especially due to the advent of radio and television. The founder of the modern presidency was Franklin D. Roosevelt. He created the Executive Office of the President and maximized his information by going beyond official channels and using private and informal sources (Hamilton, 2001: 13). Roosevelt was a popular president and the only one who was elected four times. He quickly established direct contact with the electorate through regularly held press conferences and especially through his radio talks, called 'fireside chats' (Remini, 2008: 222). Franklin D. Roosevelt was close to Americans and demonstrated the real achievements of the government.

Technological progress created conditions for the virtual interaction between politicians and people. Modern presidents actively use social media and an election campaign on the internet has become a crucial factor for winning elections. Nowadays, Americans write presidents different kinds of comments on social media websites. Accordingly, this is the evolution of communication between presidents and people in American political culture.

According to Pew Research Center, about four-in-ten Americans (42%) say they have publicly expressed support for a political campaign on social media in the past five years. Their next survey shows that those who talk about politics more frequently are older and better educated. Nearly two-thirds of those older than 65 (63%) say they have these discussions at least weekly, and slightly more than half of those ages 50 to 64 say the same (54%). Just 45% of those 18 to 29 and 30 to 49 say they talk about politics with others at least weekly. Two-thirds of those who have a postgraduate degree (66%) say they talk politics at least weekly than those with a high school degree or less (43%) (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Secondly, it is important to emphasize the gradual expansion of rights and liberties in the U.S. history. This is the evolution of democracy



and tolerance. During Lincoln's presidency the issue of ending slavery arose, then women's suffrage was legalized (Wilson's administration), the Civil Rights movement occurred (the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson administrations). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the L.G.B.T. community has fought for its rights. At the time of Obama's administration, they got the right to marry. If the American people find certain problems in their society, they start to speak about them publicly. Americans organize strikes, protests or parades that can be related to different kinds of issues. The American political culture is still changing, becoming more open and tolerant. More openly lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people were elected in the 2018 midterm elections than in any previous election. L.G.B.T. candidates ran for office in record numbers and many women as well (Caron, 2018). Therefore, it is not an exclusion that someone of these people could become a President in the future. It also means that the American society is always ready to fight for their rights and liberties, and openly criticize the government.

Also, there were some periods of disintegration throughout U.S. history. For example, During Lincoln's administration (1861-1865), there was the enmity between the Southern and Northern states, the Civil War and the threat of the split of the Union. However, slavery became the reason of disputes much earlier. Admitting new states to the Union, neither the slave nor free states seemed prepared to reconcile their demands with each other's needs (Remini, 2008: 82).

Another such a period started with John F. Kennedy's presidency. Racial conflicts were getting worse. Over 200,000 black and white activists marched for "jobs and freedom" from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963, where they heard Martin Luther King Jr. deliver his famous "I have a dream" speech. It was the largest public demonstration ever held in the nation's capital. Then the violence in the country reached a peak with the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, Texas, on Friday, November 22, 1963 (Remini, 2008: 269). African Americans suffered from oppression and racism in those years. In many places, they had to use things and services separately from white people.

Furthermore, in 2021 Pew Research Center posted the statistics, stating that only about one-quarter of Americans say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "just about always" (2%) or

“most of the time” (22%). Currently, 36% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say they can trust government, compared with 9% of Republicans and Republican-leaning. Throughout Trump’s tenure, more Republicans than Democrats reported trusting the government, though that has flipped since Biden’s election. Since the 1970s, trust in government has been consistently higher among members of the party that controls the White House than among the opposition party. (Pew Research Center, 2021). Overall, the public trust in government has declined.

One of the current U.S. issues is the political divide and extreme partisanship. The studies, which were conducted at Pew Research Center over the past few years illustrate the increasingly stark disagreement between Democrats and Republicans on the economy, racial justice, climate change, law enforcement, international engagement and a long list of other issues. The 2020 presidential election further highlighted these deep-seated divides. Supporters of Biden and Donald Trump believe the differences between them are about more than just politics and policies. The 2020 pandemic has revealed how pervasive the divide in American politics is relative to other nations. Over the summer, 76% of Republicans (including independents who lean to the party) felt the U.S. had done a good job dealing with the coronavirus outbreak, compared with just 29% of those who do not identify with the Republican Party. This 47 percentage point gap was the largest gap found between those who support the governing party and those who do not across 14 nations surveyed. Moreover, 77% of Americans said the country was now more divided than before the outbreak, as compared with a median of 47% in the 13 other nations surveyed (Pew Research Center, 2020). Apart from that, the level of partisanship in America is high. Their analysis of U.S. Census tract data showed that 98 to 99 percent of Americans live in areas segregated by partisanship. Loving County, Texas, a county of about 200 people along the New Mexico border, is the only tract in the entire U.S. where Democrats and Republicans mix freely, the researchers found. This social splitting is not the result of an urban/rural divide, where cities attract more Democrats, and Republicans typically favor the country life, Brown and Enos say. Whether in small to mid-size cities, the suburbs or ex-urbs in between, the data showed that Republicans stick close to other Republicans, and Democrats stick close to other Democrats (The Harvard Gazette, 2021). Thus, currently the political

divide and strong partisanship are the real threat to American democracy and political culture in general.

It may be concluded that the classical values remain prioritized for Americans, in spite of different conflicts or contradictions. For centuries, the American people have been keeping in mind those first words of their Constitution “We The People of the United States”, honoring the Founding Fathers and actively defending their rights. At the same time, Americans are usually skeptical about the government and tend to the political polarization. Obviously, presidents and political elites should play an important role in the society and its integration.

## **7. CONCLUSIONS**

Studying the American Presidentialism in the context of U.S. political culture, we came to some interesting conclusions.

Firstly, the American values, patriotism, national security, history, domestic policy, diversity and welfare has always remained highly important to both American presidents and the American people.

Secondly, the noticeable changes are the gradual increase of the role of democratic values in the society and the expansion of rights and liberties. The communication between the U.S. presidents and Americans includes social media interaction, as it is much easier to deliver messages online.

Thirdly, a president’s personality may have an impact on Americans’ unity, but it is not the only one factor. This can be explained by the main features of American political culture, as individualism, active participation and the sacredness of the Constitution. The people of the United States have never trusted their government completely. This behavior is connected with immigration, individualism and capitalism. Moreover, Americans openly protest against the government, which is historically evident. Black Lives Matter can be the latest example of such movements and protests. Thus, this is the evidence of Almond and Verba’s political culture theory that the United States belongs to the participant civic culture.

There are moments in U.S. history, when nationalist tendencies increase or decline, according to the results of content analysis. Especially,

the increase happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Moreover, the American society have become more polarized over the last few years.

It may be concluded that America has changed, but its fundamental values remain the highest priority for its nation. The evolutionary aspects of the U.S. Presidentialism and American political culture have been going quite smoothly. This research shows that different changes and challenges have not undermined the global leadership and success of the USA. Political culture and the institution of presidency are the factors of the stability of any democratic country. Unfortunately, in Ukraine it has been an important issue for many years. The main problem is the low level of political culture, as there are no system of values and active participation in politics. Unskilled, uneducated and corrupt politicians are allowed to govern in Ukraine, but this is unacceptable in the U.S. Because of the strong American political system, checks and balances, civic political culture, controlled power of American presidents and other factors, the United States is an example of greatness and stability.

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