

CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING: TESTING CONSTITUENT INTEREST
VERSUS THE NATIONAL INTEREST

by

TEVIN DEVON WILSON

(Under the Direction of Michael Lynch)

ABSTRACT

Congressional decision-making involves making representatives subject to different factors that can influence their decisions. Constituents can be an important influencer because members of Congress are sent to Washington to represent them, but the national interest can play a role on some issues. The approach of this paper takes a look at what factors influence members of Congress when they are deciding how to vote. Trade and the relationship between the United States and China are used because of the complexity of the issue and the overlap between constituency interest and the national interest. This paper theorizes that members of Congress depending on the importance of trade, with China, to their district or what committee members sit on impact their decision-making. The end result of this study shows little to no support for theories laid out in the paper, but the overall concept of the papers warranted consideration.

INDEX WORDS: congressional decision-making, trade policy, US-China relations, committees, imports, exports, issue specialization

CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING: TESTING CONSTITUENT INTEREST
VERSUS THE NATIONAL INTEREST

by

TEVIN DEVON WILSON

BS, East Carolina University, 2014

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2016

© 2016

Tevin Devon Wilson

All Rights Reserved

CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING: TESTING CONSTITUENT INTEREST
VERSUS THE NATIONAL INTEREST

by

TEVIN DEVON WILSON

Major Professor: Michael Lynch
Committee: Anthony Madonna
James Monogan

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Michael Lynch for helping to guide me through this endeavor. I would also like to thank Dr. Anthony Madonna and Dr. Jamie Monogan for their willingness to serve on my thesis committee. Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for providing me with support and sometimes a much need distraction during this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING.....	4
I. Overview of Congressional Decision-Making.....	4
II. Trade Decision-Making	6
3 CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION.....	12
I. Committees.....	12
II. Committees and Trade.....	14
4 UNITED STATES AND CHINA: FOREIGN RELATIONS.....	17
5 THEORY	22
I. Constituency Theoretical Framework	23
II. Committee Theoretical Framework.....	26
6 DATA	30
7 ANALYSIS.....	34
8 CONCLUSION.....	39
REFERENCES	43

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Descriptive Statistics	34
Table 2: Constituent Model (Logit): The East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100)....	34
Table 3: Constituent Model (Logit): Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006 (HAMD T 381 to H.R. 3057).....	35
Table 4: Constituent Model (Logit): Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006 (HAMD T 431 to H.R. 3058).....	35
Table 5: Committee Model (Logit): The East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100)....	36
Table 6: Committee Model (Logit): Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006 (HAMD T 381 to H.R. 3057).....	37
Table 7: Committee Model (Logit): Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006 (HAMD T 431 to H.R. 3058).....	37

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Congressional representatives are under multiple types of pressure when serving. Members of Congress are faced with issues that directly impact their constituents and they can face national and global issues that do not directly affect constituents. There are some issues that can even straddle local, national and global spectrums, with one of those issues being trade. Trade can be locally beneficial to constituents, but it could also be harmful to a local economy. On a national scale, trade can help a state's economy grow but states can suffer massive trade deficits. On a global scale, trade can be used as a foreign policy tool by a state to build relationships with other states or to hurt them. Members of Congress thus are faced with a dilemma when deciding how to vote on trade proposals. Do they vote to mostly benefit their districts or do they vote with the national interest in mind?

The internal debate and conflict that members of Congress are facing is a difficult one to overcome. In 2000, Congress was preparing debate and vote on a trade proposal aimed at China. The proposal was whether or not the United States should extend permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) to China. Representative Robert Aderholt, a Republican from Alabama's 4th District, was being pulled between voting to benefit his district versus voting to benefit the nation. One argument against voting for the proposal was the potential for job loss in his district. The 4th district labor force was a mix of blue and white collar jobs, but a plurality of them were manufacturing based and permanent trade relations with China jeopardized local industry. On the other side of the debate, the

argument was that extending permanent normal trade relations to China would eliminate the need to consider the same proposal every year and that trading with China would benefit the US economy by permanently opening up a large and growing market for US products. Representative Aderholt's dilemma led him to advertise in the local Cherokee County Herald and seek input from his constituents. Aderholt wrote about both sides of the issue and asking his constituents to contact his office with their opinions. When detailing how his district might be impacted by the legislation he stated that China has refused to abide by previous international trade agreements, which has directly impacted his district by forcing a local company, Gulf States Steel, into bankruptcy. He also appealed to other issues that concerned his constituents such as China's human rights violations, Chinese persecution of Christians, forced abortions in China, Chinese espionage, and China exporting missile technology to unfriendly states threatening the security of the United States.

While approving the trade deal could have hurt the district, it could potentially benefit the state. He highlighted the fact that granting PNTR status to China would eliminate the need for Congress to debate the issue every year and, therefore, free up time for them to debate other pressing issues. He also addressed the fact that China is the world's fastest growing economy and that approving the vote would grant more access to the Chinese market and that could fuel greater economic success in the United States. He demonstrated that maybe an increased trade connection between the two countries could enhance diplomatic ties and, therefore, the United States could exert influence over China, particularly concerning their human rights violations.

The proposal passed the House of Representatives by a 237-197 vote, but in the end, Representative Aderholt voted against granting China PNTR status. This case demonstrates that dilemma that members of Congress are present when serving. Trade issues provide a good basis to examine that debate because a district can be hurt by trade while the overall economy thrives, the reverse is also possible. Examining the factors that contribute to congressional decision-making, especially regarding trade proposals, can ultimately help answer the question of constituent interest versus national interest.

The approach this paper takes realizes that a lot the issues that Congress faces are fundamentally different from one another and, therefore, the decision-making process may be altered slightly from issue to issue or maybe even changed completely. Previous research has taken a general approach to the topic of congressional decision-making and this paper attempts to add a new element by narrowing the focus. This paper proceeds in 7 sections. The first section addresses the congressional decision-making process and the associated literature. The second section highlights the role of Congress as an institution in this process. The third section addressed the security concerns and foreign relations between the United States and China. The fourth section outlines the theory developed based on the influence of representation and issue expertise on congressional behavior toward trade policy. Section five details the data and methods that will be used in the paper. Section six will analyze the data. Section seven details the conclusions that could be drawn from the previous sections of the paper.

CHAPTER 2

CONGRESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING

I. Overview of Congressional Decision-Making

Members of Congress, have important responsibilities that require making important decisions. The decisions range from bringing a bill up for consideration, to supporting a bill in the committee, to supporting a bill on the floor. When making decisions there are many differing opinions that members of Congress must take into consideration. Members of Congress put more thought and analysis into their decisions than the public likely realizes. The decision-making process is an interaction between the beliefs of a member of Congress and other influential factors such as the President, the party leadership, committees, constituents, colleagues, interest groups, the media, and political donors (Martin 2001). Rarely can the process of decision-making be categorized as easy because there are different factors that enter the process.

Beginning the decision-making starts with the information gathering stage. Members of Congress start with at least a rudimentary understanding of the topic. In order to make a well-informed decision they gather legal arguments, debate constitutionality, review data and statistics, examine moral concerns, and determine the policy implications (Whiteman 1985). Their information gathering process also tries to take into account cost, societal benefits, and future consequences. Members of Congress consider information from a variety of sources including the Congressional Research Service, statements from the executive branch, and letters from colleagues. They also rely on work done from

outside the government utilizing information provided by advocacy organizations, such as interest groups, think tanks, or trade associations (Diermeier and Feddersen 2000). Information gathering is an important step in the process.

As politicians, members of Congress must look at the political ramifications of their actions (Lebo, McGlynn, and Koger 2007). Party positions on most proposals and issues are well known because leadership clearly defines where the party stands, even providing members of Congress with analysis and research that is almost certainly biased in the party's favor. Members of Congress are aware or made aware of the political rewards that could be bestowed upon them if they vote a certain way. Some of these rewards could come in the form of votes for their own proposals down the road.

Political cues can come from outside of Congress. The President is an important political figure that has the power to set both a national agenda and a party agenda (Rivers and Rose 1985). Examining the President's position means that members of Congress could potentially have to answer questions regarding their opposition to the President. They could also have to deal with the potential ramifications of the actions if the President or congressional leadership decide to punish them by blocking funding or projects going to their district. Loyal party members could be rewarded for their support. It is increasingly hard to separate the policy from the political, especially in Congress.

While receiving counsel from individuals, inside and outside of Congress, helps members of Congress during the process, they still have an internal debate about issues. The end result of the process can take all of the information gathered into account, but still be a byproduct of one's own personal judgment (Eulau, Wahlke, Buchanan, and Ferguson 1959). Members of Congress arrive with different opinions on issues making their own

experiences and beliefs important to their decision-making process. At the end of the day, some issues might come down to personal judgment that could potentially disregard all of the other factors that they come across.

As a representative of their constituents, members of Congress must consider their opinions and the projected impact a piece of legislation will have on the district when deciding how to vote (Peltzman 1984). Members of Congress, however, simultaneously, also serve the United States and, therefore, have duties related to the welfare of the state. Serving ones' constituent and serving the country can lead to a conflict of interest, which can lead to difficult decisions (Deckard 1976). Members of Congress ascertain their constituents' beliefs and determine the best solutions to their problems by spending time within their districts and listening to their concerns, but while it can be easy to determine the best solution, it is not as easy to do so for many issues.

II. Trade Decision-Making

Studying congressional behavior takes many forms from electoral behavior to roll-call voting to committee work, which are all directly linked to the many different roles Congress plays and the different activities they are engaged in. Congress's role as bureaucratic watchdog and their activities related to the ever so increasingly lengthy election cycle are important and require extensive research, but their role as representatives of the people and their interest arguably takes priority over other activities. Representation can be described as reflecting the interest of constituents (Miller and Stokes 1963; Clinton 2006). Members of Congress need the support of their constituents, first to get elected to Congress and then to be reelected. Mayhew described members of Congress single-minded seekers of reelection (Mayhew 1974). Remaining in positive regard with one's constituents

helps a member of Congress in his or her reelection bid. The most frequent action carried out by members of Congress are roll-call votes, making them one of the best ways to test if the actions of members of Congress reflect constituent beliefs (Miller and Stokes 1963; Holian, Krebs, and Walsh 1997). Some studies even went as far as to collect House district level opinion data and model it against roll-call voting records (Wink, Livingston, and Garand 1996).

Previous research has looked more closely at the makeup of constituencies and its influence on roll-call behavior. When examining more specific factors regarding the makeup of a constituency, some studies have shown that there is more attention paid to certain subsets of the constituency depending on the legislative issue or electoral circumstance. Republican members of Congress were more concerned about the same-party constituency (Clinton 2006). This plays into the idea pioneered by Fenno regarding the reelection constituency (Fenno 1977). Other studies, focused on the Senate, also showed that constituency characteristics matters. Senators from states that have a more homogenous population constituency characteristics were significant. The opposite was found for states with a heterogeneous population, where party label and interest group ratings were significant (Bailey and Brady 1998). Constituent opinion and electoral pressure can exert influence over a host of issues, but there is a sense that there is a difference between the public viewpoint regarding foreign policy issues and the viewpoint of members of Congress (Caspary 1970). Foreign policy is a topic that is generally far removed from the minds of the public. Members of Congress traditionally are more aware of the foreign policy concerns and are more greatly affected by the day to day consequences of their foreign policy decisions. Voters respond to economic issues, therefore, the policy,

in this case, trade policy shapes economic public opinion that members of Congress must heed the concerns of the constituents to some degree.

Congress votes on a host of issues, but this paper focuses on trade policy because of its ability to cross different aspects of the political system. As previously mentioned trade policy is unique because it could potentially have consequences for both domestic and foreign policy. Trade can be defined as the exchange of goods and services between two willing partners. There is disagreement, both political and policy related, over the benefits of trade. The benefits of trade include product specialization for countries, which in turn increases the effectiveness and efficiency of production and leads to higher valued goods. While products can increase in value, trade does produce competition and competition can lower the price of imports, drive innovation, and increase employment levels. That competition can create winner and losers, both domestically and internationally (Kleinberg and Fordham 2013). The uniqueness of trade policy is associated with its ability to touch different policy areas combined with the potential to help and hurt the people, makes congressional decision-making regarding trade interesting to study.

On the domestic side of the equation, the primary concern is with the constituents. The economic concerns of constituents can factor into the decisions that members of Congress make. Domestic workers could be at risk of losing jobs if an economy overspecializes as a result of trade. Decreases in global demand or cheaper competition overseas are factors that could lead to these employment risks. Cheaper and well established foreign industries could also make it difficult for domestic industries to grow (Winters 2004). Scholars and policy makers view trade as an essential practice that helps to establish a relationship between states (Cooper 1972). Local economic conditions can

be impacted by national trade policy, with one study finding that economic factors such as job losses from NAFTA helped to undermine fast tracking of the trade deal (Bardwell 2000). The difference between imports and exports under a trade deal can be a salient national issue (Choi 2015). Local economic conditions in districts combined with a legislator's view on economic conditions also affect representatives voting decisions (Baldwin and Magee 2000). Ultimately, the question of how much does economic concerns affect congressional decision-making is an empirical one and is one of the questions studied in this paper.

Studies focused on trade issues in the United States show the complexity associated with the issue. Because trade can transcend policy areas it encompasses the need for both the input of the public, but also the expertise of members of Congress and other specialists. A study conducted showed that members of Congress voting record regarding human rights concerns are related to economic factors in the district and their connection to the countries that were targets of those particular pieces of legislation (Cutrone and Fordham 2010). This shows the possible connection between foreign and economic policy. Other findings from different studies shows and more direct link between foreign and economic policy, through trade legislation. Voting on NAFTA legislation was impacted by a host of different influences including constituency makeup, urbanization, and unemployment (Wink, Livingston, and Garand 1996).

Trade research like congressional research takes different forms. Studies analyze trade as a whole and also trade with particular countries, which this study will seek to do. One study that looked at congressional votes toward China and the impact that members of Congress and constituent characteristics have on roll-call votes. The study found that for

some votes party and ideology both have a significant impact on roll-call votes. Other parts of the study showed that specific votes regarding trade with China were significantly impacted by constituency interests adversely affected by trade (Xie 2006). Previous research has found that mixing of party and outside interest also can impact trade. Finding that districts with international business connects are pro free trade versus those who receive money from domestically oriented businesses and labor unions. The study also found that those districts with high unemployment are anti-free trade (Nollen and Quinn 1994). Complementing that study, some findings show that members of Congress are more aware of outside pressure from unions. Democrats from heavily unionized districts are more susceptible to union pressure regarding trade while Republicans in the same situation are not as susceptible to union pressure, given the tendency for labor unions to oppose Republican candidates (Fordham and McKeown 2003).

A lot of work has been done regarding how economic conditions, constituent opinions and the need to protect local and national interests impact how a member of Congress may vote, there are other factors that contribute to the decisions of members of Congress when voting on issues (Goldstein 1988). When a trade vote comes up another source of influence that could impact members of Congress is pressure from interest groups (Box-Steffensmeier 1997). Interest group pressure can manifest itself in interest group scores, campaign contributions, and endorsement. This pressure may or may not be the most important contributing factor, but it cannot be overlooked. Another signal that can be sent to members of Congress is from other policy makers, especially ones who have a direct influence in the subject matter. Members of Congress take cues from the executive on trade issue because Congress delegates some of the responsibilities regarding trade policy to the

President and his staff (Lohmann and O'Halloran 1994). Outside pressures also contribute to the overall behavior of members of Congress regarding issues and trade policy is similar in this regard.

CHAPTER 3

CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION

I. Committees

While many outside factors contribute to the pressures members of Congress face, Congress has built-in institutional constructs that influence the overall process. Congress produces legislation that does more than just bring projects and federal dollars back to the certain districts, they produce public policy. Yes, some policies benefit some constituents more than others, but Congress is also tasked with producing other types of policy. Good public policy is also seen as a goal of legislators (Fenno 1973). These policies deal with issues ranging from tax codes to trade agreements. Proposals can be filled with technical details and precise language that the public simply does not understand or care to understand and, therefore, it up to members of Congress to work closely on these items and determine what the best outcome will be. Every member of Congress has access, but most of the detailed work is conducted in committee. One of the most visible aspects of Congress is the extensive and active committee system. Committees are a way for a large body to delegate work and responsibility, given that Congress has to address a multitude of issues.

“...[S]o that it is not far from the truth to say that Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work.”

- Woodrow Wilson

Wilson’s quote outlines the importance role that committees play in the everyday function of Congress. In committee, a few members of Congress are able the get a more detailed look at legislation and build expertise regarding the committee’s subject matter. Having

this expertise allows members of Congress to understand the issue better and look for the best possible result. Committee work and constituent beliefs do not always have to be at odds, but if they are members of Congress serving on those committees will be better equipped with the knowledge to make an informed decision.

Studying a particular issue area addressed in Congress is made simpler given that the committee system makes it easier to identify and test hypotheses related to these issues. Committee membership is one aspect of congressional activities that can be tied to other congressional activities. Sitting on a committee is something all members of Congress enjoy, but they can also use committee membership to represent their constituents better (Grier and Munger 1991). Committees are places where members of Congress can specialize advance their personal policy agenda and the agenda of their constituents. Committee membership can play an important role in representing constituents. While there has been extensive research on committees regarding their benefits for members or who is allowed to sit on committees, there has been little to no research done regarding the committee system and the topic of how it relates to trade and security issues combined.

Specialization is encouraged because it is part of a cycle to increase its importance and strengthens the institution. Scholars believe the committee system began and grew because of the need to handle a growing legislative workload. The committee system and specialization are needed in order to address policy areas that were becoming increasingly complex. Trade policy has some simple aspects such as whether or not a district or the country benefits from trade deals in term of the trade deficit. Other issues regarding trade policy involve more complex details dealing with logistics and economics. The need to address these concerns only strengthens the power of specialization the committee system,

and Congress as an institution (Cooper 1970; Hedlund 1984). Specialization is also encouraged because of the election benefits that can be gained from it. Donors focused on specific issue donate to members of Congress who not only share their views but also who are in a position to directly influence policy. These potential donations have led to members of Congress increasing their level of expertise on certain issues (Esterling 2007). That increased level of knowledge helps both members of Congress and the institution (Uscinski, Rocca, Sanchez, and Brendenn 2009).

II. Committees and Trade

Even though Congress might play a less important role regarding trade policy, committees do play an important role that influences final outcomes (Nollen and Quinn 1994). Members of these respective committees that have jurisdiction over trade have been noted as being committed to the nuances of trade and international politics. They also more independent of constituent influence and more willing to oppose protectionism than others (Whalen and Whalen 1990; Nollen and Quinn 1994). The committee system in Congress helps to make the body more efficient, but the system is complex and consists of many different factors for legislators.

One of the reasons committees make Congress more efficient is because it is packed with experts in certain policy areas and Congress uses delegation in order to put forth the best policy option (Bullock 1976; Gilligan and Krehbiel 1990). This study will take into account issue specialization, regarding trade policy, foreign policy, and security policy. The process of becoming an expert can start as soon as one enters Congress. While they may not always get their request granted, new members of Congress may request

committee assignments corresponding with the already acquired expertise in a policy area (Bullock 1976; Munger 1988).

Given the complexity of some policy areas, specialization is needed in order to produce the most well-informed and detailed piece of legislation. Issue specialization is a tool that can be used to counterbalance the extensive resource advantages the executive branch has over the legislative branch, especially in areas such as trade, foreign, and security policy. Research suggest that bills are more likely to be accepted under restrictive floor rules if they are referred out of a committee that is seen to be filled with specialists (Krehbiel 1991). The floor, in this case, trusts that the committee has utilized the expertise of committee members and produced a bill that is consistent with the preference of the floor, but also with good policy. Along those lines, members of Congress who are considered non-specialists in a particular area rely on their colleagues who serve on these committees for voting cues (Asher 1974; Zwier 1979). Specialization has the ability to influence policy outcomes, procedural measures, and even persuade other opinions on policy.

Some research has shown the connection between serving on committees and increased support for issues related to their jurisdiction. One foreign policy study aimed at looking at the relationship between Foreign Affairs Committee membership and Darfur legislation found that members of that committee were more likely to support positive measure toward Darfur (Uscinski, Rocca, Sanchez, and Brendenn 2009). They found positive results after they theorized that members of Congress with knowledge and expertise in regards to foreign affairs, Africa, and Darfur, in particular, would impact their decision-making relative to those who did not serve on that committee. This study uses

similar logic, but focusing on the impact of increased knowledge regarding trade and foreign policy to see how things work on a different and slightly broader scale.

The subject of this paper deals with the relationship between the United States and China. This paper examines the economic, diplomatic, and security relationships between the two states. These issues have simple and complex parts that could put a constituency interest at odds with knowledge gained through committee work. This paper will test the strength of these two potentially conflicting theories regarding whether members of Congress vote or against final passage of a piece of legislation.

CHAPTER 4

UNITED STATES AND CHINA: FOREIGN RELATIONS

This paper straddles two different areas of focus, looking at congressional behavior is one aspect, but the other aspect deals with the complex relationship between the United States and China. Data detailing support for hostile measures in the US House of Representatives towards China will be the basis for the analysis in this paper. The selection of China provides an important look at the domestic and international aspects of the modern geopolitical landscape. The United States is widely considered the world's sole political, economic, and military hegemon while China is seen by many as the only state with the ability to challenge or match the United States hegemonic status (Ikenberry 2008). Part of the continuing growth of the Chinese economy and, as a result, its rising power is due to the substantial trading partnership that China shares the United States. Statistics show that the trading relationship during the time period of this study, 2005-2007, had a trade deficit for the United States averaging around \$231 billion per year. More recent numbers show the trade deficit now averaging around \$354 billion over the last 2 years (Commerce 2015). Whether this large trading relationship is beneficial or detrimental to the United States is still being argued, but on some level the relationship provides considerable economic benefits for the United States.

While the relationship provides some benefits for the United States, policymakers view China as a growing economic and military threat. The ongoing debate regarding the positive and negative aspects of relations with China provides a chance to observe which

influences impact decisions regarding trade legislation. The relationship between the world's superpower and the world's leading emerging power on a global stage is one that will require a fair amount of attention because it is likely to shape global politics and the global economy for the foreseeable future. The relationship between these two states is one of political, economic, and military complexity (Lampton 2008). All three of those aspects influences congressional behavior toward China.

On an economic and political level, the relationship between the two states is at their most complex. Most states within the international system interact with one another on a purely economic and political level. On an economic level, trade deals and loans are common practices. On a political level, common membership within a number of international organization and basic diplomatic relations shape the political relations between states. Liberal international relations theory dictates that trade between states provides both countries with benefits so conflict and hostile relations could be costly therefore reducing the chances of future conflict (Polachek 1980; Russett and Oneal 2001). Not all conflict is necessarily militarized, political tension between countries can hinder relations and impact trade along with other forms of international cooperation. Many studies focus on the militarized conflicts between states, but there is research looking more precisely at these low-level tensions (Polachek 1980). Given the lack of explicit military conflict, this study attempts to look at the security concern the United States has with China more on par with these low-level tensions.

Both the political and economic features of the US-China relationship increase its importance and volatility. The levels of trading between the two states have been consistently growing as the decades past and trading levels are not likely to diminish in the

near future. The trading of goods is seen as the primary driving force behind the US-China trade relationship, but the services, especially high-skilled service are responsible for a healthy proportion of the trade between the two states (Fordham and Kleinberg 2011). These services and skills are separated in two ways by education level and occupation, or the white-collar and blue-collar jobs debate (Beaulieu 2002). The consulting and technology sectors of the US economy are the main driving force behind the increase in private and high skilled services the US is providing China (Morrison 2011). Another important part of their economic relations is the considerable amount of US treasury bonds that China current possesses and continues to buy, which increase the importance and volatility of the relationship. Current Treasury Department figures put the US debt owned by China at 1.237 trillion dollars (Treasury 2016). Growing tensions can impact decision-making both in the US and China on both executive and legislative levels.

Going beyond the economic and political relationship between the US and China, there is the military, security, and political side of the relationship. This security related part of the relationship between these two states is based on a complex mix of security threats, military capabilities, and international disagreements. Within the political and security arenas, the US and China have multiple disagreements that have remained strictly political and have not escalated to direct conflict. Some issues between the two states include Chinese currency manipulation, which involved keeping their currency artificially weak to help keep their products cheap hurting the US economy, and Chinese human rights record (Bergsten and Gagnon 2012; Kan 2013). While none of these issues have led to a direct conflict, there is still a wealth of tension between these two states. International disagreements over important security related issues are the beginning of the complex tense

relationship. Taiwan's independent status has always been an issue between the US and China (Ross 1986). The Chinese government's belief that Taiwan remains part of China is at odds with the Taiwanese declaration of independence. The friendly relationship between the United States and Taiwan, which has included economic and military support, is the main source of tension between the two states.

Another source of tension has been the nuclear capabilities of the two states. Both the US and China are two of the nine states who possess nuclear weapons. As a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), they are under certain obligations regarding their nuclear stockpiles. Under Article XI of the NPT, nuclear weapons states are required to pursue nuclear disarmament, but China is currently the only NPT Nuclear Weapons States increasing their stockpile (Zhang 2012). China sees its military incompatibility, both nuclear and conventional, with the US as a threat and justifies increasing their stockpiles. Cyber warfare has been a recent occurrence between the two states. Cyber-attacks on US entities have been attributed to China, which is just another source of tension (Kan 2013). These attacks include attacking the US internet infrastructure and stealing intellectual property from private business and the US government. These security issues have the US increasing concerned about a rising China.

At the elite level, where most of the decisions regarding relations with China are made, there has been a growing level of concern regarding whether China is a threat to the US. Mainly the elites assessed China as a military and security threat to the US. Through polling data that surveyed military officials, Foreign Service officers, business elites, labor leaders, media personnel, politicians, and academics it showed that there is not a consensus regarding future conflict with China. Opinions ranged from a conflict between the US and

China can be seen as impossible or as inevitable. The polls suggest more about the US-Chinese relationship, like after the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, Americans began to shift their focus elsewhere and China received a lot of attention. While the opinions are mixed about the how much the US should be concerned about China, there is some agreement about a certain aspect of the Chinese threat. The disagreements over Taiwan are the most likely starters for a direct conflict between the two states according to elite opinion. Elite opinion regarding the Chinese threat is also heavily shaped by the increased trade-related relationship between the states (Kleinberg and Fordham 2013). The public also has strong opinions regarding China. According to a Pew Research Center poll, only 38% of Americans have a favorable view of China. Americans also list economic issues, cyber security and human rights as their greatest concerns regarding China. China emerging as a power player on the global scale also concerned Americans, with 46% saying China will be the world's superpower while 48% disagree. All of this ties back into this study regarding the impact trade, security, constituent influences on congressional behavior.

CHAPTER 5

THEORY

After reviewing the literature that relates to congressional decision making, trade policy, and US-Chinese relations, the next step in the process would be to consider new ways to test the relationships involved. Research shows that there are multiple factors that contribute to the decision-making process for members of Congress. Other research shows that some of the issues they handle, including trade policy and foreign relations, require extra attention when making a decision. While the previous research explains some of the measures used to test these relationships, it fails to account for all of the potential views. One of the most frequently researched questions is, how do constituents influence members of Congress decision-making process on any particular issue? This question can be furthered to spark more debate on the issue. How important are constituent views when deciding more complex issues? What influence do committee assignments have over one's final decision? How do these two potentially competing ideas relate to each other? Much emphasis is placed on the concern of constituents, but examining other factors is important to assess congressional decision making regarding complex issues.

Furthering the research on the topic of congressional decision-making by looking at both constituencies and committees is important for a few reasons. While serving the people is important, Congress also has a duty to produce legislation. While their opinions may be different, members of Congress are ultimately in favor of seeking good policy outcomes. Most policies simple or complex in nature are filled with complex technical

information related to the issue. Most of the technical details and language involved in writing legislation are not held by the public and, therefore, members of Congress must look elsewhere for that information. This information can come from outside help or from staff help, but a lot of this information comes from the knowledge and experience members of Congress gain from sitting on committees and developing issue expertise. Studying the impact of committee membership is another way to test what impacts the decision-making process when the vote for final passage of a bill arrives.

Past research does not always consider all options at the same time. Conducting research while testing multiple factors that influence congressional decision-making can help scholars understand how members of Congress make well-informed choices. Considering that both the idea of constituency influence and issue expertise might exert influence in the legislative process only increases the fundamental comprehension of congressional decision-making.

I. Constituency Theoretical Framework

The driving force behind the constituency side of this study is designed to show that members of Congress must take into consideration the potential benefits and consequences of their decision, in regards to legislation, will have on their constituents. Trade policy has multiple aspects associated with them, but one of the core issues at the heart of any trade deal is how it will impact the economy, both locally and nationally. Trading creates both winners and losers in an economic manner within the United States. These wins or loses determine the opinions of the constituents and whether or not they will benefit from the legislation and, therefore, should factor into the decision-making process for members of Congress. There has been limited work done regarding the intricate details

of the domestic implications trade deals have on the people, the representatives, and the policy-making process. The domestic and economic qualities of trade policy qualifies it to be the subject of this study. As an economic issue, trade focuses on the impact on constituents such as employment statistics, imports, and exports.

There are many constituents or district level economic characteristics that members of Congress may take into consideration when making decisions. The differences between these economic characteristics lead to different expectations regarding trade policy. As previously mentioned, trade creates both winners and losers. Members of Congress whose districts benefit from trade are likely to behave differently compared to those whose districts suffer as a result of trade. Thus, congressional decision-making depends on the differences in district level economic conditions, and several hypotheses address the difference between certain economic conditions.

The different economic characteristics that can potentially impact a district include employment and the import to export ratio. Depending on what characteristic one focuses on and which one has the greater effect on the district, members of Congress will make different decisions. Thus, the type of economic characteristic matters. As mentioned earlier, the study focuses on the trading relationship with China, particularly trade proposals that are hostile to China. From a domestic and economic standpoint, these measures could be seen as both hurting US businesses by blocking potential business or be seen as protecting US jobs and goods. These potential outcomes lead to this being a good outlet to test these ideas.

While the importing and exporting of goods is a major aspect of any trading partnership between two countries, the economy of the United States has shifted over time.

One of the major export categories of the United States comprises of services. This trading category includes consulting, technology, and other high-skilled professions. These services make up a major portion of the trading relationships the United States is party to, especially with China. Given the continued growth of United States service sector and the growing trade relationship between the United States and China in this area, protecting these jobs may be one of the main priorities of members of Congress who represent districts have a high percentage of highly skilled workers.

H1: Members of Congress with higher levels of highly skilled workers in their district are less likely to support hostile measures toward China

Protecting jobs in one's district isn't restricted to protecting American services. While services is a growing part of the trade relationship between the United States and China, a lot of goods produced in the United States are still exported to China. Supporting hostile measures toward China has the potential to damage the trade relationship between the two countries. Damaging the trade relationship could lead to China retaliating by blocking imports from United State and, therefore, harming businesses that do have a relationship with China. Thus, members of Congress have to consider the interests and potential profits local businesses have in China when making decisions.

H2: Members of Congress from districts that benefit more from exporting goods to China are less likely to support hostile measures toward China

Ensuring the security of American jobs and interest takes many forms. As mentioned above protecting the high-skilled services sector of the economy and protecting those who conduct business with China, by exports good, are ways that favorable trading practices with China benefit certain members of the population, but there are ways to achieve the same goal of protecting American jobs and the American economy that does

not endorse favorable trading practices. China is one of the world leading exporters of goods and the United States is a leading recipient of Chinese goods. Given that, local products have to compete with cheaper Chinese goods being imported into the United States. In order to protect local businesses, a member of Congress may vote to hurt Chinese trade and business practices with hopes to boost local production and business.

H3: Members of Congress from districts that suffer as a result of importing goods from China are more likely to support hostile measures toward China.

The economic impact of trade on constituents tackles some of the fundamental economic concepts that impact citizens like protecting American jobs either through protecting American exports or protecting local businesses by ensuring the competitiveness of local products. Economic welfare is one of the most important concerns of citizens. Given the considerable amount of influence that constituents have over whether or not their representative remains in Congress is why their concerns must be taken into account.

II. Committee Theoretical Framework

Looking at the factors that contribute to the decision-making process has to include the beliefs of their constituents because they are the ones who vote members of Congress into office, but constituent concerns are not the only factors involved. Congress handles many issues in different policy areas. Some of these issues are simple, but a lot of them are complex and require a more detailed understanding. The foreign policy of the United States is one of those complex issues that could require specialists. The relationship between the United States and other states in the international community has a foundation that is based on many different types of issues from diplomatic to military to economic.

It has been established that trade is an economic issue that could directly impact citizens of the United States, but trade can be seen as having greater implications. Trade

policy is considered a form of foreign policy given that trading relationships can happen between two countries. As a foreign policy tool, trade can be used to build a strong partnership between countries or it can also be used to punish another country for its actions. The economic benefit to the United States is one of the outcomes members of Congress must consider when voting on this issue. While economic concerns can be taken into account, they are not the only concerns members of Congress examine when reviewing trade policy.

Another concern that must be considered when conducting foreign policy is one related to security. Assessing the security concern of any foreign policy deal is important because it determines whether or not the United States is putting itself in a vulnerable position. Some liberal international relations theorists suggest that a trading partnership between countries leads to friendly relations and this theory has been repeatedly tested over time (Polachek 1980; Russett and Oneal 2001). Most of these past studies focus primarily on militarized conflict or the lack thereof between countries. Military conflict is not the only obstacle that needs to be avoided in order to maintain a relationship. Security concerns have evolved past just armed military conflict between countries. Asking whether foreign policy concerns influence decisions regarding trade is important because it differs from the liberal theories about trade and conflict and it also begins to look at the question of what the preferences of policymakers are regarding security issues. Seeing a country as a security threat provides reason and opportunity to support hostile foreign policies.

Foreign policy is an issue that the American public has very little interest in and their knowledge of the subject is limited. In order to make decisions regarding foreign policy issues, members of Congress may have to look elsewhere to receive their cues. One

feature of Congress that is designed to help members of Congress acquire more specifics regarding issues is the extensive congressional committee system. Committees allow members of Congress to hear expert opinions, work with specialized researchers and staff members, and develop expertise in the area the committee has jurisdiction over. Studying committee membership can help to see if members of Congress who might have more knowledge regarding an issue vote differently from their colleagues.

The committee system in Congress is large and covers almost every topic that they could potentially have to encounter. When looking at the topic of this study, there are a few committees that might have detailed opinions about the implications of supporting hostile measure toward China. In the House of Representatives, one of the committees that handles jurisdiction over trading policy is the Ways and Means Committee. They are tasked with looking at issues such as import trade matters, unfair import practices, bilateral trade negotiations, international rules, organizations and institutional aspects of international trade agreements and export policy. Their jurisdiction covers both the economic impact policies might have on constituents, along with covering the complex side of trade policy, members of Congress cannot rely on their constituents to provide.

H4: Members of Congress serving on the House Ways and Means Committee vote differently than their House colleagues.

Outside of the economic concern associated with these hostile measures, there are other factors to consider and those details fall under the jurisdiction of other committees. As a foreign policy tool, it may be wise to look at a committee with jurisdiction over matters of Foreign Affairs. While the role of conducting foreign policy may reside primarily within the domain of the executive branch, Congress can play a role. The House Foreign Affairs Committee is the body that has primary jurisdiction over the matter of foreign policy in the

House of Representatives. They have jurisdiction over issues such as relations with other countries as well as some jurisdiction over identifying emerging security threats. The committee also has jurisdiction over agencies such as the U.S. Trade and Development Agency and the Export-Import Bank. The foreign policy aspect of this study warrants inclusion of this committee.

H5: Members of Congress serving on the House Foreign Affairs Committee vote differently than their House colleagues.

Threat perception is another factor members of Congress take into consideration when making decisions. Viewing another country as a threat can lead to members of Congress treating them as such and, therefore, voting for a measure that is aimed at harming them. Security issues are important to members of Congress and constituents and, therefore, members of Congress are concerned with making sure that the United States is protected. The committee tasked with monitoring military and security issues is the House Armed Services Committee. Their jurisdiction includes all aspects of the tools that keeps the United States safe, as well as holding some jurisdiction over identifying emerging security threats. The security and threat perception issues that the House Armed Services Committee deals with justifies including it in this study.

H6: Members of Congress serving on the House Armed Services Committee vote differently than their House colleagues.

CHAPTER 6

DATA

Considering the hypotheses listed above, the remaining sections of this project will be spent analyzing data regard congressional decision-making toward trade policy. For this project, the data use can be separated into two parts. The first part of the data was generated by Katja Kleinberg and Benjamin Fordham of Binghamton University. The data include votes on three hostile trade and security proposals toward China during the 109th Congress for the House of Representatives. All three proposal were included in this study because they have parts that address both the questions of trade and security and received a recorded vote. The first proposal was the East Asia Security Act of 2005. This bill was selected because it targets the trading practices of China. The proposal enforces an embargo on the exports of weapons and other weapons-related technology and products to China by the United States military and its military allies. It also addresses the security concerns associated with China by attempting to harm the Chinese military and their weapons industry.

The second proposal used was an amendment to the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006. The trading aspect of the amendment bans the uses of the money from the Export-Import Bank of the United States from funding nuclear projects in China. The bank helps foreign customers accept credit risk by financing and insuring purchases of United States goods. Targeting the nuclear programs of China is how the amendment tackles the security threat China poses. China is

currently the only nuclear weapons state, that has signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, that is ignoring the disarmament requirement by increasing their nuclear arsenal.

The last proposal included in the study is an amendment to the Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 2006. This amendment hindered the growth of the Chinese economy and their energy trading potential by eliminating the possibility of the Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation from acquiring major US energy companies. It also was designed to protect American security, economic, and energy interest by preventing or delaying China from gaining a foothold in domestic industries.

Using the voting data from above as a dependent variable, two separate tests will be run in order to examine the influence constituents and committee assignments might play in the decision-making process. A growing sector of the trading relationship is being filled by highly-skilled services that the United States provides China. H1 test the impact of the sector of the economy on decision-making. As part of the first test, this study looks at the whether or not members of Congress representing districts with a high percentage jobs based on highly-skilled services vote to protect them by protecting the trade relationship with China. The data associated with this variable is measured by using administrative, managerial, executive, and professional sectors of the economy. The percentage of working age individuals in these positions is taken from each congressional district from the 2000 United States Census.

The other independent variables used to test whether or not constituent pressures influence congressional decision-making in this study are measured similarly. The two variables measure the Export Orientation and Import Sensitivity connected to China for

each district. Export Orientation is designed to capture the benefits to a district based on their exports to China. Import Sensitivity captures the losses suffered by a district based on how much their local industries compete with Chinese imports. The data measures the size of each of the seven tradable sectors in the economy for each congressional district collected from the United States Census Bureau. The seven sectors that the Census Bureau breaks the economy into includes Construction, Government, International Trade, Manufacturing, Retail Trade, Services, and Wholesale Trade. Each sector was then assigned a weight in the district's economy depending on its share of total employment within a district. Once the data was collected each congressional districts was looked to create an export orientation variable for each district. This variable was created using both the gross economic output data and export data, specifically exports to China, for each district. The exports to China as a percentage of gross economic output, of a district, was the final formula for creating an export orientation variable. A similar process was used to calculate the import sensitivity variable. The sum of Chinese imports into a district was taken as a percentage of total imports into the district to create an import sensitivity variable.

The other side of this study looks at the potential influence of committee assignment may have on congressional decision-making. Membership on committees with jurisdiction over trade, foreign policy, and security matters will be covered in these variables. The Ways and Means variable measures whether a member of Congress served on the House Ways and Means Committee during the 109th Congress. Looking at the foreign relations aspect of the study the Foreign Affairs variable captures members of the House Foreign Affairs committee. The last committee variable will test membership on the House Armed

Services Committee to capture membership on the committee tasked with addressing security concerns. These three committees cover the foreign policy, national security, and defense, and trade jurisdictions needed for this study.

Political ideology will also be used as a control given the defense and security aspects associated with this paper. Previous studies have shown the ideology can be a more important than constituent interest when looking at voting behavior regarding security issues (Bernstein and Anthony 1974; Lindsay and Ripley 1992). Poole and Rosenthal's first dimension of the DW-NOMINATE scores are used to measure ideology, similar to most literature on roll-call data.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Vote supporting measure hostile to China	.680	.47	0	1
High-skill workers as a proportion of working-age population in district in 2000 Census	.148	.07	.148	.582
Export orientation toward China in district, 2005	.003	.001	.002	.008
Sensitivity to Chinese imports in district, 2005	.009	.004	.002	.021
First dimension of DW-NOMINATE score, 109th Congress	.057	.44	-.730	.999
Foreign Affairs Committee Membership	.112	.32	0	1
Armed Services Committee Membership	.142	.35	0	1
Ways and Means Committee Membership	.089	.28	0	1

**Table 2: Constituent Model (Logit):
The East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	1.516	1.037	1.416	.144
High Skill	-.287	1.971	-.145	.884
Export Orientation	-135.653	210.971	-.643	.520
Import Sensitivity	27.580	46.581	.592	.554
Ideology	-1.591	.290	-5.479	.000*
Observations	426			

Table 2: * $p < .05$

**Table 3: Constituent Model (Logit):
Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act
of 2006 (HAMDT 381 to H.R. 3057)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	4.172	1.143	3.650	.000 *
High Skill	-6.719	2.058	-3.264	.001 *
Export Orientation	-212.583	236.914	-.897	.370
Import Sensitivity	33.659	52.127	.646	.518
Ideology	-1.388	.309	-4.487	.000 *
Observations	424			

Table 4: * $p < .05$

**Table 4: Constituent Model (Logit):
Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the
District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006
(HAMDT 431 to H.R. 3058)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	1.396	.850	1.642	.101
High Skill	-2.872	1.587	-1.809	.070
Export Orientation	-148.918	188.824	-.789	.430
Import Sensitivity	10.748	41.971	.256	.798
Ideology	.252	.234	1.082	.279
Observations	418			

Table 4: * $p < .05$

Tables 2, 3, and 4 present the results of the first model tested in this paper. That model looks at the influence of constituent factors on the decision-making process for members of Congress on three roll-call votes on China policy selected from the 109th Congress. All three measures were hostile to China, so the hypothesized results were the same for each vote. The results from this model show that all three independent variables behave in the hypothesized directions on each of the three votes cast. The only vote to show statistically significant results related to any of the three independent variables was the vote on an amendment (HAMDT 381) to the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006 (H.R. 3057).

For the other votes and the other independent variables the results were not statistically significant. Ideology was also included, as a control variable, in order to control for liberal–conservative beliefs of members. The ideological measure for members is indicated by adding the first dimension DW-NOMINATE scores of members to the model. As a control measure, ideology was a statistically significant variable. It proved to be significant for two of the three votes, the East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100) and the amendment (HAMD T 381) to the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006 (H.R. 3057), tested in this study. When ideology was significant it showed that being a liberal members of Congress, according to NOMINATE scores, increases the probability of supporting hostile measures. Studies conducted previously suggest that conservatives place more emphasis on national security concerns than liberals do, but the results show the opposite. However, liberal view of free markets and trading practices could account for this finding.

**Table 5: Committee Model (Logit):
The East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	1.198	.149	8.051	.000*
Foreign Affairs	.817	.424	1.925	.054
Armed Services	-.166	.326	-.508	.612
Ways and Means	-.292	.384	-.761	.447
Ideology	-1.650	.289	-5.719	.000*
Observations	426			

*Table 5: *p < .05*

**Table 6: Committee Model (Logit):
Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act
of 2006 (HAMDT 381 to H.R. 3057)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	1.541	.161	9.547	.000*
Foreign Affairs	.222	.408	.545	.586
Armed Services	-.043	.352	-.123	.902
Ways and Means	-.737	.385	-1.915	.056
Ideology	-1.364	.302	-4.511	.000*
Observations	424			

Table 6: * $p < .05$

**Table 7: Committee Model (Logit):
Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the
District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006
(HAMDT 431 to H.R. 3058)**

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	3.038	.340	8.930	.000*
Foreign Affairs	.838	.547	1.532	.126
Armed Services	-.109	.435	-.249	.803
Ways and Means	-1.038	.546	-1.900	.058
Ideology	-3.844	.474	-8.114	.000*
Observations	418			

Table 7: * $p < .05$

The other model tested in this study looked at the effect of committee assignment on a member of Congress's decision-making process. The results are presented in tables 5, 6, and 7. This model looks at three committees in order to three different factors that could contribute or bias a member's decision. The Foreign Affairs Committees tries to capture the feelings members of Congress have regarding the diplomatic relationship impacted by trade, especially the increasing complex diplomatic relationship the United States has with China. The Armed Service Committee measure was selected to highlight the growing national security concern surrounding China and the impact that might have on trade. The last committee tested is the Ways and Means. The inclusion of this committee was due to their jurisdiction over trade and fiscal policy in the House of Representatives.

The results of the test run on all 3 votes did not generate any statistically significant results related to the independent variables. Ideology was also included in this model, as a control variable. Like the model that test constituency factors, ideological proved to be a statistically significant variable. These test results showed that ideology was significant for two of the three votes tested. The East Asia Security Act of 2005 (H.R. 3100 the amendment (HAMDT 381) to the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 2006 (H.R. 3057), and the amendment to the Transportation, Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, the Judiciary, the District of Columbia, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 2006 (HAMDT 431 to H.R. 3058) were the three votes where ideology was significant. Like the previous model, it showed that being a liberal members of Congress, according to NOMINATE scores, increases the probability of supporting hostile measures.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The desired outcome of the paper was to add a more focused look at congressional decision-making. Within political science, the literature surrounding Congress is large and well researched. Topics can range from congressional elections to generalized congressional decision-making. While this paper looks at congressional decision-making, like many others within the discipline, it takes a slightly different approach. Congressional decision-making is a very broad topic and research on this topic can take many forms. A lot of previous studies have taken a more general approach and looked at what factors influence the decision-making process as a whole. The approach this paper took is working under the assumption that while there are factors that may be constant from one decision to the next for members of Congress, a lot of the issues that Congress faces are fundamentally different from one another and, therefore, the decision-making process may be altered slightly from the previous issue a member of Congress dealt with or maybe even changed completely. Trade is one of those issues that could fall into that category because of the inherent complexity associated with it. Trade policy has economic and technical aspects that increase its complexity. Trade also has the ability to influence foreign and domestic policy making it a tougher issue to make decisions on. Using trade as the basis of this paper was an attempt at providing an example of an issue where members of Congress may have to use different decision-making tools in order to come to a final decision, while the

discipline is again well researched when it comes to congressional decision-making, this paper attempts to add a new element.

The data collected and evidence examined in the study shows that there is little support for the theory laid out in this paper. When members of Congress are faced with votes regarding trade policy, the economic characteristics of constituents measured in this paper provide little evidence that they influence the congressional decision-making process. The measure capturing employment in the high skilled services sector of the economy showed some signs of support for the theory, however, the others measures that were also designed to test the importance of trading goods by using imports and exports showed movement but were not statistically significant. Overall, the support for the constituent based hypotheses was limited. Looking at the other data that was collected and tested in this study, there is also very little support for the argument that members of Congress can remove themselves from the needs of their constituents and look at the bigger picture and make decisions based on a national view when it comes to trade policy. The results from the tests on members of the Foreign Affairs, Armed Services, and Ways and Means Committees in the House of Representatives showed some activity, but not enough to suggest a concrete relationship.

The lack of evidence in this study doesn't take away the ability to learn from the result or the idea generated in this paper. While this is not a licensing everyone to believe that members of Congress always ignore their constituents and vote with their committee and national interest in mind or vice versa. These, however, show that the important factors to consider can change from issue to issue. If members of Congress were to always ignore their constituents they would soon be unemployed and unable to advocate for

anyone. If they always ignore the needs of the United States and the greater good, then it is hard to make progress. While the intent of this study helps to show that there is no real concrete answer to the debate between constituent interests versus national interests, the closest answer to that question might be it depends.

Like with most studies, this one has limitations. The analysis conducted here limits how much a conclusion one can draw from the results. While some bills that make it out of Congress and eventually receive a presidential signature that is not always the case and even when it is the law may need time to show results. Two of the measures used in this study eventually did not succeed and, therefore never became law. While Congress does have some limited power over the foreign policy of the United States, the President and other executive branch officials can halt the process if they feel it harm the overall interest of the United States. Also, these measures may have lasting effects regardless of final passage because other states remember that hostile measures were even considered and take that into account when conducting foreign policy.

The limited scope of the study raises generalizability questions about the result. While this paper was designed to have a narrow focus, generalizability could still be a problem. This study only looks at the bilateral relationship between the United States and China. While many believe that the relationship between these two states will shape global politics and the global economic environment in the 21st Century, one must remember that the United States have many different trade relationships with states that may or may not pose both an economic threat and/or a security threat. There is the potential for the United States to be a close ally of a state, but lose the trade battle and, therefore that could influence decision-making in Congress. There is also the potential for the United States to benefit

greatly from a trading partnership, but that state could pose a national security concern. Attempts have been made in the past by Congress to influence trade with a potential adversary, once example would be Congress trying to force Europe into sanction against Cuba. Even though examining these bilateral relationships is important, one could argue that these are isolated incidents, but the importance of trying to determine how members of Congress make decisions, even on narrow issues, is an important addition to the discipline.

REFERENCES

- Adler, E. Scott, and John S. Lapinski. "Demand-side theory and congressional committee composition: A constituency characteristics approach." *American Journal of Political Science* (1997): 895-918.
- Asher, Herbert B. "Committees and the Norm of Specialization." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 411.1 (1974): 63-74.
- Bailey, Michael, and David W. Brady. "Heterogeneity and representation: The senate and free trade." *American Journal of Political Science* (1998): 524-544.
- Baldwin, Robert E., and Christopher S. Magee. "Is trade policy for sale? Congressional voting on recent trade bills." *Public Choice* (2000): 79-101.
- Bardwell, Kedron. "The Puzzling Decline in House Support for Free Trade: Was Fast Track a Referendum on NAFTA?." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (2000): 591-610.
- Beaulieu, Eugene. "The Stolper-Samuelson Theorem Faces Congress." *Review of International Economics* (2002): 343-360.
- Bergsten, C. Fred, and Joseph E. Gagnon. *Currency manipulation, the US economy, and the global economic order*. Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2012.
- Bialos, Jeffrey P., and Kenneth I. Juster. "Libyan Sanctions: A Rational Response to State-Sponsored Terrorism, The." *Va. J. Int'l L.* (1985): 799.
- Biglaiser, Glen, David J. Jackson, and Jeffrey S. Peake. "Back on Track Support for Presidential Trade Authority in the House of Representatives." *American Politics Research* (2004): 679-697.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Laura W. Arnold, and Christopher JW Zorn. "The strategic timing of position taking in Congress: A study of the North American Free Trade Agreement." *American Political Science Review* (1997): 324-338.
- Bullock III, Charles S. "Motivations for US Congressional Committee Preferences: Freshmen of the 92nd Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1976): 201-212.
- Caspary, William R. "The "mood theory": A study of public opinion and foreign policy." *American Political Science Review* (1970): 536-547.
- Choi, Youngmi. "Constituency, Ideology, and Economic Interests in US Congressional Voting The Case of the US–Korea Free Trade Agreement." *Political Research Quarterly* (2015)

- Clinton, Joshua D. "Representation in Congress: constituents and roll calls in the 106th House." *Journal of Politics* (2006): 397-409.
- Collins, Stephen D. "Dissuading state support of terrorism: Strikes or sanctions?(An analysis of dissuasion measures employed against Libya)." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2004): 1-18.
- Commerce, Department Of. "Trade in Goods with China." Foreign Trade. 12 Dec. 2015. Web. 22 Mar. 2016.
- Cooper, Joseph. "The origins of the standing committees and the development of the modern House." Rice Institute Pamphlet-Rice University Studies 56.3 (1970).
- Cooper, Richard N. "Trade policy is foreign policy." *Foreign Policy* (1972): 18-36.
- Deckard, Barbara Sinclair. "Political upheaval and congressional voting: The effects of the 1960s on voting patterns in the House of Representatives." *The Journal of Politics* 38.02 (1976): 326-345.
- Diermeier, Daniel, and Timothy J. Feddersen. "Information and congressional hearings." *American Journal of Political Science* (2000): 51-65.
- Dyson, James W., and John W. Soule. "Congressional Committee Behavior on Roll Call Votes: The US House of Representatives, 1955-64." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* (1970): 626-647.
- Esterling, Kevin M. "Buying expertise: Campaign contributions and attention to policy analysis in congressional committees." *American Political Science Review* 101.01 (2007): 93-109.
- Eulau, Heinz, et al. "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke." *American Political Science Review* 53.03 (1959): 742-756.
- Fenno, Richard F. "US House members in their constituencies: An exploration." *American Political Science Review* (1977): 883-917.
- Fenno, Richard F. *Congressmen in committees*. Little, Brown, 1973.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Katja B. Kleinberg. "International trade and US relations with China." *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2011): 217-236.
- Fowler, Linda L., Scott R. Douglass, and Wesley D. Clark. "The electoral effects of house committee assignments." *The Journal of Politics* (1980): 307-319.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. "The future of US-China relations: Is conflict inevitable?." *International security* (2005): 7-45.

- Gilligan, Thomas W., and Keith Krehbiel. "Organization of informative committees by a rational legislature." *American Journal of Political Science* (1990): 531-564.
- Goldstein, Avery. "First things first: The pressing danger of crisis instability in US-China relations." *International Security* (2013): 49-89.
- Goldstein, Judith. "Ideas, institutions, and American trade policy." *International Organization* (1988): 179-217.
- Goss, Carol F. "Military committee membership and defense-related benefits in the House of Representatives." *The Western Political Quarterly* (1972): 215-233.
- Grier, Kevin B., and Michael C. Munger. "Committee assignments, constituent preferences, and campaign contributions." *Economic Inquiry* 29.1 (1991): 24-43.
- Grimmett, Richard F. "Foreign policy roles of the president and congress." Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1999.
- Hedlund, Ronald D. "Organizational Attributes of Legislative Institutions: Structure, Rules, Norms, Resources." *Handbook of Legislative Research*(1985): 321-394.
- Holian, David B., Timothy B. Krebs, and Michael H. Walsh. "Constituency opinion, Ross Perot, and roll-call behavior in the US House: The case of the NAFTA." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1997): 369-392.
- Ikenberry, G. John. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West." *FOREIGN AFFAIRS-NEW YORK*- 87.1 (2008): 23.
- Jones, Charles O. "Representation in congress: The case of the house agriculture committee." *American Political Science Review* (1961): 358-367.
- Kan, Shirley A. "US-China Military Contacts: Issues for Congress." Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 2013.
- Kleinberg, Katja B., and Benjamin O. Fordham. "The Domestic Politics of Trade and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* (2013): 605-619.
- Koger, Gregory. "Position taking and cosponsorship in the US House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (2003): 225-246.
- Krehbiel, Keith. *Information and legislative organization*. University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Lampton, David M. "The three faces of Chinese power." *Might, Money, and Minds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA. University of California Press (2008).

- Lebo, Matthew J., Adam J. McGlynn, and Gregory Koger. "Strategic party government: Party influence in Congress, 1789–2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 51.3 (2007): 464-481.
- Lohmann, Susanne, and Sharyn O'Halloran. "Divided government and US trade policy: theory and evidence." *International Organization* (1994): 595-632.
- Martin, Andrew D. "Congressional decision making and the separation of powers." American Political Science Association. Vol. 95. No. 02. Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Mayhew, David R. *Congress: The electoral connection*. Yale University Press, 1974.
- Miller, Wakken E., and Donald E. Stokes. "Constituency influence in Congress." *American Political Science Review* (1963): 45-56.
- Morrison, Wayne M. "China-US trade issues." (2011).
- Munger, Michael C. "Allocation of desirable committee assignments: Extended queues versus committee expansion." *American Journal of Political Science* (1988): 317-344.
- Nollen, Stanley D., and Dennis P. Quinn. "Free trade, fair trade, strategic trade, and protectionism in the US Congress, 1987–88." *International Organization* (1994): 491-525.
- Peltzman, Sam. "Constituent interest and congressional voting." *JL & Econ.* 27 (1984): 181.
- Polachek, Solomon William. "Conflict and trade." *Journal of Conflict resolution* 24.1 (1980): 55-78.
- Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal. *Congress: A political-economic history of roll call voting*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Ray, Bruce A. "Military committee membership in the house of representatives and the allocation of defense department outlays." *The Western Political Quarterly* (1981): 222-234.
- Rivers, Douglas, and Nancy L. Rose. "Passing the president's program: Public opinion and presidential influence in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* (1985): 183-196.
- Rogowski, Ronald. "Commerce and coalitions: How trade affects domestic political alignments." Princeton, NJ (1989).
- Ross, Robert S. "International bargaining and domestic politics: US-China relations since 1972." *World Politics* (1986): 255-287.

- Roy, Denny. "Hegemon on the horizon? China's threat to East Asian security." *International Security* (1994): 149-168.
- Russett, Bruce, and John Oneal. "Triangulating peace." *Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*, New York (2001).
- Treasury, Department Of. "MAJOR FOREIGN HOLDERS OF TREASURY SECURITIES." 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 22 Mar. 2016.
- Uscinski, Joseph, et al. "Congress and foreign policy: Congressional action on the Darfur genocide." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42.03 (2009): 489-496.
- Whalen, Richard J., and R. Christopher Whalen. *Trade Warriors: The Guide to the Politics of Trade and Foreign Investment*. University Press of Amer, 1990.
- Whiteman, David. "The fate of policy analysis in congressional decision making: Three types of use in committees." *The Western Political Quarterly* (1985): 294-311.
- Wike, Richard " 6 facts about how Americans and Chinese see each other." Pew Research Center. Pew Research Center. 22 Sept. 2015. Web. 13. Dec. 2015.
- Wink, Kenneth A., C. Don Livingston, and James C. Garand. "Dispositions, constituencies, and cross-pressures: Modeling roll-call voting on the North American Free Trade Agreement in the US House." *Political Research Quarterly* (1996): 749-770.
- Winters, L. Alan. "Trade Liberalisation and Economic Performance: An Overview*." *The Economic Journal* (2004): F4-F21.
- Xie, Tao. "Congressional Roll Call Voting on China Trade Policy." *American Politics Research* (2006): 732-758.
- Zhang, Hui. "How US restraint can keep China's nuclear arsenal small." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (2012): 73-82.
- Zwier, Robert. "The search for information: Specialists and nonspecialists in the US House of Representatives." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1979): 31-42.