

ANTI-CHINA RHETORIC, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN  
POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

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By

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# ANTI-CHINA RHETORIC, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

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## ABSTRACT

Is anti-China rhetoric an effective strategy in U.S. presidential campaigns? If the answer is Yes, then to what extent does anti-China rhetoric affect them? If the answer is No, then why have so many presidential candidates used anti-China rhetoric in recent campaigns? Is anti-China rhetoric only election-driven? Is it also policy-driven? Do presidential candidates use anti-China rhetoric to seek voter support, as well as propose changes in U.S. foreign policy towards China?

Conventional wisdom and scholars like Robert Sutter suggest that foreign policy has little effect on American presidential elections and anti-foreign rhetoric by presidential candidates does not matter to American foreign policy and foreign relations. In this dissertation, however, I argue the opposite that anti-China rhetoric exercises significant influence on American presidential elections and foreign policy towards China. The dissertation addresses two fundamental questions: 1) what is the effect of anti-China rhetoric on American presidential elections? And 2) what is the effect of anti-China rhetoric on American foreign policy towards China, American public opinion towards China, and U.S.-China relationship? To answer the first question about elections, I focus on televised campaign commercials and statistically estimate the effect of anti-China rhetoric on seeking voter support in the presidential election. The data I examine come from the “Wisconsin Advertising Project” and various election polls in 2008. I

answer the second question about foreign policy by exploring the contents of anti-China rhetoric in campaign activities including ads, candidates' speeches and debates, and public statements about policy towards China and how that rhetoric affects subsequent American foreign policy towards China, as well as public opinion of China and U.S.-China relations. My statistical and qualitative analyses find that airing ads using anti-China rhetoric increases the presidential candidate's voter support in target states; that the administration is more likely to make tough foreign policies towards China when there is more anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates; and thirdly, that anti-China rhetoric during the election year negatively affects American opinions of China but produces a positive impact on U.S.-China relations.

I want to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Stephen Wayne, and dissertation committee members, Hans Noel and Kristen Looney. They have given invaluable inspiration, guidance, and support to my study with their profound knowledge and wisdom in the fields of American politics and foreign policy towards China. My gratitude is extended to the Faculty of the Department of Government and the colleagues I have worked with at Georgetown. I am proud of being a part of the rich academic community created by them, and I have greatly benefited from them.

Many thanks,

Xiaodong Fang

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## Introduction

Anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign has been widely reported and discussed in news media in recent years. However, few academic studies using scientific methodology have shed light on this phenomenon. Are anti-China rhetoric strategies useful? What impact (if any) does the anti-China rhetoric have on voters? Is it an effective strategy for presidential candidates to spend millions of dollars airing anti-China ads? Has anti-China rhetoric affected the American public's perception of China? Are anti-China rhetoric ads policy-oriented? Has anti-China rhetoric oriented U.S. foreign policy making towards China and affected the U.S.-China relations? These questions, underexplored in the literature, are examined in the dissertation.

Conventional wisdom suggests that foreign policy issues have little effect on U.S. presidential elections and anti-China rhetoric during campaigns does not matter to U.S.-China relations.<sup>1 and 2</sup> However, I argue that anti-China rhetoric and China issue can make a difference. In this dissertation, I examine the effect of anti-China rhetoric on the U.S. presidential elections through a systematic analysis of campaign advertising, election results and polls, and U.S. policy towards China in the election years 2008 and 2012. I also conduct qualitative analyses of anti-China rhetoric in campaign speeches and debates to examine if anti-China rhetoric strategies affect U.S. foreign policy and American public opinions of China. If so, how they have done so. The findings of the study contribute to the literature on presidential campaigns, foreign policy, and China issues, as

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<sup>1</sup> Compared to domestic policies, foreign policies appear to have negligible impact on voting behavior because American voters possess little information and weak attitudes on foreign affairs, and domestic issues have more direct and immediate consequences on people's lives (e.g. Almond 1950).

<sup>2</sup> For example, Robert Sutter (1998) suggested that U.S.-China relations were following a historical trend and independent from other factors.

well as provide valuable insights for understanding anti-China campaign rhetoric's past, present, and future.

The thesis proceeds as follows. In Chapter 1, I introduce the subject of anti-China rhetoric in U.S. presidential elections. In Chapter 2, I review the related literature on campaign advertising and the foreign policy process and identify the weaknesses in the existing literature. In Chapter 3, I conduct a statistical analysis of anti-China rhetoric in the campaign advertisement. In Chapter 4, I explore the anti-China rhetoric strategies of various campaigns to anticipate their possible effect on foreign policy and public opinion. In Chapter 5, I conduct case studies on China's trade and currency issues to support my argument that anti-China rhetoric during presidential campaigns affects the American foreign policy towards China and U.S.-China relations. In Chapter 6, I conclude the thesis with a discussion of significance, limitations and suggestions for future research.

## **Chapter 1. Background of Anti-China Rhetoric in U.S. Presidential Campaigns**

### **1.1 Foreign Bashing**

“Political ads are the leading indicator of the next set of policies.”

--- Evan Tracey,  
President of the Campaign Media Analysis Group  
October 29, 2010

Foreign bashing is not uncommon in American politics. In the Cold War era, as the Soviet Union’s military might posed a threat to the U.S. global security interests and the growing Japanese economy invaded the U.S. electronic and automotive markets, the anti-Soviet and anti-Japan rhetoric became weapons in the public relations war being waged in Washington over U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Japan policy. Though anti-Soviet and anti-Japan rhetoric were widely reported in news media and used in campaign activities, they played little role in shaping voter preferences in U.S. presidential election, as well as in American foreign policy making towards the Soviet Union and Japan (Ornstein 1992). As the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and Japan’s “bubble economy” burst in the late 1980s and went into recession, the bashing subsided.

### **1.2 Anti-China Rhetoric**

The anti-China rhetoric in recent presidential elections is more influential than the anti-Soviet and anti-Japan rhetoric in 1980’s and 1990’s: it arouses more public concern on a rising power that poses both economy and military threats to the U.S. leadership in the current international order; it raises prominent issues with China, including job outsourcing and unfair trade, that affected the recessional and/or recovering domestic economy and job market in U.S.; and it happens at a time when campaign finance is less

limited, and media and interest groups play greater roles in shaping voter preference than before.

Since the end of the Cold War, China has undertaken dramatic military and economic growth that poses a threat to America's leadership and interests in the current international arena, portending the possible decline of the American influence in East Asia. During the financial crisis that began in 2007 and continued through the 2008 presidential election, economic growth in the United States declined, while China's economy continued grew. The average annual change of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the U.S. was +0.8% from 2007 to 2012, while the average annual change in GDP in China was +10.1% during the same period.<sup>3</sup> A Pew survey in 2009 found that 41 percent of the American public said the United States played a less important and powerful role as a world leader today than it did 10 years earlier; and 44 percent of the American public in 2009 said China was the world's leading economic power, while just 27% named the United States.<sup>4</sup> "With the economy in recession, America had fewer carrots and fewer sticks with which to influence the behavior of other states. Voters had to consider how each candidate would perform in a world that was increasingly dominated by Chinese interests and which candidate was best equipped to work

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<sup>3</sup> Data Source: GDP growth page on The World Bank website <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>.

<sup>4</sup> Results for the general public survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI Inc. among a national sample of 2,000 adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older, from October 28-November 8, 2009. See "U.S. Seen as Less Important, China as More Powerful," Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. December 3, 2009. <http://www.people-press.org/2009/12/03/us-seen-as-less-important-china-as-more-powerful/>



constructively with China in order to pursue U.S. strategic interests.”<sup>5</sup> According to the dataset of Wisconsin Advertising Project, campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric were aired about 16,000 times throughout the country during the 2008 presidential campaign, which built up to 1.4% of all campaign ads in quantity. Apart from campaign ads, anti-China rhetoric was used in speeches, debates and other public statements throughout the campaign period. The news and reports of the anti-China rhetoric in media coverage further increased its potential influence on voters’ choice and U.S. foreign policy towards China. Over the course of 2012 presidential campaign, 52 articles regarding anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaign were published in the *New York Times*.<sup>6</sup>

It had become a popular strategy for presidential candidates to use China as a scapegoat for America’s domestic woes and accused their opponents of supporting policies that favored China’s boom but harmed American interests. However, the effectiveness of using anti-China rhetoric in seeking voter support and its consequences on U.S. foreign policy towards China has not been substantiated. To bridge the gap, I explore the anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates and use scientific methodologies to examine its effect on voter choice, and on foreign policy in recent presidential campaigns.

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<sup>5</sup> See Richard Komaiko, “China and the US Presidential Election.” *Asia Sentinel*. [www.asiasentinel.com](http://www.asiasentinel.com).

<sup>6</sup> The statistics are calculated based on the publication obtained from the *New York Times*. [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com); The 2012 presidential campaign period indicates the period from Mar.1 to Nov. 6, 2012.

## Chapter 2. Theory of Campaign Advertising Effect and Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy

### 2.1 Theory of Campaign Advertising Effect

Campaign advertising in broadcast media is one of the most important mechanisms that parties, candidates, and interest groups use to appeal to voters. In the 2008 presidential campaign, broadcast media expenditures of both candidates (\$360,748,127) were much higher than those of Internet media (\$43,605,647), print media (\$21,850,368) and miscellaneous media (\$273,784,015).<sup>7</sup> The 2012 presidential campaign witnessed a dramatic increase in TV ads spending: \$896 million were spent on TV ads for both candidates (\$404 million for Barack Obama and \$492 million for Mitt Romney).<sup>8</sup>

Many studies are examining the impact of campaign activities - including campaign advertising - on voter turnout. Some scholars argued that campaign activities mobilized voters (Wielhouwe and Lockerbie 1994; Goldstein and Freedman 2002; Freedman, Franz, and Goldstein 2004; McClurg 2005; Hillygus 2005; and etc.). They believed that campaign activities credited active efforts to campaign aggressively and brought voters to the polls. Wielhouwe and Lockerbie (1994) focused on the party activities from 1952 to 1990 and found that parties continued to be active organizations, and contacted one-fifth to one-quarter of the electorate, an activity that had important consequences. Specifically, when contacted by the parties, individuals had a greater propensity to vote and to engage in other political activities. Holbrook and McClurg

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<sup>7</sup> See Center for Responsive Politics, "Presidential Expenditures for 2008." [www.opensecrets.org/pres08/expenditures](http://www.opensecrets.org/pres08/expenditures)

<sup>8</sup> See *Washington Post*, "Mad Money: TV ads in the 2012 presidential campaign." <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/track-presidential-campaign-ads-2012/>

(2005) argued that voter turnout was positively influenced by presidential campaigns, though not by all campaign activities. They found evidence that campaigns had direct effects on the participation of core partisan groups; and the ability of parties to mobilize their core groups had a strong effect on state electoral success that existed over and above the direct effect of campaign activity on state electoral outcomes (Holbrook and McClurg 2005). Campbell (2000) used aggregated National Election Study data from 1952 to 1996 and found that the relative turnout of partisan groups played a key role in shaping presidential elections at the national level, although this impact was clearly secondary to that of partisan loyalty.

In terms of campaign advertising, Gerber et al. (2011) argued that the effects of televised campaign ads were strong but short-lived. To determine whether paid advertising was capable of producing noticeable shifts in voter support, Gerber et al. (2011) conducted a large-scale experiment involving paid political advertising during the 2006 gubernatorial campaign in Texas. In that study the researchers randomly assigned the launch date and volume of television advertising in each experimental media market to gauge movement in public opinion; the researchers also conducted brief telephone interviews with approximately 1,000 registered voters each day during the opening months (from January to March) of a 2006 gubernatorial campaign, and conducted a brief follow-up interview one month after the conclusion of the television campaign. The results indicated that televised ads had strong but short-lived effects on voting preferences (Gerber et al. 2011). In another study of campaign advertising, Sides and Vavreck (2013) argued that the difference of two candidates' campaign ads in quantity

did shift votes in their favor. They used “Gross Rating Point” (GRPs)<sup>9</sup> obtained from the Nielsen Company to measure the difference between the effects of Obama and Romney’s advertising intensity in June and July 2012, and combined these advertising data with weekly YouGov polls thereby matching each respondent to the advertising in his or her media market. Their statistical analysis suggested that other things being equal, a candidate who had a 100-GRP advantage in a market – about one ad per capita more than his opponent aired – could expect to gain almost an additional point of vote share, compared to a market in which the two candidates were at parity in their televising advertising (Sides and Vavreck 2013). However, they also found that neither presidential candidate was able to pull hard enough for long enough to change the dynamic of the race because two campaigns largely neutralized each other’s efforts (Sides and Vavreck 2013).

### ***The Effect of Negativity***

Negativity is a popular strategy in campaign advertising and is widely debated in campaign effect literature. Some scholars argued that the increased amount of negativity made the electorate more cynical (e.g., Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995, and Ansolabehere et. al. 1999). Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) formulated a theory of demobilization. Their experimental studies of negative political commercials revealed that campaign advertising shrunk the size of the electorate, and attack campaigns drove potential voters away from the polls. Others believed that negative ads stimulated turnout (e.g., Goldstein and Freedman 1999 and 2002; Steven Finkel and Geer 1998; Kahn and Kenney 1999; Wattenberg and Briens 1999; Geer 2006). Wayne (2012) synthesized those

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<sup>9</sup> One GRP is equal to 1 percent of the viewing audience; 1,000 points is ostensibly the equivalent of everyone seeing an ad 10 times (Gerber et. al. 2011).

arguments and concluded that “for knowledgeable partisans, their primary effect is to reinforce rather than challenge their inclinations to support their party’s nominees. Negative advertisements, in particular, seem to generate a strong response from partisans, which solidifies their vote. In this sense, the ads ‘work.’ They prime the electorate; they provide clues for seeing and images for evaluating; and they turn out party voters (Wayne 2012: 280).”

### ***Criticisms on the Effect of Campaign Advertising***

A number of studies, however, questioned the effectiveness of campaign ads. Krasno and Green (2008) argued that campaign ads had little effect on presidential elections. They conducted an experiment using data from Campaign Media Analysis Group (CMAG) to analyze the voting rates in media markets and found that advertising purchased by the presidential campaigns during the final weeks of the 2000 election had negligible effects on voter turnout. Also, they found no evidence to suggest that attack ads promoted or diminished turnout (Krasno and Green 2008).

Although campaign ads could target people likely to vote in the absence of advertising exposure, the effect of campaign ads was also subject to other extraneous factors. Darrell West (2012) traced the evolution of how voters were influenced by these advertising efforts on modern elections from 1952 to 2012 and concluded that the impact of campaign ads was subject to the political environment, the nature of the public opinion, how reporters cover the ads, the ways in which ads were edited and financed, and the strategies of stereotyping, association, demonization, and code words used by campaigners (West 2012). West (2012) also suggested that the method used to make

campaign ads conditioned its effect. For example, recent presidential candidates tended to use social media tools to reach audiences and seek more support.

Though some research assumed a causal relationship between campaign advertising and voters' choice, that assumption was constrained by the problem of external confounding. Since voters' behavior might be independent of the campaign, therefore, the campaign efforts might be spurious (Gerber and Green 2000). Campaign ads might target voters who had already gained sufficient information, because they might also seek out information on their own, such as reading newspapers or watching media coverage of the race, even if they were not targeted. Though campaign ads intended to provide certain information in favor of the candidates, such information might not be the decisive factor for voters' choice.

There are also many longstanding factors that could weaken the effects of campaign ads on voters. Partisanship is a strong motivator for voter turnout and behavior. Rosenblum (2010) mentioned in her book in defense of parties and partisanship that nonaligned American voters tended to be less informed than those with a party affiliation. Sides and Vavreck (2013) argued that people's longstanding identification with a political party was a powerful influence: most people who voted knew how they would vote a year before the general election. Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) argued that demographic characteristics mattered for voting behavior. They used census data from 1972 and 1974 to compare the differences between voters and non-voters and found that the key demographic difference between voters and nonvoters was education, followed by age. Other demographic characteristics such as marriage, registration laws, race, income all mattered, but not much (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). Accordingly,

confounding with those longstanding factors, campaign advertising, as a relatively short-term factor, might provide little new information and exert little influence on voter's choice.

Internal confounding is another problem that the political science literature has addressed. Most of existing studies treated advertising as a combination of different ads and did not take the content of campaign ads into consideration. For example, Martin (2004) treated all the campaign ads as “undifferentiated” individuals and used large-N statistical analysis to find that negative ads mobilized voters, but he did not differentiate the content of those negative ads and therefore failed to specify what kinds of ads mattered, and what kinds of ads did not.

Actions and strategies that campaign advertisements use to appeal to voters vary from one another and may have different effects. For example, “to take a stand on certain policies”, “to send a negative message about someone’s retrospective record” and “to defeat someone’s prospective policy” may produce different effects on voters. Therefore, it may be inappropriate to classify them together into the same category. Also, different issues mentioned in the ads may have different effects on voters. During the economic recession, a campaign advertisement related to an economic issue would probably catch more attention and have greater effects than ads related to other less salient issues. Gallup polls showed that 86% Americans mentioned economic issues as the nation’s most important problem in 2009, while only 16% did in a similar poll conducted in 2007 before the financial crisis.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See Gallup, “Most Important Problem,” <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1675/most-important-problem.aspx>

Laboratory studies can overcome some of the diverse threats to internal validity present in observational studies. By experiment, scholars are usually able to make sure the effect comes from the treatment itself. Experimental studies found that television news and ads could potentially shape public opinion, direct public attention, and influence voter cynicism (Iyengar et. al. 1982; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995; Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). Other laboratory studies indicated that campaign advertisements increased voters' support for the sponsoring candidates (e.g. Kaid 1997; Valentino et. al. 2004). The problem is that laboratory studies are not conducted in a real world setting, so their findings may not parallel the voter responses in the real world. Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) found that negative ads made the electorate more cynical and decreased the voter turnout, but people who were cynical might vote for other reasons than watching negative ads.

Another problem with laboratory researched is that they estimate the short-term campaign effect on voters but underestimate the effect of longstanding factors such as partisanship, age, and education. Similarly, the weekly effect of campaign ads, using GRPs as the measure of advertising volume, might not take into account other factors occurring at the same time.

To overcome the problem of external confounding, my statistical analysis in Chapter 3 looks at the effects of advertising in real world settings. Instead of using GRPs to estimate the weekly effect of campaign ads, I track the ads airing daily, as well as the candidate's support in polls. My objective with using this methodology is to identify and measure the effect of the ads within the context of voters' longstanding prejudgment of a candidate. To overcome the problem of internal confounding, I differentiate the issues



contained in campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric. Here I focus on Obama's "Sold Us Out" ads, which linked John McCain to jobs that were moved overseas. In this way, I seek to estimate the short-term effect of these campaign ads on their target audience.

## **2.2 Domestic Factors of Foreign Policy**

If the ads affect the campaign, do they also affect the administration's foreign policy? Most scholars believed that domestic factors played a great role in foreign policy, and foreign policy was the outcome of both international effects and domestic structures. Katzenstein (1976) offered a comparison of the differences between a state-centered policy network in France and a society-centered policy network in the United States; his case studies on commercial, financial, and energy policies showed that domestic factors must be included in an analysis of foreign economic policies. Northedge (1968) posited that the foreign policy of any country was a product of environmental factors both internal and external. Kissinger (1969) examined the role of domestic structures in a country's relations with other nations in the world system and found that the domestic structure was not irrelevant in any historical period. "At a minimum, it determines the amount of social effect which can be devoted to foreign policy (Kissinger 1969:504)."

The economic contest with Japan in the 1980s and the 1990s, especially the American perception of Japan's unfair trade practices and trade imbalance with America, triggered anti-Japanese rhetoric in the presidential elections. Ornstein (1992) studied the 1992 presidential election and found that the growing anti-Japanese rhetoric in 1992 was positively associated with the public opinion towards Japan. For example, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found in 1991 a significant decline in "warm feelings"

toward Japan among Americans; and 31 percent of American identified Japan as America's greatest security threat in 1992 compared to 8 percent in 1990.<sup>11</sup> He also found that candidates who emphasized anti-Japanese stances did not fare well on the campaign trail. Although Japan-bashing provided early notoriety and an emotional boost, it led to few votes in primaries and caucuses. Democratic Senator Bob Kerrey briefly shot to national prominence with a television spot in New Hampshire, set in a hockey rink, where he warned that if Japan did not open its markets to American products, America reciprocally would close its markets. However, Kerrey dropped his hockey rink commercial after New Hampshire; when asked why during a debate, he responded: "Because it didn't work." Republican challenger Patrick Buchanan even called for abrogation of the U.S. mutual security treaty with Japan but still threw his support to Bush at the Republican National Convention. Ornstein explained that even for those voters who feel threatened by Japan's economic power, it was not a high enough priority to supersede other worries, from the domestic economy to general concerns about leadership among the candidates (1992).

Scholars studying the U.S.-Soviet policy during the Cold War era found a surge of anti-Soviet assertiveness in the year of the election. In short, there was a tendency of presidential candidates to stress foreign policy issues in their campaigns. "If an incumbent is running for reelection, he will seek to disprove the challenger's claims by displaying examples of his own firmness; if non-incumbent challengers are competing against each other, they tend to demonstrate their toughness by promises of tough policies if elected (Nincic 1990)." In his analysis of U.S. Soviet policy and the electoral

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<sup>11</sup> See Ornstein 1992.

connection from 1952 to 1988, Nincic (1990) argued that domestic political rhythms in the presidential campaign substantially shaped American attitudes and policy toward the Soviet Union.

In sum, researchers cited here found that anti-foreign rhetoric by candidates followed the American public opinions of certain foreign countries; though it did not seem to work in seeking voter support in the election, it might affect the future policy decisions. Based on the existing literature of anti-foreign campaign rhetoric, my study continues to explore whether and how does the anti-foreign campaign rhetoric lead the public opinion and affect the foreign policy?

### ***Interest Groups and Foreign Policy***

Presidential candidates rely on the support of various interest groups to run their campaigns. Interest groups also sponsor many campaign ads. Therefore, it is highly probable that presidential candidates' campaign promises in the TV commercials reveal the policy demands of interest groups.

In the United States, there has generally been a shift away from the leadership of a small foreign policy elite toward greater pluralism since the end of the Cold War. A wide range of interest groups has been effective in influencing U.S. foreign policy making. Bennett (2002) argued that members of Congress were vulnerable to transient populist sentiments and interest group pressures because they represented discrete geographic districts and states and faced frequent elections. DeBièvre and Dür (2005) contended that legislators delegated power to the foreign trade bureaucracy so that their clients could obtain better access to the policy that promoted access to foreign markets or exporters, and the policy that promoted protectionism for domestic industries. Drope and Hansen

(2004) also found that campaign contributions and lobbying activities by business and industry interests had an impact on foreign trade policy.

There are other studies, however, that downplayed the role that interest groups played in foreign policy making. Haney (2011) examined the various models of congressional behavior on military issues and found little connection between the interests groups of the defense industry and a vote by a member of Congress (Haney 2011). Grenzke's analysis, based on an examination of 120 PACs in 10 issue areas over four congresses, concluded that PACs contributions do not affect members' voting patterns (1989). Other studies came to similar conclusions (e.g., Wright 1985; Chappell 1982; Wayman 1985; and Welch 1982). Even though the influence that interest groups exerted in foreign policy were not necessarily decisive to the policy itself, the groups still tried to exert influence in campaigns, particularly through campaign contributions and activities.

Regarding China policy, however, there is a dearth of literature on how interest groups affect U.S. foreign policy towards China during campaigns. In the post-Cold War era, studies about interest groups and China shed some light on China's most-favored-nation (MFN) debate. Dietrich (1999) confirmed that there were noteworthy interest group activity and access to decision makers in both Congress and the Clinton administration. The roles of the activity and access in helping set the terms of the debate in policy oversight, in supplying information, and policy analysis, permitted interest groups to have an impact on the early stages of the policy process. However, as policy options were actually weighed and settled on, it was broader domestic political goals and international pressures that ultimately shaped policy choices. Robert Sutter (1998)

explored the MFN debate about China during the George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton administrations and claimed that many of the interest groups were actively involved in the making of U.S. foreign policy toward China after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. But those scholars did not explain specifically how these groups influenced the U.S. foreign policy towards China through presidential campaigns. According to Sutter (2010), U.S.-China relations were following an overall positive historical trend with little indication that the conflicting issues would have a meaningful impact on the two countries' larger foreign relations policies.

Lampton (2002) thought of the relationship between China and the United States as operating on the global, domestic, and individual levels. On the global level, the relationship was characterized by the operation of international organizations and regimes (both worldwide and regional in scope), the operation of international markets, and the behavior of third parties. On the domestic level, the relationship was characterized by the operation of governmental and civic institutions, internal politics, ideologies, and public opinion in China and the United States. On the individual level, the relationship was characterized by the operation of political and societal leaders who had a demonstrated impact on bilateral relations (Lampton 2002). Since the anti-China ads were sponsored by the presidential candidates, political parties, and interest groups, they could be treated as an operation that resides in the second and third level. Lampton (2002) argued that the ability of an individual to alone determine the relationship had declined since the 1970s. "Bill Clinton was almost one year into his second administration before he delivered a comprehensive speech (in October 1997) on China policy to the American people; George H.W. Bush, had a comparatively more integrated view of U.S.-China relations

and certainly devoted more attention to the subject, but he, too, rarely shared his views systematically with the American people. The most notable exception was a little-publicized speech given at Yale University in May 1991, six months after the mass media and interest groups had seized the China policy initiative. The absence of presidential leadership simply means that diverse interest groups and the mass media fill the void (Lampton 2002: 9).”

The presidency was, in traditional models of agenda setting, the primary agenda setter in American politics, particularly in foreign policy. But recently the president’s foreign policy agenda was becoming more responsive to media coverage and international events than in the past (Wood and Peake 1998; Edwards and Wood 1999). Robert Sutter believed that the post-Cold War period had seen substantial changes in the way foreign policy towards China was made in the United States. “There has been a shift away from the elitism of the past and toward a much greater pluralism (Sutter 1998: 11).” Though Sutter was reluctant to believe that interest groups affect the overall U.S.-China relations (2010), he did find that the Clinton administration’s policy “was influenced by campaign contributions from U.S. and foreign donors eager to promote better U.S. relations with China (1998: 4).”

Indeed, foreign policy was not usually the major issue of a presidential campaign.<sup>12</sup> However, the spread of anti-China messaging through the mass media did point out some critical problems on U.S.-China relations, which would probably draw a political leader’s attention. In Kingdon’s three-streams (problem, policy, and politics) model, the problem stream was the first step to create the momentum necessary to place

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<sup>12</sup> Foreign policy issues did play roles in some presidential campaigns, such as the Vietnam War in 1968 and 1972, and the War in Iraq and international terrorism in 2004.

an issue on the public policy agenda (Kingdon 1995). Accordingly, anti-China rhetoric played a role in recognizing problems that had a dramatic impact on U.S. awareness on those issues, which might, in turn, lead to policy change and affect U.S.-China relations. Ramirez (2012) found quantitative evidence that China bashing in U.S. newspapers hurt U.S.-China relations. He developed an index based on the count of articles that were related to China in major U.S. newspapers and also touched on one or more of the following issues: human rights, Tibet, democracy, child labor, and repression, and then examined the effect of bashing on U.S.-China relations, which was indicated by a monthly score measuring the overall relations between U.S. and China (Yan et al. 2009).<sup>13</sup> The results indicated that a one-standard-deviation shock in bashing led to a 0.038 points decline in Yan's Sino-American index after about four months (Ramirez 2012).<sup>14</sup> In other words, anti-China rhetoric in the newspaper had a negative effect on the overall U.S.-China relations.

Ramirez (2012)'s study was, foremost, the first demonstration of the phenomena of anti-China rhetoric in U.S. media markets. However, there were still some unexplored areas the author does not address. First, Ramirez did not specify whether the anti-China rhetoric strategies in a specific time were more influential than those in any other time. Since huge amounts of campaign activities were reported and people were concerned about the election, anti-China rhetoric might play a greater role in influencing foreign

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<sup>13</sup> Yan et al. (2009) have developed a sophisticated measure of Sino-American relations using statements and actions from the Chinese government. The coding process involves the conversion of events related to U.S.-China relations into a uniform scale bounded above by 9, the highest degree of friendship, and below by -9, the most severe degree of confrontation. The Chinese version has updated toward December 2012.

<sup>14</sup> The model uses the increase of "one standard deviation", rather than the increase of one unit.

policy during a presidential election year than in a non-election year. Second, Ramirez developed his model using the data of newspapers reporting and editorials, a relatively objective and neutral media compared to campaign activities. It was entirely possible that campaign activities, which directly bashed China by presidential candidates, parties and other interest groups, had a greater effect on U.S.-China relations than that of China bashing reported by newspapers or indicated in their editorials. Third, Ramirez's model only covered the issue of human rights, Tibet, democracy, child labor, and repression, which ignored the economic issues. Recently presidential campaigns had been more concerned with the economy, making China-related economic issues potentially more important influence in public policy. Therefore, taking a close look at the economic issue was necessary.

To bridge the gaps of existing literature, I focus on the anti-China rhetoric in the election year; differentiate the rhetoric by different presidential candidates; and comprehensively specify the effects of the anti-China rhetoric on different issues, especially economic-related issues.

### **2.3 Permanent Campaign and Campaign Promise**

Carrying out voters' policy choices by the victorious presidential candidate is the underlying rationale of democratic electoral politics. Therefore, presidential elections are not only single-minded contests for office but also encumbered by policy choice.

Krikones (1984) compared presidential campaign promises and the performance of presidents for the period 1912-1976 and found that approximately seventy percent of campaign promises were fulfilled. Fishel (1985) studied presidential campaigns from



Kennedy through Reagan, with case studies devoted to Carter and Reagan, and found that presidential candidates made reasonably specific promises about future domestic policy, and they took those promises seriously. Elected presidents were successful in fulfilling the majority of their most specific pledges. Specifically, approximately two-thirds of their commitments were fulfilled in terms of executive orders or passed by the Congress (Fishel 1985). The PolitiFact.com compiled all the promises that major American politicians made and found that President Obama kept 45% of promised he made during the 2008 and 2012 campaigns.<sup>15</sup>

Though the general conclusion regarding promise and performance is that campaign promises are linked to presidential action regarding the policy agenda, differences do exist in different types of policy issues. On the basis of an examination of sixteen party platforms established in the presidential campaigns of 1932-1992 and the actions taken by presidents Roosevelt through Clinton, Sussman and Daynes (2008) found that the overall performance rate of social issues was lower than that reported by other researchers about other public policy issues because of party polarization on social issues.

Apart from promise keeping, the consistency of presidential statements before and after the election can be seen as a product of permanent campaign. American presidents had adapted to the permanent campaign (Tenpas 2000). Presidents' running of permanent campaign revealed their continuous and voracious quest for public approval. "Elections themselves are only one part of the picture, where the focus is typically on personalities and the mass public. Less obvious are the thousands of orchestrated appeals that are

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<sup>15</sup> See PolitiFact.com. <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/promises/obameter/>

constantly underway to build and maintain the favor of certain publics and targeted elites for one or another policy cause (Heclo 2000: 15).” Ornstein and Mann (2000) stressed that campaigns were nonstop and year-round interlinked and “governing / campaigning / governing / campaigning” took place in a continuous loop. For example, Bill Clinton’s governing could be seen as a continuous campaign to promote values of his party and to support their electoral candidates.

Heclo (2000) stated that campaigning and governing were inextricably interlinked in American-style democracy. However, the permanent campaign literature stressed the election-driven side of the link between campaigning and governing but understudied the policy-driven side of the link. Campaign promises during a presidential election, especially those draw much public attention, were relevant to the policymaking after the election.

Whether the consistency of president’s policy before and after the election is a credit-gaining strategy for the future campaign or a promise-keeping response to the past campaign remains unanswered in existing literature. By exploring the consistency of president’s China policy, I seek to find whether and how much the president maintains a tough stance on China as a response to the past campaign.

#### **2.4 The White House Statement and China Policy**

The White House statement on China represents the President and the administration’s policy attitude toward the China, which plays a predominant role in shaping U.S.- China relations. The Presidency is the primary agenda setter in American foreign policy and the President’s foreign policy initiatives are more likely to result in

policy outcomes. Even though not turning into laws or actions, the White House statement towards China would still be treated seriously by China, compared to the other forms of pressure.

Classical wisdom in American politics suggested that the executive branch generally dominated the U.S. foreign policy making. Typical ways of presidential influence in the legislation were persuasion, bargaining and “going public.” Presidential power had always been the guiding paradigm since it was first introduced in 1960. Richard Neustadt argued that presidents are powerful enough to dominate policymaking by persuasion and bargaining, which came with the position, professional reputation, and public prestige (1960). Kingdon also argued that the president who had advantages in institutional, organizational, public and political resources was a powerful force in agenda setting by being able to dominate the policy agenda (1995). The presidential dominance of agenda setting was really important because it was at the early stage of domestic policy making and adoption. Kernell (2007) argued that presidents prefer to use the strategy of appealing to the public to get Congress to do what they want; if presidents could win over the public support they would pressure other actors, particularly members of Congress, to support their agenda. Since the Washington community had become more individualistic, less hierarchical, less amiable, and harder to win the support of and the innovations in technology had made the communication easier, going public was more akin to force than to bargaining (Kernell 2007).

In the foreign policy area, the presidential power is much stronger than that in the domestic policy area. Actors outside the executive branch used to play a far less influential role in foreign policy making than those inside (Allison 1971). The “two

presidencies” theory suggested that American presidents exercised fundamentally greater influence over foreign than domestic affairs.

Wildavsky (1966) provided quantitative evidence for this line of thinking, declaring in memorable language that the U.S. had one presidency for domestic matters along with a second, more powerful presidency for foreign affairs. He found that between 1948 and 1964 Congress enacted 65% of presidents’ foreign policy initiatives and only 40% of domestic ones. Wildavsky’s (1966) article ushered in a veritable industry of systematic tests of whether presidents fared better on roll-call votes and other legislative activities in foreign versus domestic policy. Following Wildavsky’s reasoning, scholars had tested the “two presidents” theory in different issue areas and found that presidents had a much freer hand and enjoyed substantial discretion in dealing with foreign affairs (e.g. Fenno 1973; Oldfield and Wildavsky 1989). For example, Canes-Wrone et. al. (2008) tested the “two presidencies” theory in the enactment of budget appropriations (1969-2000) and the design of administrative agencies (1946-2000), and the findings provided strong support for the argument that presidents had greater influence over foreign than domestic policy.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from bargaining and persuasion to influence both Congress and the executive branch itself, the President also possesses the unilateral power to influence the policy making, especially in the foreign policy arena. In Federalist Paper (1788) No. 74 Hamilton recognized that “the exercise of power by a single hand” was especially

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<sup>16</sup> Specifically, they found that the president’s requested change in budgetary appropriations was approximately 8 percentage points closer in foreign and defense agencies than it was in domestic ones; foreign and defense agencies were created to allow significantly more presidential influence than domestic ones.

important to the conduct of foreign affairs. Given their unilateral powers, presidents could respond quickly to foreign conflagrations, negotiate peace settlements between other nations, monitor other nations' military development, provide military support overseas and start an international military action—usually without first securing the formal consent of Congress or the courts. The presidential unilateral actions were more likely to be used in foreign affairs, where the presidents had first-mover advantage, asymmetric information over the Congress and electoral incentives (Canes-Wrone et. al. 2008). Howell (2005) found an increased use of unilateral powers including executive orders, proclamations, national security directives, etc. in the modern presidency; the unilateral action gave the president a first-mover advantage that reduced transaction costs and collective action problems.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the Chinese government believes that only cabinet members matter to the foreign policy and they treat seriously the statements of U.S. president and the administration. Therefore, even the tough president's statement may not be realized into a governmental action the statement would still pose great pressure on China to make a response. When establishing the U.S. - China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED), China requested that the annual meetings brought together nearly a score of cabinet members from each side. Jeffrey Bader, the former principal advisor to President Obama on Asia, noted that such mechanism of the dialogue with China was “unknown in U.S. relations with any other country in the world (2012: 22).” “The Chinese attach

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<sup>17</sup> For Howell, power was “the president's capacity to influence public policy”, not “the president's ability to influence congressional behavior” as Neustadt indicated. When contemplating policy moved, presidents could submit a proposal to Congress; or, when doing so did not explicitly infringe upon existing law, they could take the lead in setting policy.

considerable importance to protocol, ceremony, form, and appearances (Bader 2012: 110).”

Historically, the Chinese government had been taking the statements from the U.S. Presidents seriously, even though no one on the U.S. side would pay attention to the statements. A prominent example was the Three Communiqué, a collection of three joint statements made on Feb 28, 1972, Jan 1, 1979, and Aug 17, 1982, which played a crucial role in the normalization of relations between the U.S. and China and continued to be treated as an essential element by the China side in the current dialogue between the two countries.<sup>18</sup> During a meeting between President Obama and Chinese President Hu Jintao at the G-20 summit in London in April 2009, the Chinese leader proposed that the two sides issued a joint statement or communiqué marking the event, and it was rejected by the U.S. side given the history of political controversy sparked by joint communiqués focusing on the Taiwan issue (Bader 2012: 24). As President Obama’s principal negotiator of the joint statements, Bader was frankly unenthusiastic about the prospect of the joint statements and expected no one paid any attention to the good language in these statements; but the Chinese insisted on issuing a joint statement during Obama’s visit to China in November 2009 (Bader 2012: 55). Accordingly, the White House statements on China would be treated seriously by the Chinese government and therefore play a great role in shaping U.S.-China relations.

According to the existing literature, nowadays it might be difficult for the President as an individual to dominate foreign policy. Other domestic factors such as interest groups, to a large extent, influence foreign policy making. The making of foreign

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<sup>18</sup> For detail statements, see “Joint Communiqué.”  
[www.taiwandocuments.org/doc\\_com.htm](http://www.taiwandocuments.org/doc_com.htm).

policy towards China might be affected by the anti-China rhetoric aired and reported in media. By responding to the public attention raised by anti-China campaign rhetoric, President should consider the potential consequence on U.S.-China relations. President should also consider whether the policymaking on China is linked to the campaign promises because the consistency of presidential statements shows a quest for public approval that would benefit future elections.

Currently, China has posed both military and economic threats to the U.S. The rise of China and the relative American decline have aroused public concern and made presidential candidates play China card to attack their opponents in recent elections. Since anti-China rhetoric in recent presidential elections seems to be more influential than the anti-Soviet and anti-Japan rhetoric in 1980's and 1990's, and the study of anti-China rhetoric during the presidential campaign and its effect on China policies will probably provide more insights into the literature regarding U.S. foreign policy making on various issues. In Chapter 4, I will show how the anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates affects the White House statement towards China and its consequence on American public opinions of China.

### Chapter 3. Anti-China Rhetoric and Voter Support

In this Chapter, I examine whether and how anti-China rhetoric affects the U.S. presidential elections. Based on the data obtained from the Wisconsin Advertising Project (WiscAds), RealClearPolitics.com (RCP), and various governmental and non-governmental institutes, I built an original Time-Series-Cross-Sectional (TSCS) model to test the effect of campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric in seeking voter support. The primary ad I focus is Obama's "Sold Us Out" campaign commercials, which were aired in 15 target states from Sep. 15 to Oct. 1, 2008. I use the "Sold Us Out" ads as the representative of ads using anti-China rhetoric to show how airing the ads increases Obama's public support in the target states. After that, I analyze the national environment, especially the economic conditions during the airing of the "Sold Us Out" ads airing period from the Sep. 15 to Oct. 1, 2008, to justify the independence of the "Sold Us Out" ads' effect and rule out the external confounding factors. In addition, to better access the unique effectiveness of the ads using anti-China rhetoric, I use my TSCS model to analyze another two prominent Obama ads in 2008, the "Real Change" ads and the "Alternative" ads, which were also aired with the "Sold Us Out" ads from Sep.15 to Oct. 1, 2008 and compared their effects in seeking voter support as measured in public opinion polls.<sup>19</sup>

The campaign advertisement on which I focus, "Sold Us Out", sought to link John McCain to jobs that were moved overseas. It emphasized McCain's support for tax breaks for companies that move jobs overseas as well as his unwillingness to take a strong

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<sup>19</sup> The ads on which I focus were sponsored by Obama's campaign. Ads sponsored by political parties and outside groups were not included in my study.



stance against Chinese currency manipulation (See Appendix A for transcript).<sup>20</sup> The “Sold Us Out” ads were aired a total of 10,782 times across 15 target states – Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin - from Sep. 16 to Oct 1, 2008.

### **3.1 Data and Method**

Informed by the existing literature and the reality of both presidential electoral politics and China issues, I plan to estimate the effects of campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric in the presidential election by exploring the following factors:

#### ***Ads Airing***

The effect of campaign ads, especially negative ads, has long been debated in political science literature. Unlike laboratory experiment, my study looks at the effects of advertising in real world settings. The airing of the “Sold Us Out” was strategically designed: they were aired in swing states, as well as those with high manufacture output and high business relations with China. For example, the airing in Michigan, a solid blue state where Democratic presidential candidates won all the elections since 1992, due

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<sup>20</sup> The video of the “Sold Us Out” ads is available on *Youtube*, uploaded on Sep 16, 2008. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaCdevdPHVM>.

largely to its high manufacturing out and business relations with China.<sup>21</sup> Voters in those states had more concern about the outsourcing of manufacturing jobs to China and the airing of the “Sold Us Out” ads, which linked McCain to the jobs outsourcing to China, would probably solidify the Democratic candidates voter support in the 2008 presidential election. The ads were also aired in Missouri, a traditionally red state where Democratic presidential candidates only won 3 times since 1968, partly because of its growing business relations with China in 2008.<sup>22</sup> The first hypothesis follows:

*Hypothesis<sub>1</sub>: Airing ads using anti-China rhetoric increases the favoring candidate’s voter support in target states.*

### ***Ads Quantity***

Gerber et al (2011) and Sides and Vavreck (2013) found that the amount of campaign ads did shift votes in their favor in a week. Their studies, however, suffered from the external confounding factors such as voter’s long-standing partisanship. Instead of looking at the weekly ads amount, I track the ads amount daily and contrast it with the candidate’s daily voter support in state polls. My objective with using this methodology

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<sup>21</sup> In 2008, Michigan had total 5 deals (ranked second next to California’s 16 deals) from China’s FDI, and the total value was \$12 million. See “China Investment Monitor,” Rhodium Group. <http://rhg.com/interactive/china-investment-monitor>. Retrieved on 11/18/2015. Michigan had a high manufacturing output, \$66.2 billion (8<sup>th</sup> highest of all states) in 2012. See Alexander E.M. Hess, et al. “10 states where manufacturing still matters,” *USA Today*, published on 8/10/2013.

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2013/08/10/10-states-where-manufacturing-still-matters/2638363/>. retrived on 11/18/2015.

<sup>22</sup> Missouri firms sent \$944 million in goods to China in 2008, growing its exports to China by over 31 percent in the past five years. China’s growing export market had benefited Missouri’s waste and scrap industry, as commodities in copper, alloy steel, and aluminum waste and scrap had had the highest sales growth from 2007 to 2008. See “Global Market Place – International Trade and Investment in Missouri,” 2009, Missouri Economic Research and Informational Center, retrieved on 11/20/2015, [https://www.missourieconomy.org/pdfs/global\\_market\\_0313.pdf](https://www.missourieconomy.org/pdfs/global_market_0313.pdf).

is to identify and measure the effect of the ads amount within the context of voters' longstanding prejudice of a candidate. The second hypothesis follows:

*Hypothesis<sub>2</sub>: As the amount of ads using anti-China rhetoric increases, the voter support of the favoring candidate increases in the target state.*

### ***Ads Spending***

The existing literature on campaign ads also suffered from internal confounding factors. They treated all the campaign ads as “undifferentiated” individuals. Also, using GRPs as a measurement of ads (e.g. Sides and Vavreck 2013), which focused on the advertising volume, they confounded the ads quantity with the ads spending. As a result, they failed to specify 1) what kinds of ads matter, and what kinds of ads do not; 2) what kinds of ads worth much spending, and what kinds of ads do not worth much spending. To overcome the problem of internal confounding, I single out the campaign ads spending using anti-China rhetoric. In this way, I seek to find out whether it is worthwhile to spend much money on those campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric. The third hypothesis follows:

*Hypothesis<sub>3</sub>: The more spending on ads using anti-China rhetoric, the more voter support the favoring candidate gains in the target state.*

### ***Original Time-Series-Cross-Sectional (TSCS) Dataset***

To test my hypotheses, I generate an original Time-Series-Cross-Sectional (TSCS) dataset. I collect data for the 15 target states from Sep. 15 to Oct. 2, 2008, matching the 16-day airing record of the “Sold Us Out” ads. I add one day before and one day after the airing period in order to show the next day poll after the ads airing and calculate the daily change of the state polls. Therefore, the research period has 18 days.

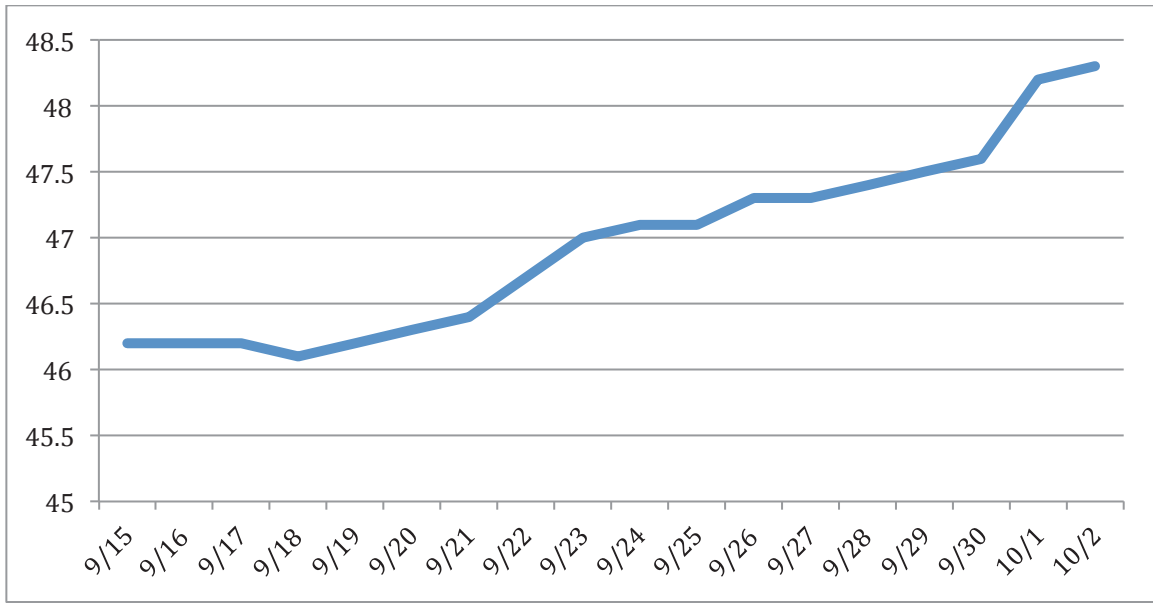
The “Sold Us Out” ads were aired on different days in the 15 target states during the 18-day period. For example, in Colorado, the ads were aired on 7 days from Sep. 20 to Sep. 26, 2008 and not aired on the other 11 days. Based on the airing and spending data obtained from the “Wisconsin Advertising Project” (WiscAds) dataset, each observation on my TSCS dataset records includes whether the “Sold US Out” ads were aired on the state (Variable: “C”), daily amount of the “Sold Us Out” ads aired on the state (Variable: “N”), and daily spending of airing the “Sold Us Out” ads on the state (Variable: “Spending”, rescaled in \$1000 dollars).<sup>23</sup> Each of the 15 states has 18 daily observations, giving a total of 270 possible observations.

The dependent variable is Obama’s share of the vote from the next day’s state poll (Code: “Poll”) after the ads airing. I use the daily state-level polling data for my 18-day research period from the RealClearPolitics.com (RCP). By updating major state-level polls every day, RCP created the “McCain vs. Obama Polling Data”, which recorded the daily average poll standings of both presidential candidates for all 50 states in 2008.<sup>24</sup> (Figure 1 shows the means of Obama’s daily polls of the 15 target states during the research period).

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<sup>23</sup> The Wisconsin Advertising Project recorded the airing information of major campaign ads since 1996. <http://wiscadproject.wisc.edu/>

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix B and C for the detail list of original polls that RCP used to calculate the average state polls and for the detail polling data by state during the research period.



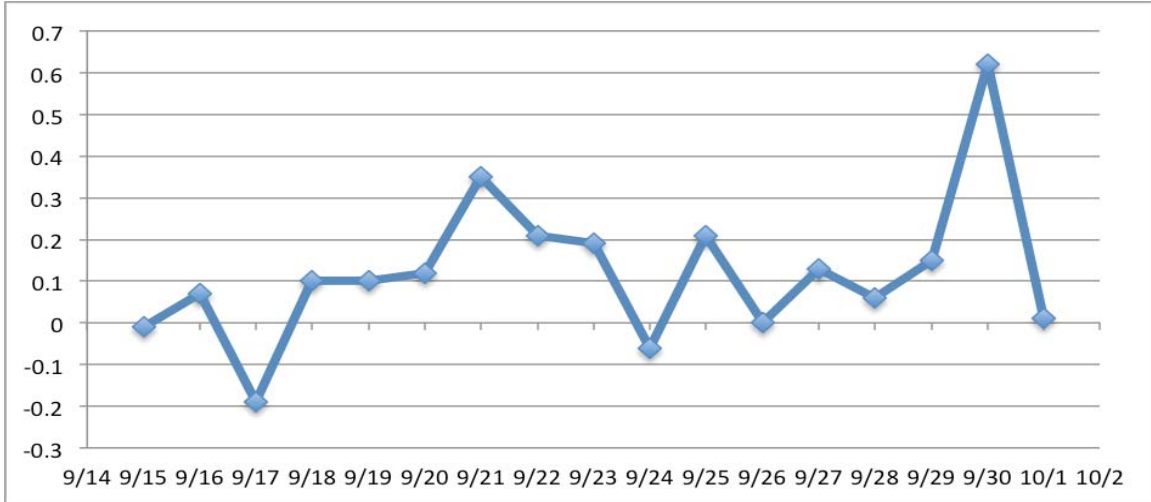
**Figure 1. Means of Obama's Daily Polls of the 15 Target States.**

Sep. 15 – Oct.2, 2008

Share in percentage

Source: RealClearPolitics.com

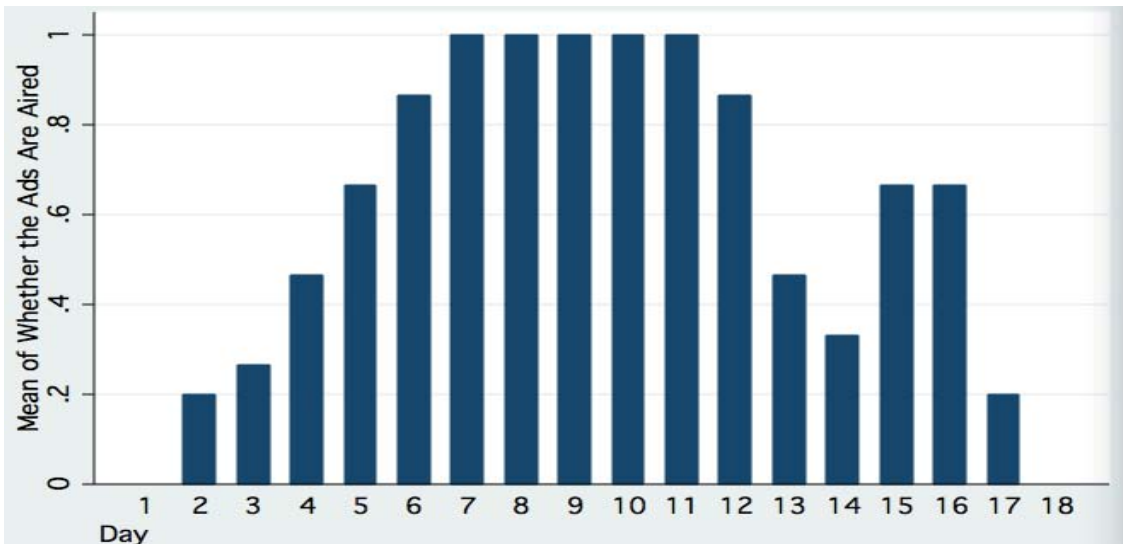
To better access the dynamic effect on Obama's state poll, I also create a model taking the daily change of Obama's share of the vote from the state poll (Code: "Change") as the dependent variable, the one-day change of Obama's share since the ads were aired. For each observation on my dataset, I generate the "Change" variable by calculating the daily change between two consequent days. For example, Obama's average poll standing in Colorado is 47.3% on Sep. 22, 2008 and 48.4% on Sep. 23, 2008, and then the value of the "Change" on Sep. 22, 2008 is 1.1  $[(47.3\%-48.4\%)*100]$ . The missing data of average daily poll reduces my set to 250 observations (Figure 2 shows the average change of Obama's daily polls of the 15 target states during the research period).



**Figure 2. Average Change of Obama’s Vote Share in the 15 Target States’ Daily Polls.**  
Change in percentage

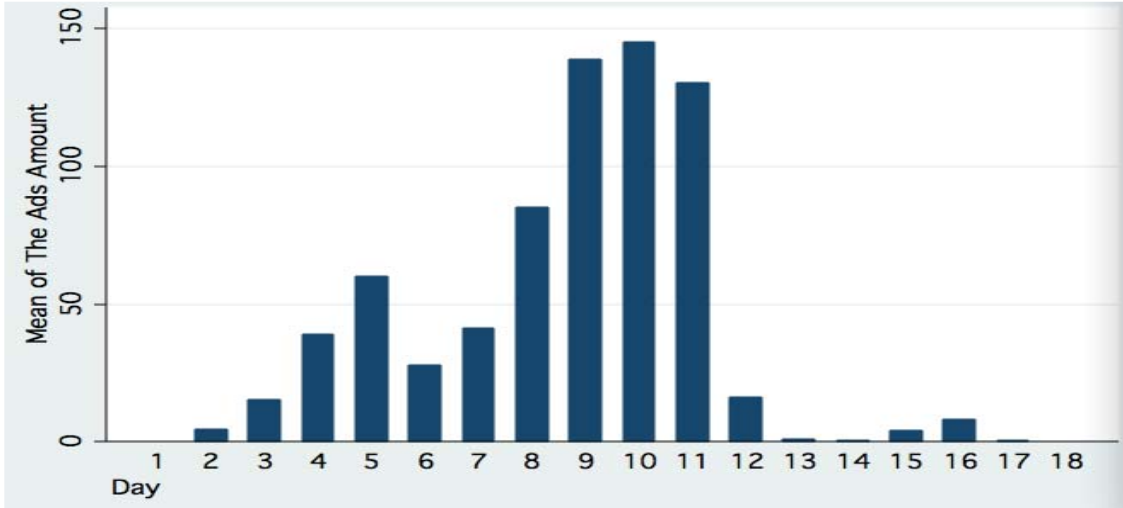
The independent variables are the airing and intensity of ads using anti-China rhetoric. According to my three hypotheses, the independent variables are indicated by:

1) Whether the “Sold US Out” ads were aired in the state (Dummy Variable: “C”, coded by “0” if the ads were not aired, and “1” if the ads were aired; Figure 3 shows the average count of whether “Sold Us Out” ads were aired in the 15 target states).



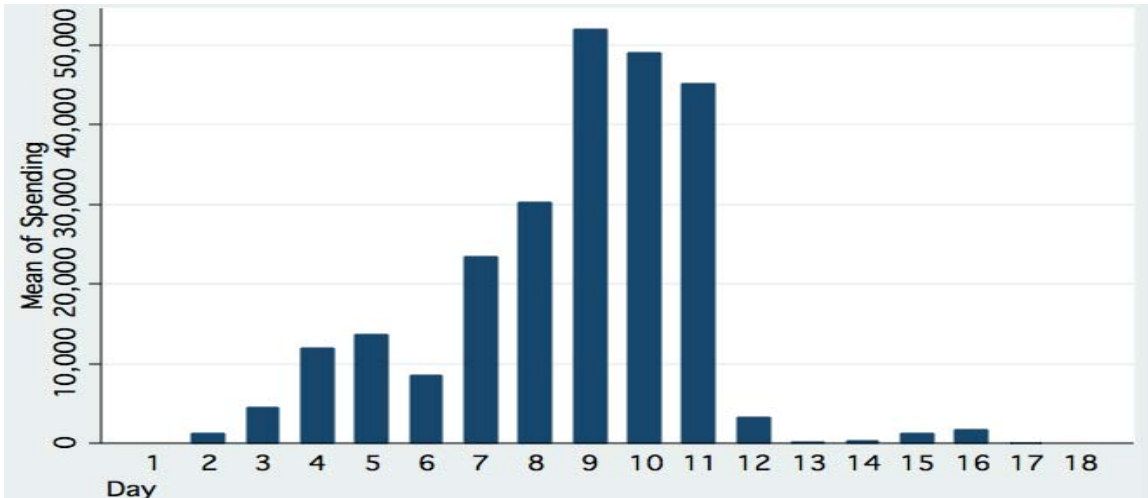
**Figure 3. Average Count of Whether “Sold Us Out” Ads Are Aired in the 15 Target States.**  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

2) Daily amount of the “Sold Us Out” ads aired in the state (Variable: “N”; Figure 4 shows the average daily amount of “Sold Us Out” ads airing in the 15 target states).



**Figure 4. Average Daily Amount of “Sold Us Out” Ads Airing in the 15 Target States.**  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

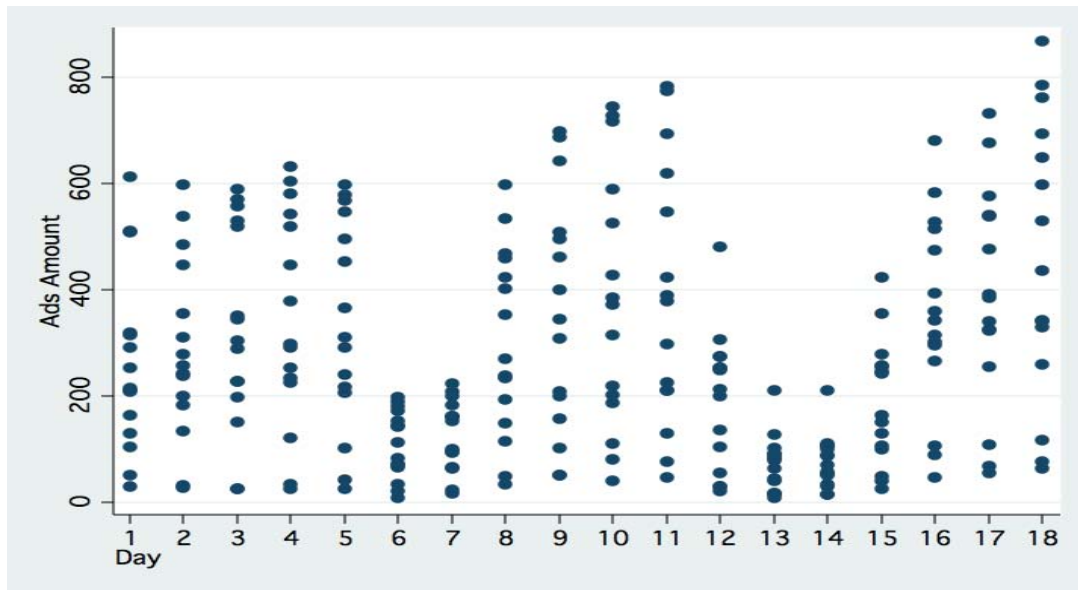
3) Daily spending of airing the “Sold Us Out” ads in the state (Variable: “Spending”; Figure 5 shows average daily spending on airing the “Sold Us Out” ads in the 15 target states).



**Figure 5. Average Daily Spending on Airing the “Sold Us Out” Ads in the 15 Target States.**  
Spending in USD  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

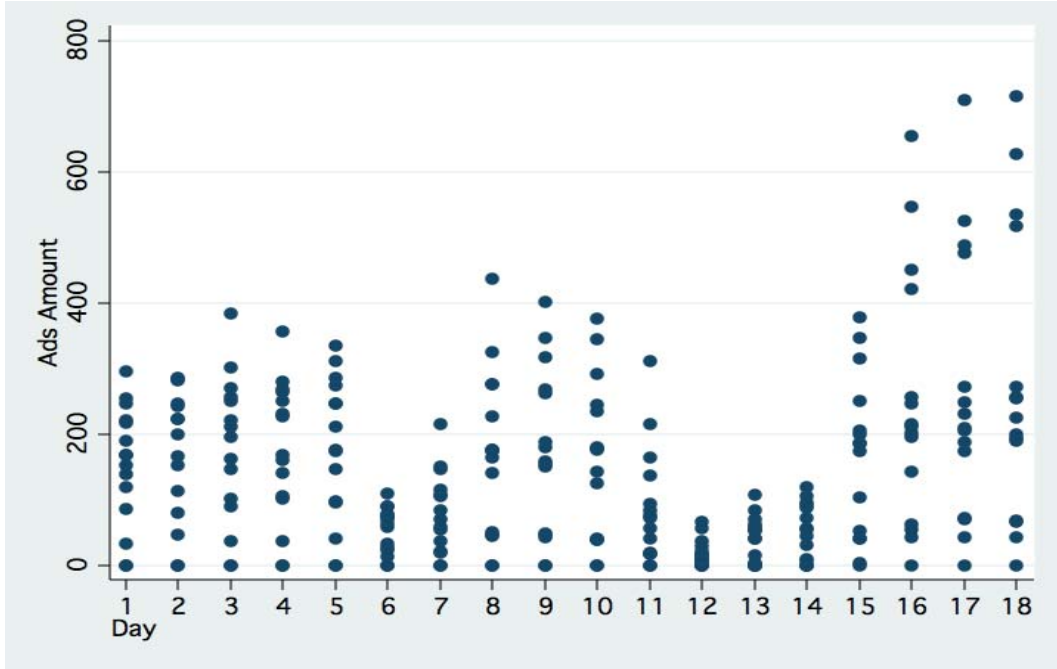
In addition, since the data has a time-series dynamic dependent variable, I include lag values of Obama’s vote share of state poll (Variable: “LPoll”) as independent variables.

The control variables are the Obama’s total ads amount, Obama’s total ads spending, unemployment rates and FDI from China at the state level. Based on the WiscAds dataset, I calculate the number of daily ads of both candidates (Variable: “N.Obama” and “N.McCain”) and their daily spending for all ads (Variable: “S.Obama” and “S.McCain”). Figure 6 and 7 shows Obama’s and McCain’s daily ad amount in the 15 target states. Figure 8 and 9 shows Obama’s and McCain’s daily spending on all ads in the 15 target states (rescaled in \$1000 of dollars).

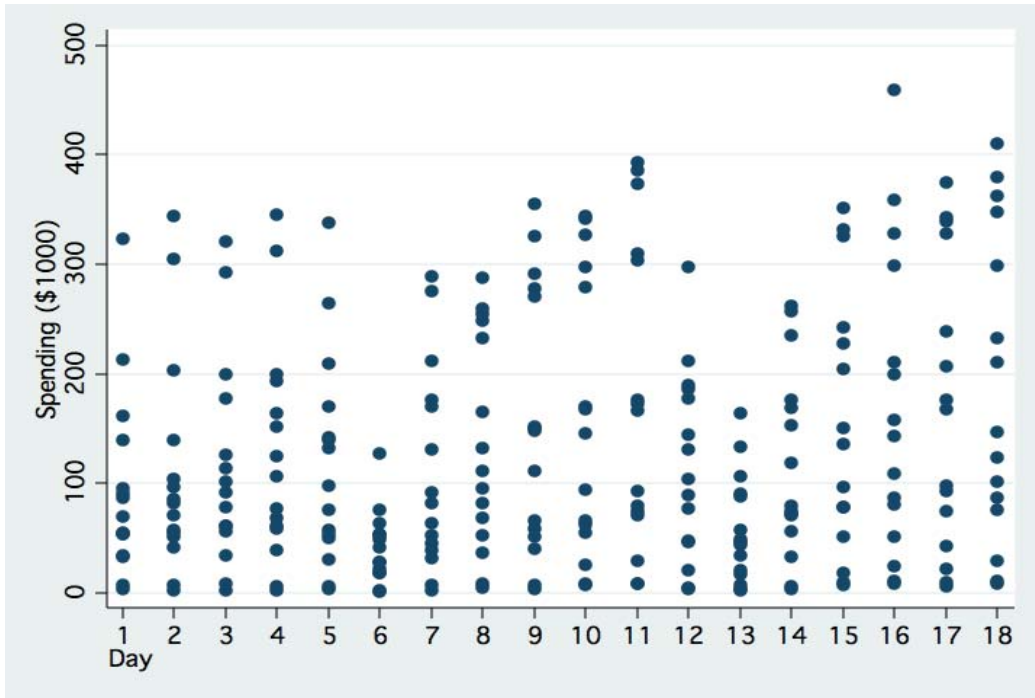


**Figure 6. Obama’s Daily Ad Amount in the 15 Target States.**  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

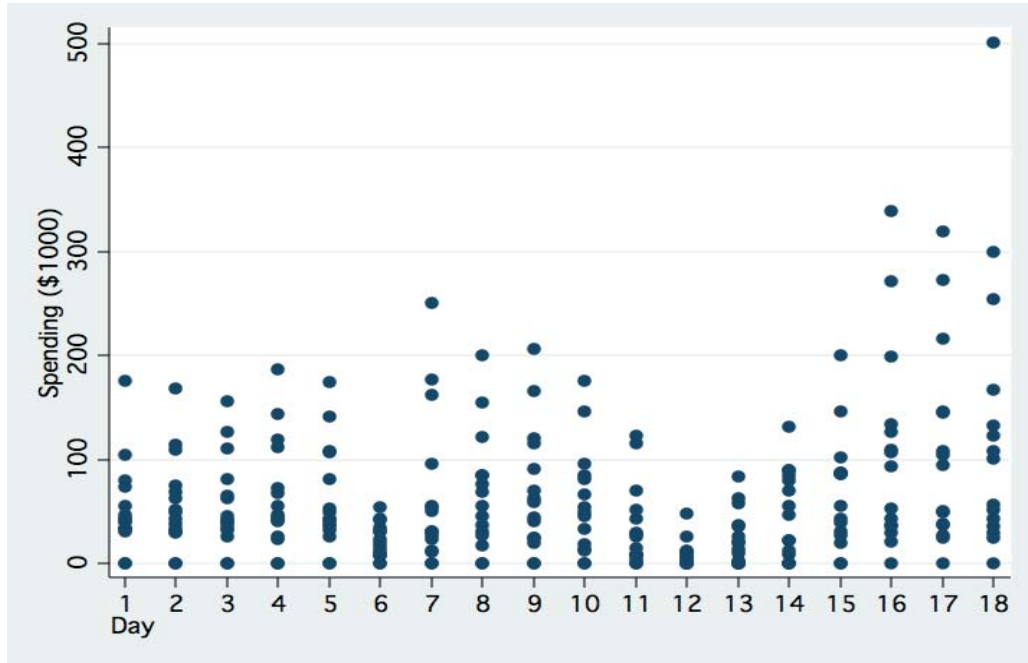




**Figure 7. McCain's Daily Ad Amount in the 15 Target States.**  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008



**Figure 8. Obama's Ad Spending in the 15 Target States.**  
Rescaled in \$1000 USD  
Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

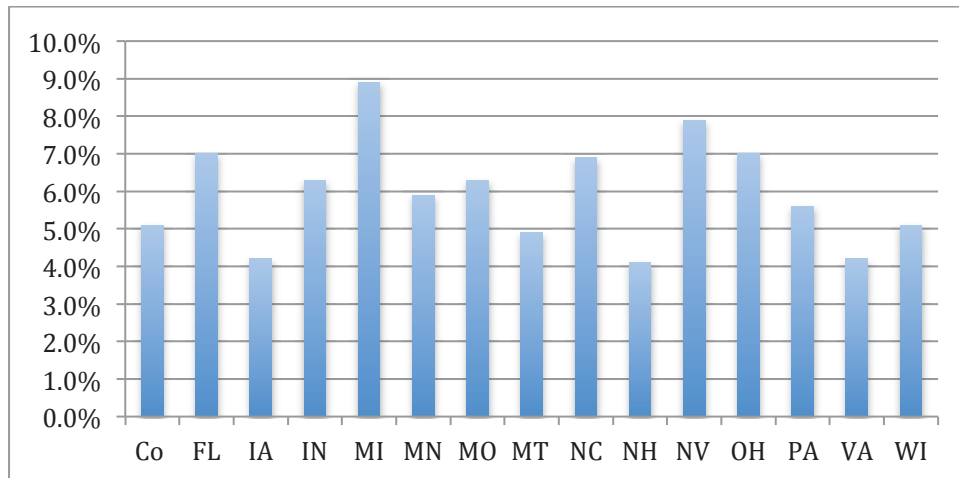


**Figure 9. McCain's Ad Spending in the 15 Target States.**  
 Rescaled in \$1000 USD  
 Day 1 starts from 9/15/2008

Besides, since the economy appears to be a prominent longstanding confounding effect according to the existing literature and the “Sold Us Out” ads are related to the job and China issue, I add the state-level unemployment rates in September 2008 (Variable: Unemp) and state level cumulative China FDI from 2000 to 2008 (Variable: FDI) into the TSCS model (Figure 10 shows the unemployment rates in the 15 target states; Table 1 shows the China FDI in the 15 target states).<sup>25 and 26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The unemployment rates data is obtained from Bureau of Labor Statistics.  
<http://www.bls.gov/lau/>

<sup>26</sup> The China FDI data is obtained from Rhodium Group. See Rhodium Group, “China Investment Monitor - Tracking Chinese Direct Investment in the U.S.”  
<http://rhg.com/interactive/china-investment-monitor>.



**Figure 10. Unemployment Rates of the 15 Target States, September 2008.**  
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

**Table 1.**  
**China FDI of the 15 Target States**  
**2000-2008**

State	Cumulative \$million	State	Cumulative \$million
Co	9	NC	2000
FL	14	NH	0
IA	0	NV	2
IN	23	OH	38
MI	139	PA	21
MN	163	VA	39
MO	125	WI	2
MT	0		

Source: Rhodium Group

### ***Statistical Models***

To estimate the effect of the “Sold Us Out” ads on Obama’s daily state poll, I build “three models”: 1) an OLS regression (Pooling) to estimate the general effect of the “Sold Us Out” ads on Obama’s daily state poll; 2) a fixed effects (FE) model to estimate the within-state effect of “Sold Us Out” ads on Obama’s daily state poll; 3) a random intercept (RI) model to take account both the between-state variance and within-state

variance. There are two steps of the statistical models. In the first step, I build three models for each independent variables separately with the controlled variables; and in the second step, I build the “three-models” combining all independent variables and controlled variables.

Presented in equation form my models is as follows:

*Lag models using the next day’s poll as dependent variable:*

$$\text{Poll}_{(t+1)i} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{LPoll}_{ti} + \beta_2 \text{Airing}_{ti} + \beta_3 \text{Amount}_{ti} + \beta_4 \text{Spending}_{ti} + \beta_5 \text{Unemployment}_{ti} + \beta_6 \text{FDI}_{ti} + \beta_7 \text{N.Obama}_{ti} + \beta_8 \text{S.Obama}_{ti} + \beta_9 \text{N.McCain}_{ti} + \beta_{10} \text{S.McCain}_{ti} + \varepsilon_{ti}$$

Where:

- ti = state i at date t
- $\alpha$  = intercept for equation
- $\beta_n$  = regression coefficient for variable n
- $\varepsilon_{ti}$  = error term for state i at date t

*Change models using daily change of the poll as dependent variable:*

$$\text{Change}_{(t+1)i} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Airing}_{ti} + \beta_2 \text{Amount}_{ti} + \beta_3 \text{Spending}_{ti} + \beta_4 \text{Unemployment}_{ti} + \beta_5 \text{FDI}_{ti} + \beta_6 \text{N.Obama}_{ti} + \beta_7 \text{S.Obama}_{ti} + \beta_8 \text{N.McCain}_{ti} + \beta_9 \text{S.McCain}_{ti} + \varepsilon_{ti}$$

Where:

- ti = state i at date t
- $\alpha$  = intercept for equation
- $\beta_n$  = regression coefficient for variable n
- $\varepsilon_{ti}$  = error term for state i at date t

## 3.2 Results

### *Step 1 – Separate Independent Variables*

When testing the three hypotheses with each independent variable separately, the lag models show that airing “Sold US Out” ads has statistically positive effect on Obama’s daily average state poll at the 0.05 level. Specifically, airing “Sold US Out” ads

increased the Obama's daily average state poll by 0.338 points in the complete pooling model, 0.336 points in the fixed effect model and 0.338 points in the random intercept model ( $R^2=0.812$  in Pooling; 0.811 in FE and 0.812 in RI). The amount and spending on the "Sold US Out" ads have no effect on Obama's daily average state poll. The three models have similar results (See Table 2, 3 and 4).

**Table 2.**  
**Airing "Sold US Out" Ads and Obama's Next Day State Polls.**  
Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.904*** (0.033)	0.847*** (0.059)	0.904*** (0.033)
Airing	0.338** (0.120)	0.336** (0.129)	0.338** (0.120)
Unemployment	0.014 (0.050)	N/A N/A	0.014 (0.050)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
N.Obama	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Constant	-4.175** (1.689)	6.917** (2.732)	4.175** (1.689)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.812	0.811	0.812
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

**Table 3.**  
**Amount of “Sold US Out” Ads and Obama’s Next Day State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.906*** (0.034)	0.833*** (0.061)	0.906*** (0.034)
Amount	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)
Unemployment	0.020 (0.051)	N/A N/A	0.020 (0.051)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
N.Obama	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	4.227** (1.716)	7.760** (2.801)	4.227** (1.716)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.806	0.804	0.806
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

**Table 4.**  
**Spending on “Sold US Out” Ads and Obama’s Next Day State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.906*** (0.034)	0.831*** (0.061)	0.906*** (0.034)
Spending	0 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0 (0.003)
Unemployment	0.018 (0.051)	N/A N/A	0.018 (0.051)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
N.Obama	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	4.230** (1.716)	7.860** (2.801)	4.230** (1.716)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.806	0.804	0.806
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

The change models have similar results with the lag models. Airing “Sold US Out” ads has statistically positive effect on the change of Obama’s daily average state poll at the 0.05 level. Specifically, airing “Sold US Out” ads increased the Obama’s daily average state poll by 0.328 points in the complete pooling model, 0.361 points in the fixed effect model and 0.328 points in the random intercept model ( $R^2=0.092$  in Pooling;

0.060 in FE and 0.092 in RI). The amount and spending on the “Sold US Out” ads have no effect on the change in Obama’s daily average state poll. (See Table 5, 6 and 7)

**Table 5.**  
**Airing “Sold US Out” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Airing	0.328** (0.121)	0.361** (0.129)	0.328** (0.121)
Unemployment	0.064 (0.048)	N/A N/A	0.064 (0.048)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	-0.638* (0.285)	-0.176 (0.173)	-0.638* (0.285)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.092	0.060	0.092
Probability	0.001	0.057	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level



**Table 6.**  
**Amount of “Sold US Out” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Amount	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0 (0.001)
Unemployment	0.068 (0.049)	N/A N/A	0.068 (0.049)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Constant	-0.456 (0.283)	0.059 (0.155)	-0.456 (0.283)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.065	0.039	0.065
Probability	0.002	0.682	0.019
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

**Table 7.**  
**Spending on “Sold US Out” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Spending	-0.001 (0.003)	0 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)
Unemployment	0.067 (0.049)	N/A N/A	0.067 (0.049)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Constant	-0.445 (0.284)	0.058 (0.155)	-0.445 (0.284)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.065	0.040	0.065
Probability	0.022	0.695	0.019
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

### ***Step 2 – Combined Independent Variables***

The results of lag models show that airing “Sold US Out” ads has statistically positive effect on Obama’s daily state poll at the 0.001 level. Specifically, airing “Sold US Out” ads increased the Obama’s daily average state poll by 0.454 points in the complete pooling model, 0.470 points in the fixed effect model and 0.454 points in the random intercept model ( $R^2=0.815$  in Pooling; 0.811 in FE; and 0.815 in RI; See Table

8). The model indicates that lag polls also have the statistically significant effect on the next day's poll. However, the amount and spending on the "Sold US Out" ads have no effect on Obama's next day state poll.

**Table 8.**  
**"Sold US Out" Ads and Obama's Next Day State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.904*** (0.033)	0.828*** (0.060)	0.904*** (0.033)
Airing	0.454*** (0.141)	0.470** (0.149)	0.454*** (0.141)
Amount	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Spending	-0.003 (0.051)	-0.003 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.001)
Unemployment	0.003 (0.051)	N/A N/A	0.003 (0.051)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
S.McCain	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	4.171** (1.686)	7.669** (2.756)	4.171** (1.686)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.815	0.811	0.815
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

The results of the change models show that airing “Sold US Out” ads has statistically positive effect on the change of Obama’s daily state poll at the 0.01 level. Specifically, airing “Sold US Out” ads increased the Obama’s daily average state poll by 0.445 points in the complete pooling model, 0.462 points in the fixed effect model and 0.445 points in the random intercept model ( $R^2=0.103$  in Pooling; 0.080 in FE; and 0.103 in RI; See Table 9). The amount of the “Sold US Out” ads and the spending on them have no effect on the change of Obama’s daily average state poll. The pooling and random intercept models also find that the total number of McCain’s has statistically significant negative effect on the change of Obama’s state poll at the 0.1 level, indicating that Obama’s state poll would decrease as McCain aired more ads across the target states.

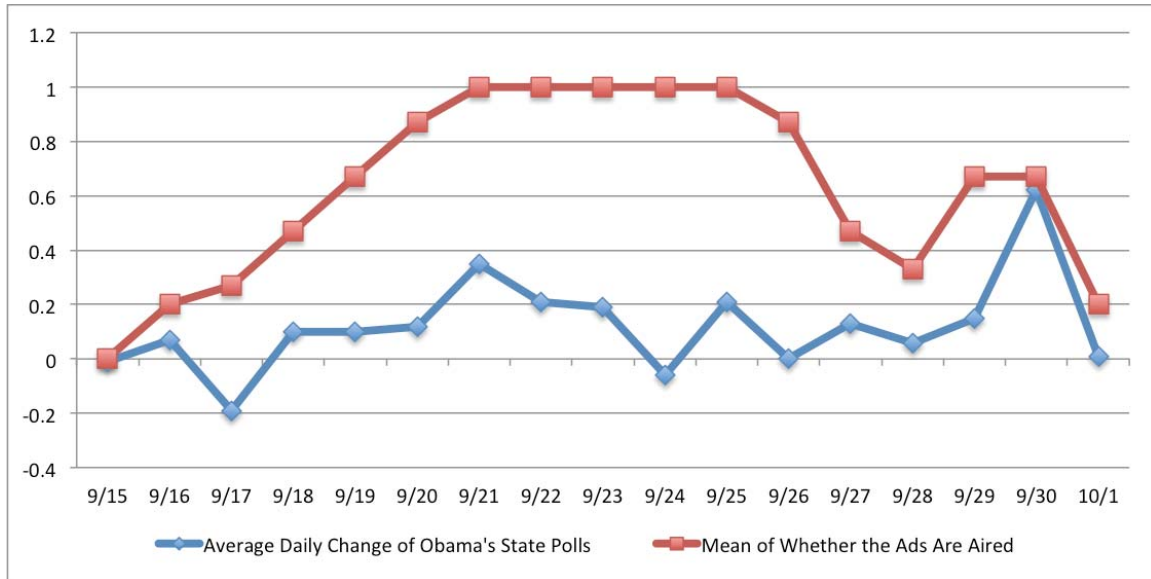
**Table 9.**  
**“Sold US Out” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Airing	0.445** (0.143)	0.462** (0.151)	0.445** (0.143)
Amount	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Spending	-0.003 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.007)
Unemployment	0.053 (0.048)	N/A N/A	0.053 (0.048)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.002)	0.001 (0)
S.McCain	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Constant	-0.628* (0.286)	-0.253 (0.183)	-0.628** (0.286)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.103	0.080	0.103
Probability	0.002	0.085	0.001
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

Figure 11 tracks the evolution of Obama’s state polls change and the daily average of whether “Sold Us Out” ads were aired. As the “Sold Us Out” ads were aired on more states from Sep. 15 to Sep. 21, Obama’s poll changing was generally positive and then reached a wave crest on Sep. 21 when the ads were aired in all the 15 states. The second wave of the ads airing on Sep. 28 and Sep. 29 also resulted in another wave crest

of Obama’s poll changing. On the contrary, as the number of states airing the “Sold Us Out” ads started to reduce on Sep. 26 and Oct. 1, Obama’s poll changing declined correspondently. When the ads remained airing in all the 15 states from Sep. 21 to Sep 25, Obama’s poll did not follow up. Instead, it went down. Apparently, repeating the ads airing on multiple days was ineffective.



**Figure 11. Airing “Sold Us Out” Ads and Obama’s Change of Vote Share in the 15 Target States’ Daily Polls.**  
Change in percentage

All the statistical models above have similar results: hypothesis<sub>1</sub> is verified, whereas hypothesis<sub>2</sub>, and hypothesis<sub>3</sub> are rejected. In general, airing the “Sold Us Out” ads increased Obama’s daily voter support in the target states by about 0.45% (range from 0.44% to 0.47% across the different models), but the daily amount and daily spending of ads have no effect in increasing the candidate’s public support. Airing the ads using anti-China rhetoric has significantly “one-day” effect in seeking voter support while repeating the ads airing in the same state cost much more money and has little influence in seeking voter support. Therefore, it is wise for the presidential candidate to

air the ads using anti-China rhetoric on more days and in more states rather than repeat airing the ads more times in the same state.

Why could one televised campaign ad, aired only 10,782 times on local stations with a small audience make such a difference? A probable reason is that the ads using anti-China rhetoric not only influenced the population of the airing media market, but also raised the public attention on the China-related issues that generated the echo effect from other campaign activities and news coverage, which expanded the negative attack on the candidate who had been linked to China and together contributed to change of the public support beyond the media market and beyond the airing period. For example, following the airing of “Sold Us Out” ads in Ohio since Sep. 16, 2008, Democratic vice president candidate Biden reinforced the anti-China rhetoric by attacking China’s clean energy policy at a campaign event in Maumee, Ohio on Sep. 23.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, *The Plain Dealer*, a major newspaper in Ohio reported this anti-China rhetoric by Biden on Sep. 23. As a result, Obama gained 0.1% of vote share of public support in Ohio poll on Sep. 23 and won the Ohio’s electoral vote on Election Day.

The “Sold Us Out” ads were most effective on the first day of airing. The ads posed an over time effect within the state when they were airing. After the airing stopped, the echo effect created by the “Sold Us Out” continued to benefit Obama in target states. Of all the 15 target states, Obama eventually won 13 in the 2008 presidential election (See Table 10). Obama’s average two-party vote share in the 15 states was 52.4% on the

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<sup>27</sup> When asked why he supported clean coal, Biden noted that the U.S. should not “build more coal-fired plants, and should instead focus on making China clean up its coal plants.” See Dubalil, Jean. “Ohio Republicans Blast Gaffes by Biden,” *The Plain Dealer*, Published on 9/23/2008.  
[http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/09/ohio\\_republicans\\_blast\\_gaffes.html](http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/09/ohio_republicans_blast_gaffes.html).

Election Day compared to 48.3% on the last day of airing the “Sold Us Out” ads. Accordingly, once McCain was linked to the jobs sold to China and the momentum of Obama’s growing vote support was created by the ads airing, there was no need to increase ads spending and quantity on target markets because the burden had been shifted to other forms of campaign activities and media coverage.

**Table 10.**  
**The 2008 Presidential Election Results for Obama in the 15 Target States**

State	Result	State	Result
CO	Win	NC	Win
FL	Win	NH	Win
IA	Win	NV	Win
IN	Win	OH	Win
MI	Win	PA	Win
MN	Win	VA	Win
MO	Lose	WI	Win
MT	Lose		

The choice of the 15 target states to air the “Sold Us Out” ads had proven to be successful. The results of the fixed effect models indicated that in general airing the “Sold Us Out” ads increased Obama’s voter support within the target states over time. Substantially, the fixed effect airing effects (coefficient: 0.470 in lag model and 0.462 in change model) were stronger than those effects in completed pooling and random intercept models (0.445 in lag model and 0.454 in change model). Variation exists across different states. In Michigan, a Democratic-leaning state, the ads using anti-China rhetoric successfully solidify the Democratic partisan voters when airing. After the airing of the “Sold Us Out” ads stopped the upturn momentum of Obama’s public support continued. Obama’s voter support grew from 49.1% on the last day of the “Sold Us Out” ads airing to 57.4% on Election Day. In Missouri, a Republican-leaning state, however,



there was a different story. The “Sold Us Out” ads did increase Obama’s voter support during the airing period but the effect diminished after the airing stopped. Obama’s poll in Missouri dropped from 46.8% on the last day of ads airing to 43% on Election Day, and eventually he lost Missouri on Election Day. Accordingly, airing ads using anti-China rhetoric helped to firm up the partisan voter within the target state and provided a long-term effect towards the Election Day; however, airing the ads using anti-China rhetoric was unable to exert a long-term effect on the state where the voters favored the opposite party’s candidate.

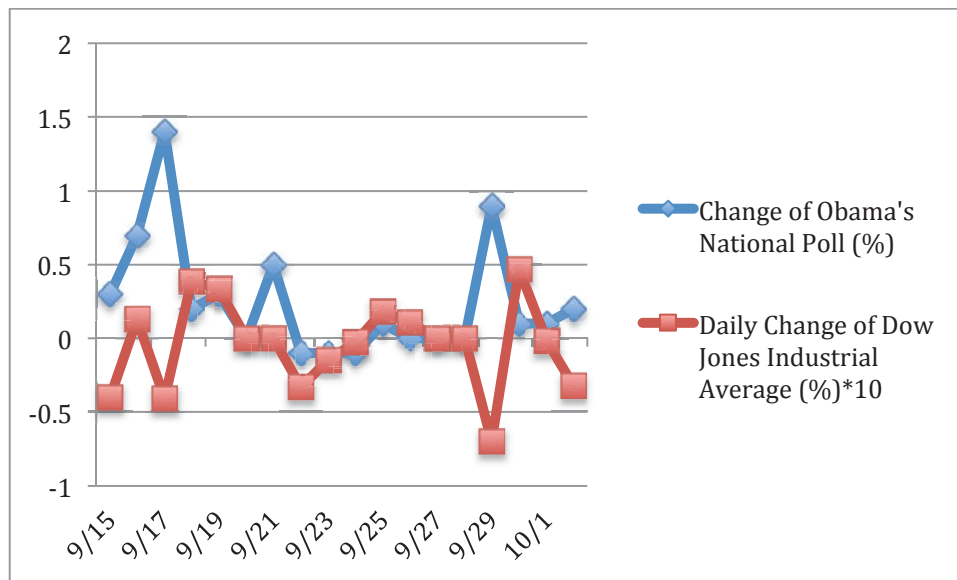
### **3.3 What Happened with the “Sold Us Out” Ads Airing? Financial Crisis**

The period from Sep. 15 to Oct. 2 in 2008 not only had the “Sold Us Out” ads aired, but also witnessed the outbreak of a financial crisis and the related responses from the U.S. government. A series of breaking economic events took place in September 2008, followed by the twists and turns of policy actions of U.S. government and massive drops in the stock market.<sup>28</sup> Though the national economic situations did produce some influence on the presidential candidates’ voter support at the national level, the effect of airing the “Sold Us Out” ads on Obama’s state poll was independent of the national economic conditions.

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<sup>28</sup> The major financial events in September 2008 included the bankruptcies of Lehman Brothers, American International Group and Washington Mutual, Sold of Merrill Lynch and the federal takeover of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. See “Lehman Files for Bankruptcy; Merrill Is Sold,” published on 9/14/2008, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/15/business/15lehman.html?pagewanted=all>.

To proxy the national economic conditions, I use the daily change of the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DJIA).<sup>29</sup> Through contrasting the daily change of the DJIA with the daily change of Obama’s average vote share of popular support in the national polls and the 15 states’ polls, I find that the significant gains of Obama’s voter support at the national level are negatively associated with the huge declines of DJIA.<sup>30</sup> In other words, the Obama’s voter support increased when the national economic conditions went bad (See Figure 12).



**Figure 12. Change of Obama’s Vote Share in the National Poll and Change of the Dow Jones Industrial Averages.**

Sep. 15 – Oct. 2, 2008

Percentage of change from the last calendar day or trading day (for better visualization, I use 10 times the change of Dow Jones Industrial Average).

Source: RealClearPolitics and Yahoo Finance

During the 16 days period, the major daily plummets of DJIA happened on the days when Obama’s vote share increased drastically in the national polls. Since Sep. 15,

<sup>29</sup> The “daily change” is indicated by the percentage change of the present day’s closing prices from the last trading day’s closing price. The source of the Dow Jones Industrial Average data is *Yahoo Finance*. <http://finance.yahoo.com>.

<sup>30</sup> The Source of the opinion polls is *RealClearPolitics*. <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>.

2008, fear overlooked the market day after Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy and DJIA declined 4.42% on Sep. 15, the worst one-day loss since the Sep. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and DJIA continued to decline 4.06% on Sep. 17.<sup>31</sup> By contrast, Obama's popular support started to grow since Sep. 15, and it gained 1.4% on Sep. 17, the biggest one-day growth of Obama's national polls standing in September 2008. Another huge drop of DJIA happened on Sep. 29, 2008 (-6.98%), when the House of Representatives rejected a \$700 billion bailout package.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, Obama gained 0.9% of two-party vote share in the national polls on Sep. 29, 2008.

When the financial crisis took place during the 2008 presidential campaign period, the public might accuse Bush administration's inability to fix the economic problem, which in turn hurt the Republican presidential candidate McCain and benefited the Democratic presidential candidate Obama. When the economy went worse as the stock market declined further, American voters might tend to place more expectations on the opposing party's presidential candidate, and thus, Obama gained more voter support at the national level.

Though the Obama's voter support was probably affected by the economic conditions at the national level, the impact of airing "Sold Us Out" ads in the target states was independent of the national conditions. Obama's average vote share in the 15 target

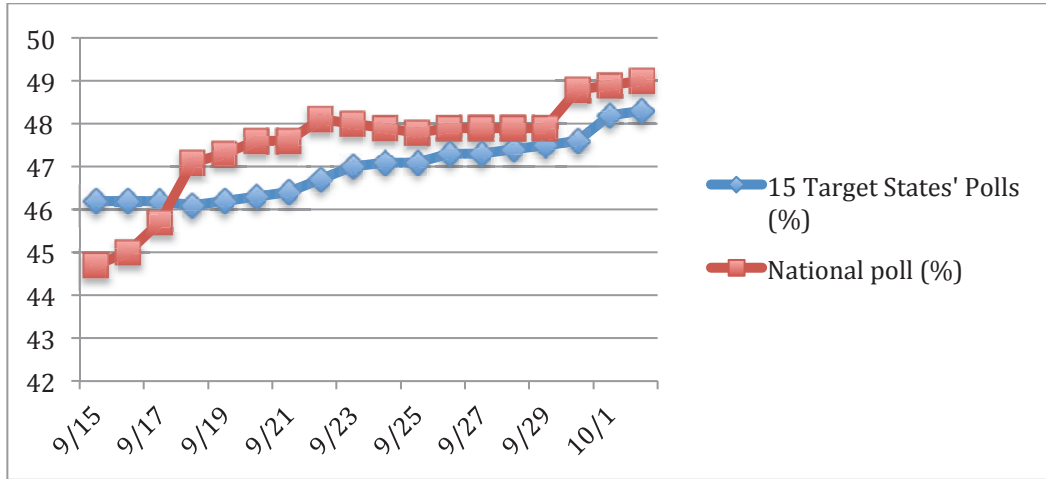
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<sup>31</sup> See Rowen, Beth. "The Biggest One-Day Declines in the Dow Jones Industrial Average," *Infoplease*, retrieved on 2/11/2015.

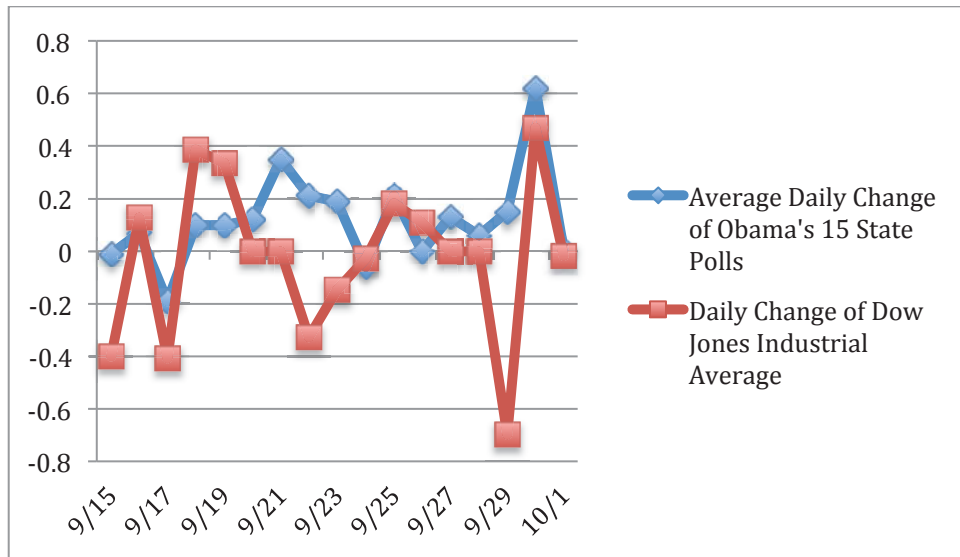
<http://www.infoplease.com/business/economy/declines-dow-jones-industrial-average.html>.

<sup>32</sup> The amendment of the bailout package was rejected via a vote of the House of Representatives on September 29, 2008, voting 205–228. See "Final vote results for roll call 674." Clerk of the United States House of Representatives. Published on September 29, 2008. <http://clerk.house.gov>.

states' polls neither stuck to the national polls nor followed the DJIA from Sep. 15 to Oct. 2, 2008 (See Figure 13 and Figure 14). Instead, it stuck to the airing intensity of the “Sold Us Out” ads in the 15 target states.



**Figure 13. Obama's Vote Share of National Poll and Average of the 15 Target State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15 to Oct. 2, 2008  
 Source: RealClearPolitics



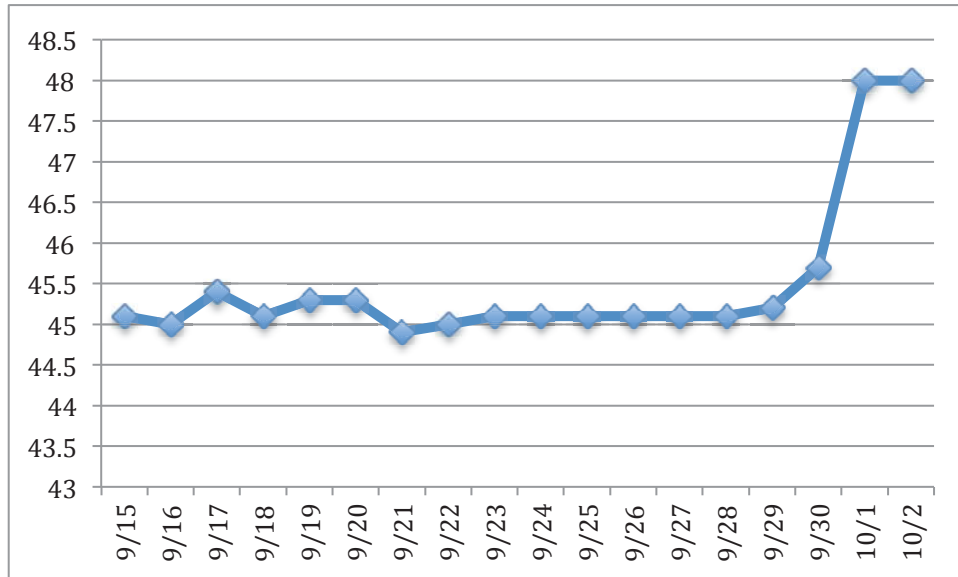
**Figure 14. Change of Obama's Vote Share in the 15 Target States' Poll and Change of the Dow Jones Industrial Averages.**  
 Sep. 15 to Oct. 2, 2008

Percentage of change from the last calendar day or trading day (for better visualization, I use 10 times the change of Dow Jones Industrial Average).

Source: RealClearPolitics and Yahoo Finance

The two upturn momentums of Obama’s popular support in the target states happened on Sep. 21 and Sep. 28 when the ads were aired in all the 15 states.

Take Ohio for an example. The “Sold Us Out” ads were aired in Ohio from Sep. 16 to Sep. 26, and then Sep 29 to Sep. 30, 2008. The airing of the “Sold Us Out” ads did produce upturn momentums for Obama’s public support in Ohio. Obama gained 0.4% of vote share on Sep. 17, 2008, the next day of the “Sold Us Out” ads started airing; another momentum happened on Sep. 30, the next day of “Sold Us Out” ads’ re-airing in Ohio, Obama gained 2.3% of vote share in Ohio poll (See Figure 15).



**Figure 15. Obama’s Vote Share of Public Support in the Ohio Poll.**  
 Sep. 15 – Oct. 2, 2008  
 Source: RealClearPolitics.com

Accordingly, by ruling out the external confounding factor of the national economic conditions, we have more confidence that airing the ads using anti-China rhetoric independently increase presidential candidate’s public support in target states.

### ***Did McCain Respond?***

China became an issue of the 2008 presidential campaign partly because the airing of the anti-China campaign ads. Presidential candidates of both parties had drawn attention to the issues between U.S. and China. During the 2008 presidential campaign, neither McCain nor interest groups supporting Republican made campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric to attack Obama or to seek voter support. Though McCain and his campaign team did not initiate anti-China rhetoric, they did treat China as an issue of the presidential campaign.

Facing Obama's attack using anti-China rhetoric, Republican vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin met with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and discussed international affairs including China on Sep. 22, 2008.<sup>33</sup> And during the first presidential debate on Sep. 26, 2008, McCain noted that U.S. owed \$500 billion to China while Obama noted that the debt was a trillion dollars; the accurately amount is \$518 billion.<sup>34</sup> Though not airing any campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric, McCain did notice the importance of China issues in the presidential campaign and had prepared to respond to China-related issues by other campaign activities including the presidential debates. In

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<sup>33</sup> See Cooper, Michael and Kate Zernike, "For Palin in New York, a Predebate Introduction to Motorcade Diplomacy," Published on 9/23/2008, *The New York Times*. <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/09/21/palin-to-meet-with-kissinger-colombian-president/>.

<sup>34</sup> See Bosman, Julie. et al. "Check Point: The First Debate," published on 9/26/2008, *The New York Times*, <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/09/26/check-point-the-first-debate/>.

2012, Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney had learned the lesson and used much more anti-China rhetoric than McCain did in 2008.<sup>35</sup>

### **3.4 Comparative Studies: The “Real Change” Ads and the “Alternative” Ads**

With the 2008 presidential election approaching, campaign commercials regarding different issues were aired in mid-September to early-October. The “Sold Us Out” ads, which using anti-China rhetoric, were effective in seeking voter support, how about other ads, especially those also mentioned economy and job issues? In this section, I use my TSCS model to test the effect of another two prominent Obama ads aired from Sep. 15 to Oct. 1, 2008: the “Real Change” ads and the “Alternative” ads.

#### ***The “Real Change” Ads***

The “Real Change” ad also sought to link the current Republican government with companies that sent jobs overseas. However, unlike the “Sold Us Out” ad, it did not mention China (See Appendix A for transcript).<sup>36</sup> From Sep. 16 to Oct. 1, 2008, the ads were aired totally 16,558 times across the 15 target states of the study.

The dependent variable is Obama’s daily share of the vote from the 15 state polls and its change (Variable: “Poll” and “Change”). The independent variables are 1) Whether the “Real Change” ads were aired in the state (Dummy Variable: “C2”, coded by “0” if the ads were not aired, and “1” if the ads were aired); 2) Daily amount of the “Real Change” ads aired in the state (Variable: “N2”); 3) Daily spending of airing the

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<sup>35</sup> For example, there were 22 campaign ads using anti-China campaign ads that supported Mitt Romney in the 2012 presidential campaign. See Political Communication Lab for anti-China campaign ads. <http://pcl.stanford.edu>.

<sup>36</sup> The video of the “Real Change” ads is available on *Youtube*, uploaded on Sep 11, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R3F18zVblJ8>.

“Real Change” ads in the state (Variable: “Spending2”, rescaled in \$1000 dollars). In the lag model, I also include the lag poll as an independent variable (Variable: “LPoll”). The control variables are Obama’s total ads amount, Obama’s total ads spending, unemployment rates and FDI from China at the state level.

The results of “Real Change” ads in both the lag model and change model show that only the lag poll has statistically positive effect on the next day’s poll (in complete polling model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.901 and  $R^2 = 0.807$ ; in fixed effect model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.820 and  $R^2 = 0.805$ ; and in random intercept model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.901 and  $R^2 = 0.807$ ). However, except the slightly negative effects of McCain’s ads amount (coefficient=-0.002) in pooling and random intercept change models, none of the major independent variables has statistically positive effect on Obama’s daily state polls (See Table 11) and their changes (See Table 12). In other words, the airing and spending on the “Real Change” ads show little or no effect on Obama’s daily average state poll.



**Table 11.**  
**“Real Change” Ads and Obama’s Next Day State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.901*** (0.035)	0.820*** (0.062)	0.901*** (0.035)
Airing	-0.134 (0.152)	-0.180 (0.190)	-0.134 (0.152)
Amount	0 (0.002)	0 (0.002)	0 (0.002)
Spending	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
Unemployment	0.021 (0.051)	N/A N/A	0.021 (0.051)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
S.McCain	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	4.524** (1.778)	8.464*** (2.888)	4.524** (1.778)
R^2	0.807	0.805	0.807
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

**Table 12.**  
**“Real Change” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Airing	-0.035 (0.151)	-0.115 (0.192)	-0.035 (0.151)
Amount	0. (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	0 (0.002)
Spending	0.002 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
Unemployment	0.072 (0.049)	N/A N/A	0.072 (0.049)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
S.McCain	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Constant	-0.454 (0.283)	0.121 (0.183)	-0.454 (0.283)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.067	0.030	0.067
Probability	0.050	0.807	0.045
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

The study of the “Real Change” ads provides a clear comparison. Airing at the same campaign period and both attacking another candidate about sending job overseas, the “Real Change” ads did not work, but the “Sold Us Out” ads increased Obama’s public support by using anti-China rhetoric.

### *The “Alternative” Ads*

The “Alternative” ad sought to link John McCain to American attention to foreign oil. It accuses John McCain of voting against tax incentives for alternative energy and supporting tax breaks for oil companies (See Appendix A for transcript).<sup>37</sup> From Sep. 16 to Oct. 1, 2008, the ads were aired totally 6,187 times across the 15 target states of the study.

The dependent variable is Obama’s daily share of the vote from the 15 state polls and its change (Variable: “Poll” and “Change”). The independent variables are 1) Whether the “Alternative” ads were aired in the state (Dummy Variable: “C3”, coded by “0” if the ads were not aired, and “1” if the ads were aired); 2) Daily amount of the “Alternative” ads aired in the state (Variable: “N3”); 3) Daily spending of airing the “Alternative” ads in the state (Variable: “Spending3”, rescaled in \$1000 dollars). In the lag model, I also include the lag poll as an independent variable (Variable: “LPoll”). The control variables are Obama’s total ads amount, Obama’s total ads spending, unemployment rates and FDI from China at the state level.

The results of “Alternative” ads in both the lag model and change model show that only the lag poll has statistically positive effect on the next day’s poll (in complete polling model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.907 and  $R^2 = 0.807$ ; in fixed effect model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.836 and  $R^2 = 0.805$ ; and in random intercept model, the coefficient of Lpoll = 0.907 and  $R^2 = 0.807$ ). However, none of the independent variables has statistically positive effect on Obama’s daily state polls (See Table 13) and their

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<sup>37</sup> The video of the “Alternative” ads is available on “The Living Room Candidate.” Original air date: September 18, 2008.  
<http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008/alternative>.

changes (See Table 14). In other words, the airing and spending on the “Alternative” ads have no effect on Obama’s daily average state poll. The results also indicate that McCain’s ads amount has a slightly negative effect on Obama’s change of state poll (coefficient=-0.002) in pooling and random intercept change models.

**Table 13.**  
**“Alternative” Ads and Obama’s Next Day State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
LPoll	0.907*** (0.035)	0.836*** (0.062)	0.907*** (0.035)
Airing	0.141 (0.150)	0.128 (0.165)	0.141 (0.150)
Amount	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)
Spending	0.001 (0.004)	0.002 (0.005)	0.001 (0.004)
Unemployment	0.015 (0.053)	N/A N/A	0.015 (0.053)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
S.McCain	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Constant	4.181** (1.763)	7.549*** (2.860)	4.181** (1.763)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.807	0.805	0.807
Probability	0	0	0
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

**Table 14.**  
**“Alternative” Ads and the Change in Obama’s State Polls.**  
 Sep. 15- Oct.2, 2008

Independent Variables	Pooling	FE	RI
Airing	0.144 (0.152)	0.129 (0.167)	0.144 (0.152)
Amount	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)
Spending	0.003 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)
Unemployment	0.068 (0.050)	N/A N/A	0.068 (0.050)
FDI from China	0 (0)	N/A N/A	0 (0)
S.Obama	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
S.McCain	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
N.Obama	0.001 (0.001)	0 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
N.McCain	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)
Constant	-0.492* (0.286)	-0.003 (0.172)	-0.492* (0.286)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.070	0.047	0.070
Probability	0.038	0.735	0.033
N	250	250	250

\* significant at the 0.1 level; \*\* significant at the 0.05 level; \*\*\* significant at the 0.001 level

The study of the “Alternative” ads indicates that the ads using anti-foreign rhetoric about energy issue failed to increase Obama’s public support. While at the same period, airing the “Sold Us Out” ads, which particularly use anti-China rhetoric, made a difference and increased presidential candidate’s public support in target states.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Airing the ads using anti-China rhetoric has strong one-day effect in increasing the favoring candidate's popular support, as well as the echo effect that reinforces and expands the attack on the opponent candidate linked to China issues. The "freshness" of ads using anti-China rhetoric on different days and/or in different states appears to be more effective than the "repeating" of those ads on the same day and/or in the same state.

Obama took the advantage of airing ads using anti-China rhetoric in 2008, and the effort did help to increase his voter support and contribute to his winning on Election Day. In 2012, presidential candidates and interest groups supporting both parties had learned the lesson and increased their anti-China rhetoric during the campaign period. There were totally 40 campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric were aired to support presidential candidates from both parties during the general campaign period, much more than the 7 ads aired in 2008.<sup>38</sup> Presidential candidates also used anti-China rhetoric in all kinds of campaign activities including on-the-ground speeches, presidential debates, and fund-raising events, which generated echo effect from the news converge on China issues over the course of the 2012 presidential campaign. In the next chapter, I explore the anti-China rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaign and examine its effects on the U.S. foreign policy towards China.

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<sup>38</sup> See Political Communication Lab for anti-China campaign ads. <http://pcl.stanford.edu>.

## Chapter 4. Anti-China Rhetoric, U.S. Foreign Policy towards China and Public Opinion

### 4.1 Overview

In this Chapter, I explore the impact of Anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaigns on the U.S. foreign policy towards China and American public opinion of China. The foreign policy in this study stands for the U.S. government's foreign policy, which consists of the policy of the President, the administration, and Congress, indicated by the public statements by those foreign policy players. Unlike the election study, which mainly uses quantitative analyses through hypothesis testing and focuses on campaign ads, my foreign policy study primarily uses qualitative methods and focus on all kinds of campaign activities including campaign ads, candidates' speeches, and debates. The primary source of the anti-China campaign rhetoric is the articles from the *New York Times*.

By analyzing the China-related public statements and campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaign period (March to November), I argue that anti-China rhetoric in a presidential campaign affected U.S. foreign policy towards China. Specifically, President's statements on China responded to the anti-China rhetoric from the opponent presidential candidates or reinforced his own anti-China rhetoric. Congressional activities regarding certain China issues were less in favor of China when there were more campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric. Partisan sponsorships were stuck to their party's presidential candidates' anti-China campaign rhetoric. And anti-China rhetoric during the presidential election year had a negative effect on American public opinion of China.

## 4.2 Method and Sources

### *Anti-China Campaign Rhetoric in the New York Times*

The general independent variable is the anti-China campaign rhetoric during the presidential campaign period (March to November in the election year 2012). The data is obtained from articles in the *New York Times*<sup>39</sup>. From the *New York Times* website, I first use the keyword “China” to search all the *New York Times* articles during the 2012 presidential campaign period. From those articles, I identify those contents that contain anti-China rhetoric in presidential candidate’s campaign ads, debates, public messages, statements, speeches, and news conference remarks. And then I divide each of those articles with anti-China rhetoric into three categories: economic issues, security issues, and human rights issues. The different effects among those issue areas on foreign policy are examined and compared. Data are aggregated by month, and the intensity is measured by the monthly amounts of the *New York Times* articles.<sup>40</sup> When conducting an in-depth analysis on a specific issue, further sources of campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric are used apart from the articles of the *New York Times*. The sources include Political Communication Lab for anti-China campaign ads and the American Presidency Project for the content of candidates’ speeches and debates.<sup>41 and 42</sup> Figure 16 shows the monthly amount of the *New York Times* articles regarding anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaign from Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012, and Figure 17 shows the monthly

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<sup>39</sup> The *New York Times* articles are obtained from its website: [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

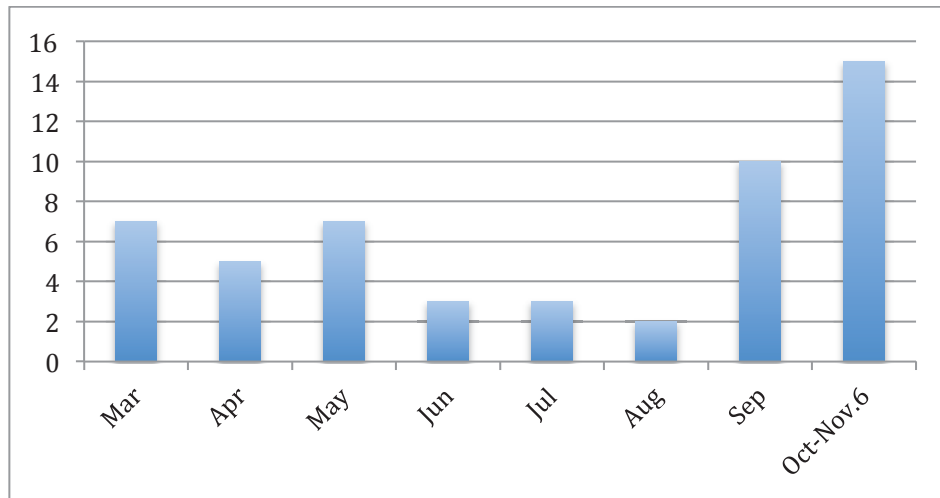
<sup>40</sup> The *New York Times* articles that reported the same anti-China rhetoric by the presidential candidate were counted as one article.

<sup>41</sup> <http://pcl.stanford.edu/campaigns>.

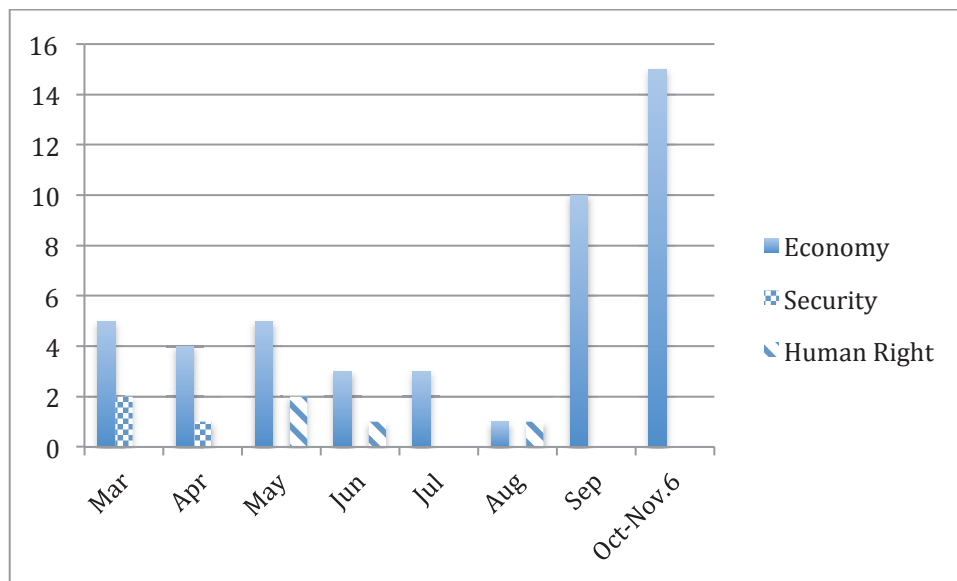
<sup>42</sup> See <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php>.



amount of articles regarding anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaign from Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012, by issue category.

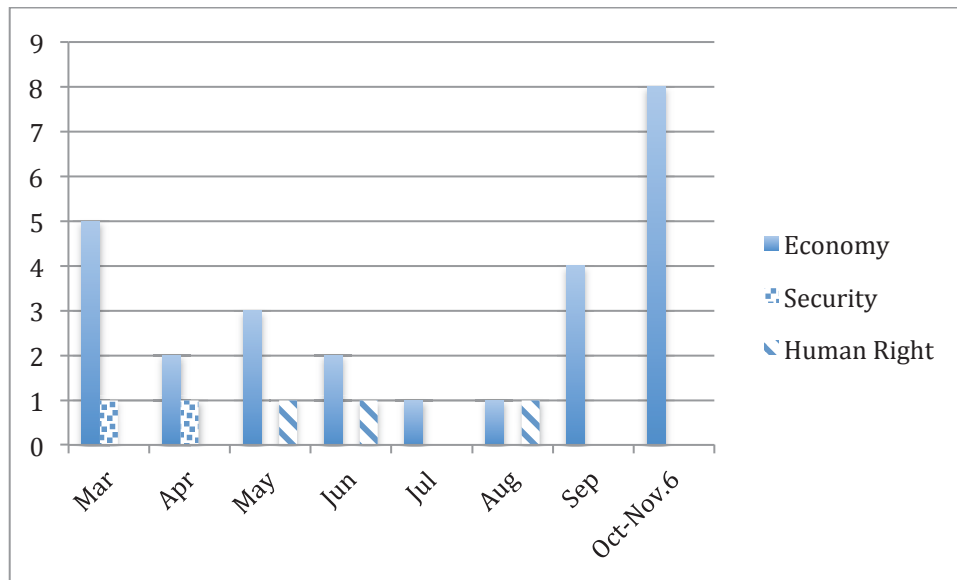


**Figure 16. Amount of the *New York Times* Articles Regarding Anti-China Rhetoric in Presidential Campaign.**  
From Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012  
Source: The *New York Times*



**Figure 17. Amount of the *New York Times* Articles Regarding Anti-China Rhetoric in Presidential Campaign (by Issue Category).**  
From Mar.1 to Nov. 6, 2012  
Source: The *New York Times*

Based on the *New York Times* articles as the proxy of the anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign, I will show how that rhetoric affects the White House statements on China and American public opinion of China in the following sections. Since President Obama’s policy statements from the White House and campaign statements reported by the *New York Times* largely overlap, I particularly single out the *New York Times* articles with Mitt Romney’s and other Republican (GOP) presidential candidates’ anti-China rhetoric during the campaign period in order to examine whether and how the president responded to the anti-China rhetoric in terms of all kinds of issues. Figure 18 shows the number of anti-China rhetoric from Romney and GOP from Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012.



**Figure 18. Amount of Anti-China Rhetoric from Romney and GOP (by Issue Category).**

From Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012  
 Source: The *New York Times*

## ***The Presidents and Foreign Policy towards China***

Do a U.S. president's China policies respond to the anti-China rhetoric by his opponent in the presidential campaign? The literature on this question is inconclusive. The Presidency was the primary agenda setter in American politics, particularly in foreign policy (e.g. Wildavsky 1966; Canes-Wrone et al. 2008). But foreign policy was also responsive to media coverage and international events (Wood and Peake 1998; Edwards and Wood 1999). Does anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign make a difference in foreign policy making? To answer those questions, I examine the impact of campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric on the president's and the administration's foreign policy statements on China during and after the campaign.

### ***President Obama's China Policy: 2009-2011***

After coming into office in 2009, President Obama had sought cooperation with China on several important international issues, including dealing with the global financial crisis through the mechanism of the G-20, establishing the "U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue" (S&ED) to deepen mutually beneficial cooperation in economy and trade,<sup>43</sup> taking multilateral efforts to block the nuclear ambitions of Iran and North Korea,<sup>44</sup> and setting more cooperation on climate change.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, the Obama administration had challenged China's core interests and taken a tough stance on a

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<sup>43</sup> See "Statement on Bilateral Meeting with President Hu of China," Office of the Press Secretary, April 1, 2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov>.

<sup>44</sup> See Press Briefings by Press Secretary Robert Gibbs, Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, April 14, 2009, May 16, 2009, May 28, 2009, Feb 4, 2010, and Oct 28, 2010. <http://www.whitehouse.gov>.

<sup>45</sup> During Obama's visit to China in November 2009, the two sides produced seven cooperative agreements on clean energy, encompassing areas such as research, technology, manufacturing, regulatory policy and low carbon-development strategies. See "U.S.-China Joint Statement," Beijing, China. November 17, 2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/us-china-joint-statement>.

number of sensitive issues, such as accusing China of manipulating its currency for trade advantage,<sup>46</sup> enhancing U.S. military existence in the East Asian region,<sup>47</sup> accusing China of human rights violations,<sup>48</sup> and restrictions on Internet freedom.<sup>49</sup>

President Obama's China policy had a major shift from soft to tough in 2010. Since President Obama came into office in January 2009, the administration pledged to further develop bilateral cooperation in keystone areas. It laid stress on cooperation and common interests in the statements and maintained a lower profile to disagreements and issues of conflict (See Table 15). By contrast, after Obama's state visit to China in November 2009, the administration took a tougher stance on China and the bilateral relationship was characterized by significant discord (See Table 16).

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<sup>46</sup> President Obama said in a Town Hall discussion, "China, its currency is valued lower than market conditions would say it should be. And what that means is essential that they can sell stuff cheaper here, and our stuff when we try to sell there is more expensive. So it gives them an advantage in trade ... what we've said to them is you need to let your currency rise in accordance to the fact that your economy is rising." See "Remarks by the President at CNBC Town Hall Discussion on Jobs," Newseum, Washington, D.C., September 20, 2010. <http://www.whitehouse.gov>.

<sup>47</sup> Since late 2011, the Obama administration began to adopt a strategic "pivot" from the Middle East to East Asia. For example, the United States has planned to deploy 2,500 Marines in Australia to shore up alliances in Japan, South Korea, Philippines and Singapore. See The Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI), "The Obama Administration's Pivot to Asia." <http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/obama-administrations-pivot-asia>.

<sup>48</sup> See Stephen Kaufman, "United States Criticizes Trial of Chinese Dissident Liu Xiaobo," <http://America.gov>, December 23, 2009.

<sup>49</sup> See Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Remarks on Internet Freedom," Washington, DC, January 21, 2010. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/01/135519.htm>.

**Table 15.**

**Selected Events and Statements from the Obama Administration in 2009**

Month	Events and Statements
01/2009	Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner avoided talking about China as a "currency manipulator" in the White House press briefing, and said that "we have to take a comprehensive approach to enhancing our economic relationship with China."
03/2009	President Obama and China's Foreign Minister Yang emphasized the desire to strengthen cooperation and build a positive and constructive U.S.-China relationship.
04/2009	The two sides decided to establish the "U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED)."
05/2009	President Obama expressed appreciation for the important role China had played as the Chair of the Six-Party Talks on North Korea.
09/2009	The Obama Administration postponed a meeting with the Dalai Lama to occur after the President's first visit to China.
11/2009	During President Obama's state visit to China, the two sides produced seven cooperative agreements on clean energy and climate change.

The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov

**Table 16.**

**Selected Events and Statements from the Obama Administration  
in 2010 and in 2011**

Month	Events and Statements
01/2010	Secretary of State Hillary Clinton condemned the cyber attacks in a policy speech on Internet freedom.
01/2010	The Obama administration notified Congress of arms sales to Taiwan.
02/2010	President Obama announced a tougher line on trade issues. He claimed at the Senate Democratic Policy Committee Issues Conference that "we have lost 2.3 million jobs as a result of the trade imbalance with China between 2001 and 2007."
02/2010	President Obama unofficially meet with Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, at the White House.
07/2010	U.S. military aircrafts entered the Yellow Sea of China
09/2010	President Obama pushed China about their currency. He said the undervalued currency gave China an advantage in trade. "There should be an adjustment there based on market conditions. They have said yes in theory, but in fact they have not done everything that needs to be done."
12/2010	President Obama reiterated his appeal for the release of Liu Xiaobo, the 2010 winner of Nobel Peace Prize.
09/2011	The White House Press Secretary Jay Carney stated that the Chinese currency was substantially undervalued, and we needed to see continued progress of appreciating its currency.
11/2011	The Obama administration began to adopt a strategic "pivot" from the Middle East to East Asia by planning to deploy 2,500 Marines in Australia.

The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov

President Obama's tougher stance on China had coincided with the anti-China campaign rhetoric in the 2010 midterm election. In 2010, candidates from both parties targeted China for some of America's economic woes. The *New York Times* reported on October 9, 2010, that, "in the past week or so, at least 29 candidates have unveiled advertisements suggesting that their opponents have been too sympathetic to China and, as a result, Americans have suffered."<sup>50</sup> As a response to those campaign accusations, the Obama administration adopted a tougher stance on China. To verify this speculation, I conducted an in-depth analysis on the relationship between anti-China rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaign and the President's foreign policy statements on China.

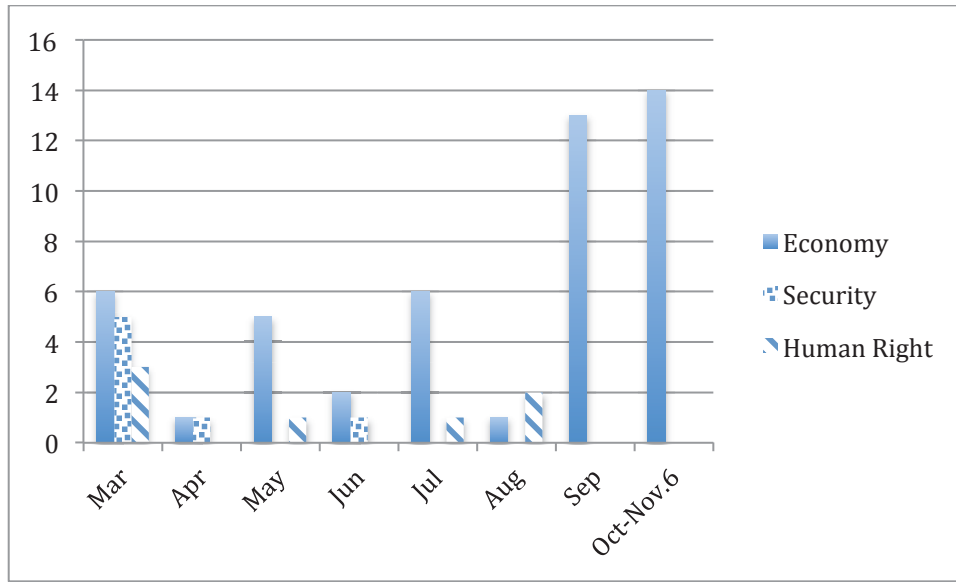
### ***Tracking the Public Statements***

The dependent variable is the White House statements on China from March to November in the election year 2012. The independent variable is the *New York Times* anti-China rhetoric in the 2012 presidential campaign. To find the relationship between the administration's public statements on China and the anti-China campaign rhetoric, I identified all the China-related press articles of the Obama administration by searching the White House's official website. Of the 82 statements, 60 of them took a tough stance on China (See Figure 19).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See David W. Chen, "China Emerges as a Scapegoat in Campaign Ads," <http://www.nytimes.com>.

<sup>51</sup> I treat the same policy statements on the same day or closing days as one statement. For example, President Obama accused Romney of outsourcing jobs to China twice on September 13 in two campaign events, and I count them as one statement. The source of the statements is [whitehouse.gov](http://whitehouse.gov).

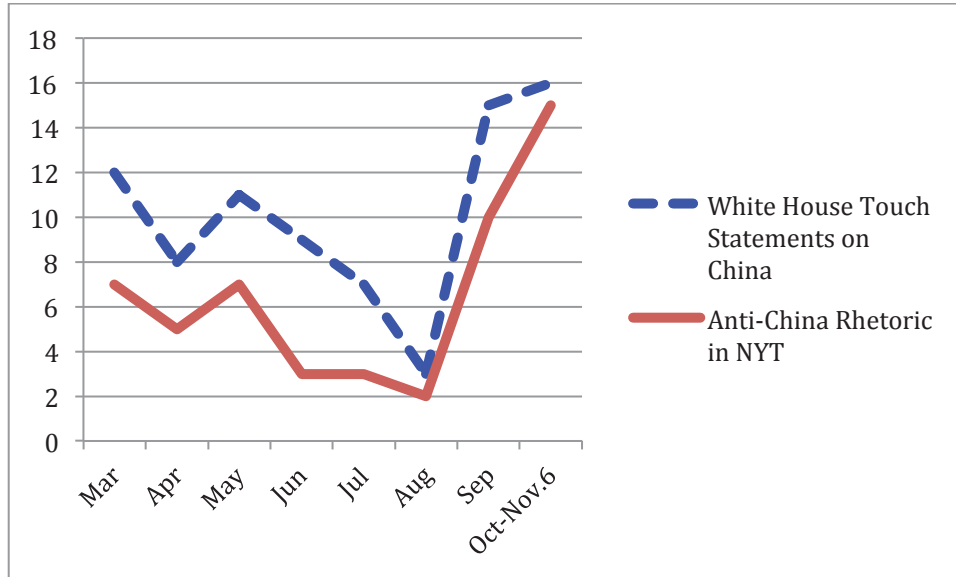


**Figure 19. Amount of the White House Statements Taking a Tough Stance on China (by Issue Category).**  
 From Mar.1 to Nov. 6, 2012  
 Source: The *New York Times*

### 4.3 Findings

#### *White House Statements: Response and Reinforcement*

President's foreign policy statements on China responded to the anti-China rhetoric during the presidential campaign. Figure 20 tracks the monthly amount of President's tough statements on China and the *New York Times* articles of Anti-China Rhetoric in the 2012 presidential campaign. Apparently, the President's foreign policy statements on China generally stuck to candidates' anti-China rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaign period.



**Figure 20. Amount of President's Tough Statements on China and the *New York Times* Articles of Anti-China Rhetoric in Presidential Campaign.**

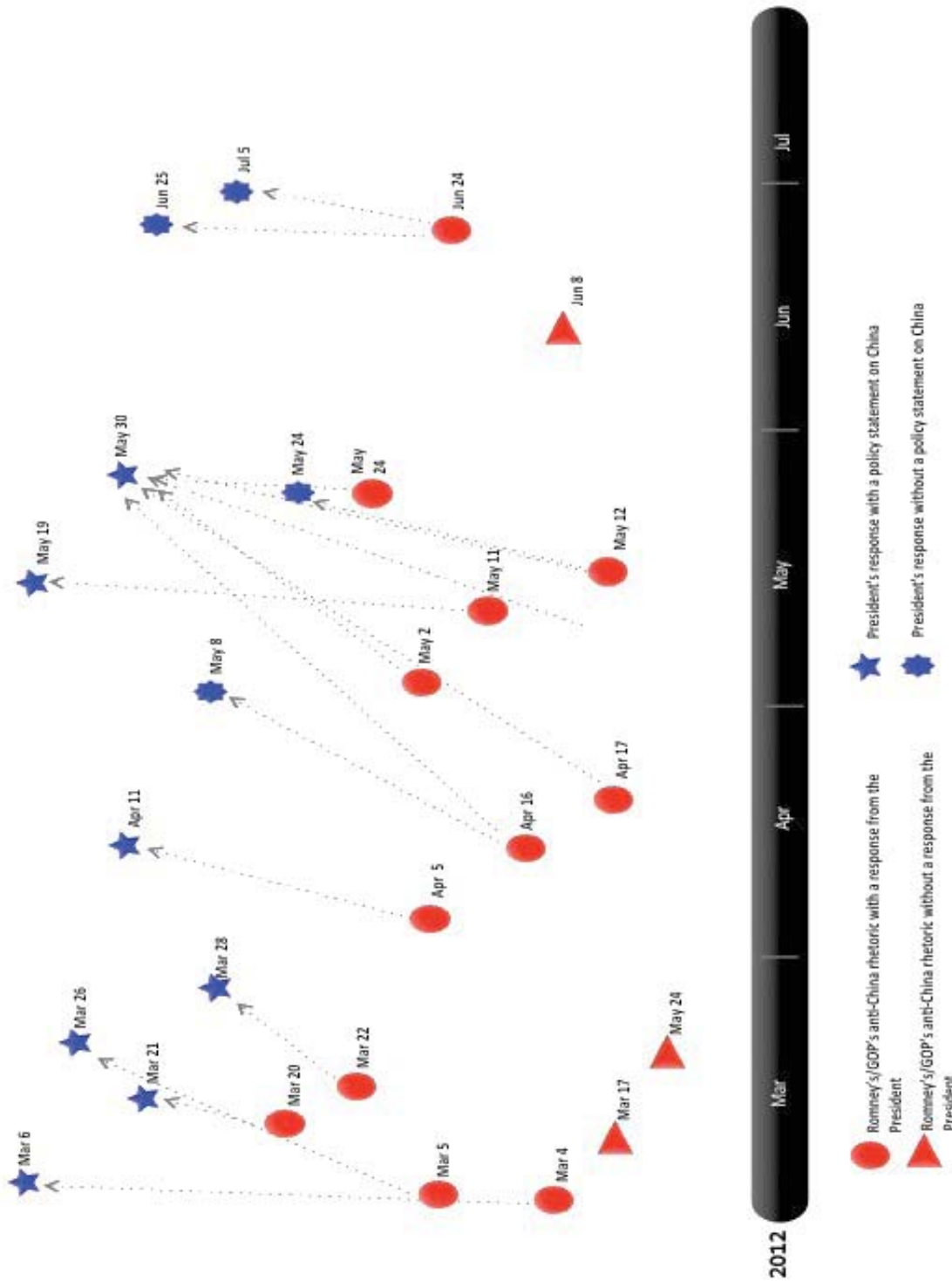
Mar.1 – Nov. 6, 2012

Source: The *New York Times* ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) and The White House ([www.whitehouse.com](http://www.whitehouse.com))

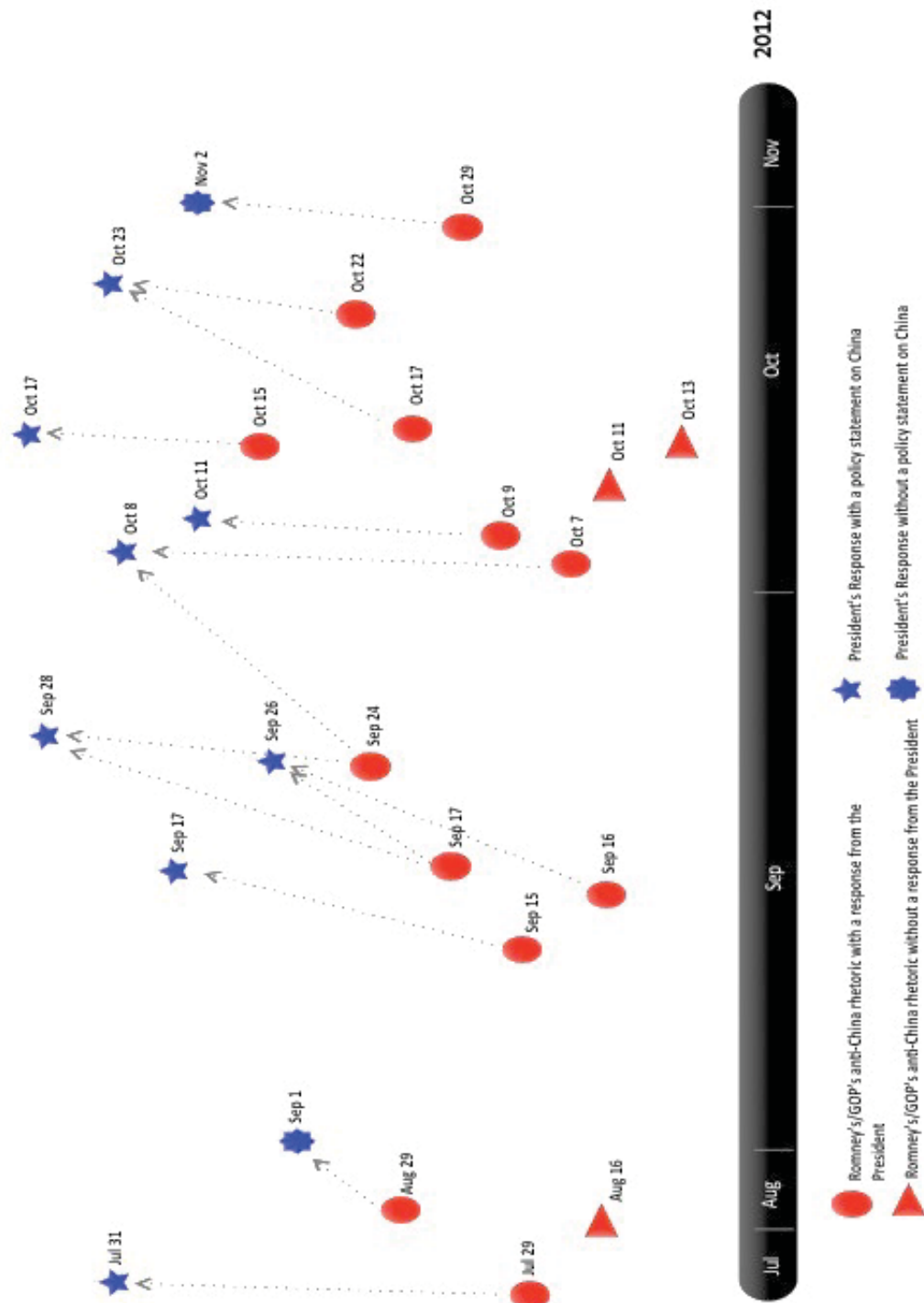
From Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012, President Obama responded to 80 percent of Romney's and/or GOP's anti-China campaign rhetoric reported in the *New York Times* by public statements. On the other hand, 81 percent of Obama's anti-China campaign rhetoric reported in the *New York Times* was reinforced by the White House's foreign policy statement on China.

Figure 21 and 22 tracks the *New York Times* articles of Romney's and GOP's anti-China campaign rhetoric and their responses from the White House statements from Mar. 1 to Nov. 4, 2012 (See Appendix D for the content of the anti-China rhetoric and White House statements). In general, when the campaign opponents made anti-China campaign rhetoric, the President and/or the administration would respond to the rhetoric and most of the responses contained a foreign policy statement on China.





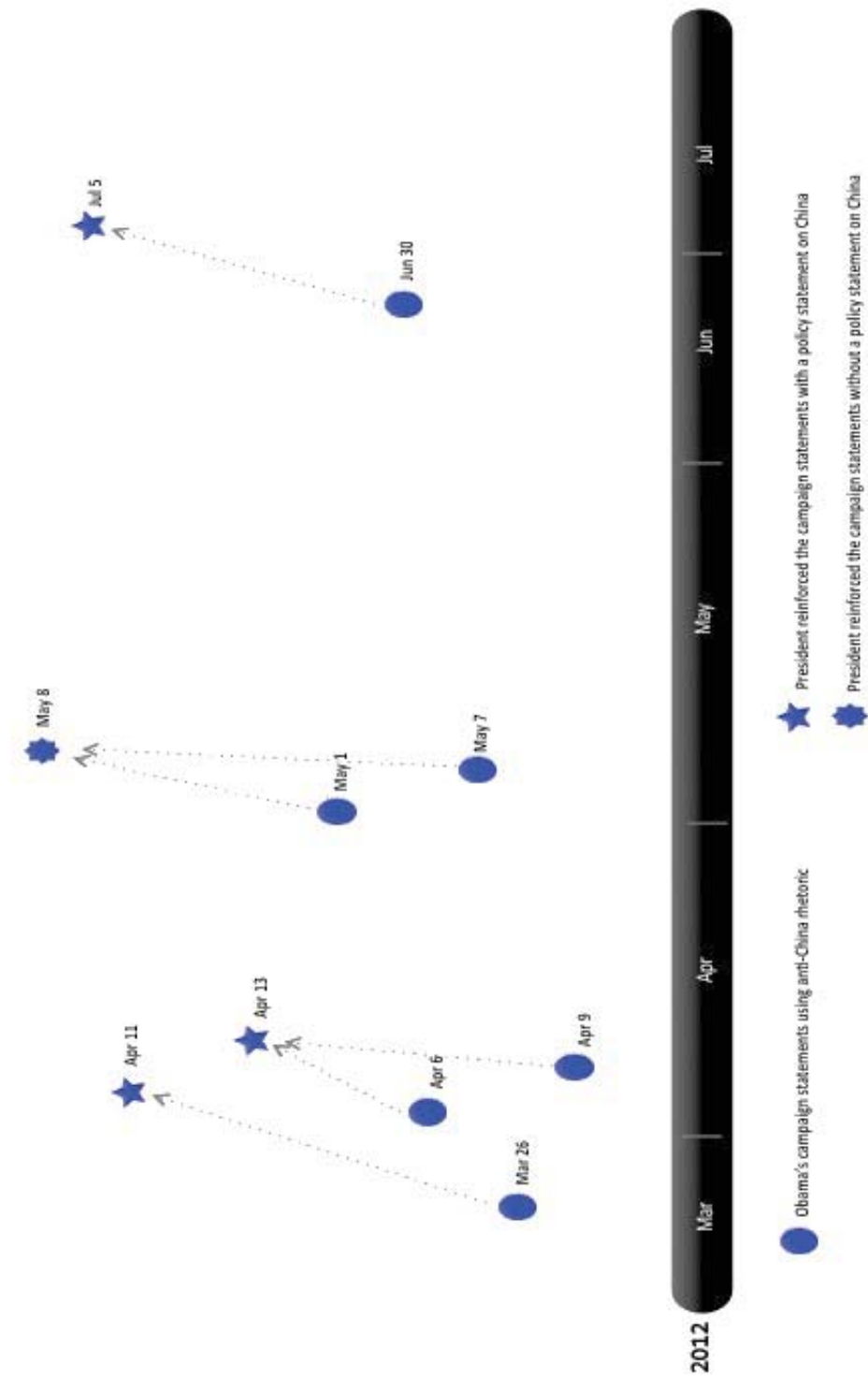
**Figure 21. Romney's and/or GOP's Anti-China Rhetoric and the Response from the White House, from Mar. to Jun. 2012.**  
 The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov and *The New York Times*.



**Figure 22. Romney's and/or GOP's Anti-China Rhetoric and the Response from the White House, from Jul. to Nov. 2012.**

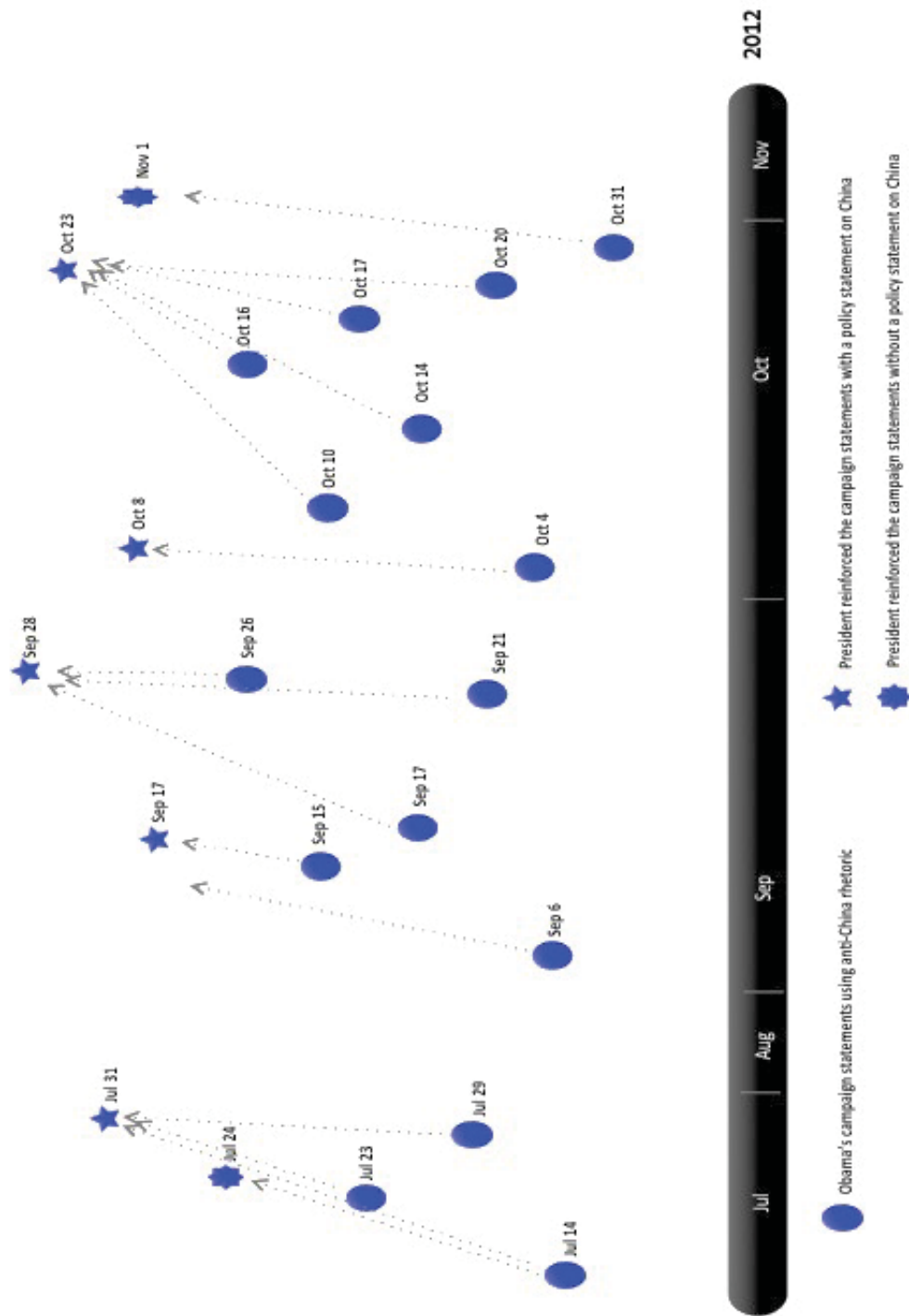
The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov and *The New York Times*.

Figure 23 and 24 tracks the *New York Times* articles of Obama's campaign rhetoric and reinforcements by the White House statements from Mar. 1 to Nov. 4, 2012 (See Appendix D for the content of the anti-China rhetoric and White House statements). When President Obama had a campaign statement using anti-China rhetoric reported by the *New York Times*, the White House would generally make a related foreign policy statement on China to reinforce the campaign statement.



**Figure 23. Obama’s Anti-China Campaign Rhetoric and Reinforcement by the White House, from Mar. to Jun. 2012.**

The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov and *The New York Times*.



**Figure 24. Obama's Anti-China Campaign Rhetoric and Reinforcement by the White House, from Jul. to Nov. 2012.**  
 The statements were retrieved from WhiteHouse.gov and The *New York Times*.

Only few *New York Times* articles with anti-China campaign rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaign period did not receive a response from the White House. These *New York Times* articles were comparatively not as important as those received a response. For example, the White House did not comment on two *New York Times* articles with Romney's Bain purchase in China in March 2012 probably because Romney had not clinched the Republican nomination at that time. Later, as Romney's advantage over other Republican candidates for nomination got clear, the President started to attack Romney sharply on his Bain purchase in China.<sup>52</sup> Also, the White House did not respond to some anti-China rhetoric that blamed Obama administration's borrowing from China for spending, which was made by the Republican Vice President Nominee Ryan and by some PACs supporting Romney, probably because there were simultaneously tougher rhetoric made directly by Romney himself and the White House chose to respond to the more important issue.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See "Republicans Brace for Possible Open Convention," reported in 3/18/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/18/us/politics/republicans-brace-for-possible-open-convention.html?pagewanted=all&gwh=9FF417CA4E4862D76972E4918B39DA80&gwt=pay>; and "When Packaging Oversteps the Facts," reported in 3/25/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/25/opinion/sunday/when-packaging-oversteps-the-facts.html>.

<sup>53</sup> See "Full Transcript of the Vice-Presidential Debate," reported on 3/25/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/11/us/politics/full-transcript-of-the-vice-presidential-debate.html?pagewanted=all&gwh=C0D16C034EDAA86B70B7C78DE7C3DE43&gwt=pay>; and "Campaigns Blitz 9 Swing States in a Battle of Ads," reported on 6/8/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/08/us/politics/9-swing-states-are-main-focus-of-ad-blitz.html>.

## *The Evolution of White House Statements on China during the 2012 Presidential Campaign*

The President was not always tough on China. Whether highlighting the cooperation or taking a tough stance on China depended on the intensity of anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign.

Economic issues predominated the anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates in 2012. From Mar. 1 to Nov. 6 (Election Day), 2012, about 88 percent (46 out of 52) of the *New York Times* articles regarding presidential candidates' anti-China rhetoric were about economic issues. And about 74 percent (61 out of 82) of White House statements on China were about economic issues. President Obama was tough on economic policy towards China in March 2012 when the Republican presidential candidates fiercely attacked on one another with issues related to China and proposed anti-China claims in the nominating campaigns.<sup>54</sup> As a response, President Obama filed World Trade Organization (WTO) case against China on the issue of rare earth materials and claimed to enforce the law against China's unfair advantage on solar energy.<sup>55</sup> In April, as the number of economic-related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates decreased, the

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<sup>54</sup> For example, Romney's former firm Bain was reported to have purchased in China; PAC supporting Gingrich was invested by SEC related interests in China; Romney vowed to crack down on China's trade. See the *New York Times*.  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/05/us/05iht-letter05.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/05/us/05iht-letter05.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0);  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/us/politics/republican-policies-for-iran-differ-little-from-obamas.html>; and [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/23/us/politics/mitt-romneys-stance-on-china-trade.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0&gwh=3302F5D734F154236797F73F0DE25513&gwt=pay](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/23/us/politics/mitt-romneys-stance-on-china-trade.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0&gwh=3302F5D734F154236797F73F0DE25513&gwt=pay).

<sup>55</sup> See "Remarks by the President on Fair Trade" published on 3/13/2012 and "Remarks by the President on Energy" published on 3/21/2012, WhiteHouse.gov,  
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/03/13/remarks-president-fair-trade>;  
and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/03/21/remarks-president-energy>.

administration turned to adopt a softer stance on China.<sup>56</sup> President Obama mentioned the economic cooperation with China at the CEO summit of the Americas and Ben Rhodes, Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication, praised China for making some progress in currency.<sup>57</sup> In May, as Romney repeated vowing to name China as a currency manipulator, President Obama responded by accusing Romney's outsourcing job to China and by reinstating the trade cases against China's unfair trade practices when signing the Export-Import Bank Bill.<sup>58 and 59</sup> There were few *New York Times* articles with anti-China rhetoric of both parties' candidates from June to August and the month of June witnessed the most friendly economic-related statements that the White House made on China in 2012.<sup>60</sup> On Jun. 16, White House claimed that China was not a threat and welcomed China's commitment on currency issue; and President Obama sought to build a cooperative partnership with China and avoided to talk about currency

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<sup>56</sup> In April 2012, there were only two *New York Times* articles with Romney's anti-China rhetoric on economic issue and both of them were about his claiming China as a currency manipulator. See <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/16/us/politics/house-republicans-would-thwart-romney-move-to-center.html?pagewanted=all>

; and <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/17/boehner-endorses-romney/>.

<sup>57</sup> See "Remarks by President Obama at CEO Summit of the Americas" published on 4/14/2012 and "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication Ben Rhodes," published on 4/14/2012, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/14/remarks-president-obama-ceo-summit-americas>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/14/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-and-deputy-national-security-0>.

<sup>58</sup> Romney's vowing on China was reported by the *New York Times* on May 2, 12 and 24, 2012. Obama's accusation on Romney's outsourcing jobs to China was reported by the *New York Times* on May 1 and 7, 2012. See [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

<sup>59</sup> See "Remarks by the President at Export-Import Bank Bill Signing," published on 5/30/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/05/30/remarks-president-export-import-bank-bill-signing>.

<sup>60</sup> Only 3 *New York Times* articles were about Romney's anti-China rhetoric and 3 *New York Times* articles were about Obama's anti-China rhetoric in June, July and August. See [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).



issues at the meeting with Chinese President Hu Jintao.<sup>61</sup> The only exception in the summer was the sanction against China's Bank of Kunlun on July 31,<sup>62</sup> which was announced right after Romney's vow to sanction against China on July 29.<sup>63</sup> In September and October, both contenders aggressively attacked each other using anti-China rhetoric and the White House correspondingly took a tough stance on China.<sup>64</sup> Romney continued criticizing Obama's soft policy towards China and claiming to crack down on China if elected,<sup>65</sup> while Obama responded by criticizing Romney's Bain purchase in China and made a couple of tough foreign policy statements on China

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<sup>61</sup> See "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 6/13/12," published on 6/13/12; "G20 Leaders Declaration," published on 6/16/2012; and "Remarks by President Obama and President Hu Jintao of China before Bilateral Meeting," published on 6/19/2012. See <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/13/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-61312>; <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/19/g20-leaders-declaration>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/19/remarks-president-obama-and-president-hu-jintao-china-bilateral-meeting>.

<sup>62</sup> See "Statement by the President on the Announcement of Additional Sanctions Related to Iran," published on 7/31/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/07/31/statement-president-announcement-additional-sanctions-related-iran>.

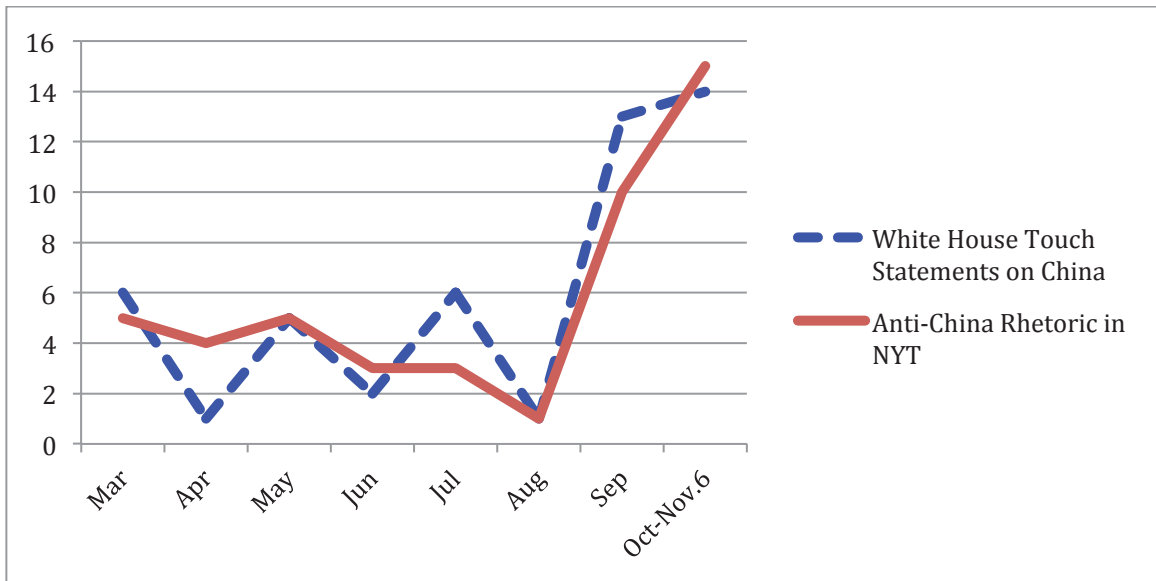
<sup>63</sup> See "Romney and Obama Strain to Show Gap on Foreign Policy," reported on 7/29/2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?\\_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all).

<sup>64</sup> There were 10 *New York Times* articles with presidential candidates' anti-China rhetoric reported in September and 15 in October, 2012; The White House made 15 tough statements on China in September and 16 in October, 2012.

<sup>65</sup> For example, Romney made a campaign ad that claimed to crackdown on cheaters like China on September 17. See "A Shift in Strategy in Romney's Latest Ads," reported on 9/17/2012. <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/17/a-shift-in-strategy-in-romneys-latest-ads/>.

including issuing executive orders to reject Chinese Acquisition of U.S. companies, filing WTO cases against China, and claiming to fight China on cleaning energy.<sup>66</sup>

Figure 25 tracks the monthly amount of the President’s tough economic statements on China and the *New York Times* articles of anti-China rhetoric regarding economic issues in the 2012 presidential campaign. The figure indicates that the White House’s economic foreign policy statements adhered to the anti-China rhetoric during the presidential campaign.



**Figure 25. Amount of the President’s Tough Statements on China and the *New York Times* Articles of Anti-China Rhetoric in the 2012 Presidential Campaign (Economic Issues).**

Source: The *New York Times* ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) and The White House ([www.whitehouse.com](http://www.whitehouse.com))

<sup>66</sup> See “Order Signed by the President regarding the Acquisition of Four U.S. Wind Farm Project Companies by Ralls Corporation,” published on 9/28/2012; “Press Gaggle by Principal Deputy Press Secretary Josh Earnest en route Cincinnati, OH, 9/17/12,” published on 9/17/2012; and “Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event,” published on 10/8/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/28/order-signed-president-regarding-acquisition-four-us-wind-farm-project-c>; <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/17/press-gaggle-principal-deputy-press-secretary-josh-earnest-en-route-cinc>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/10/08/remarks-president-campaign-event>.

Though the amounts of anti-China campaign rhetoric about security, human rights, and other issues were not as numerous as statements on economic issues, they did coincident with the policy tone of the White House during this period.

The major security issues between U.S. and China during the 2012 presidential campaign periods included the UN sanctions against Syria, preventing nuclear proliferation, and conflicts in South China seas. In March and early April 2012, Republican presidential candidates fiercely attacked China and Obama's policy regarding security issues.<sup>67</sup> Correspondingly, the White House took a tough stance on China by criticizing China's vetoing UN sanctions against Syria, urging China to restrain Iran's and North Korea's nuclear proliferation.<sup>68</sup> However, as the anti-China rhetoric regarding security issues diminished since mid-April, the tone of the White House rhetoric changed as well. It was less critical from mid-April to Election Day. On Jun. 8, President Obama claimed to seek a cooperative agreement with China on Iran, Syria and South China

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<sup>67</sup> See "Candidates Hammer Obama Over Iran, but Approaches Differ Little," reported on 3/5/2012; and "Smaller Navy Ship Has a Rocky Past and Key Support," reported on 4/5/2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/us/politics/republican-policies-for-iran-differ-little-from-obamas.html>; and [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/06/us/politics/a-smaller-navy-ship-with-troubles-but-presidents-backing.html?src=me&ref=us&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/06/us/politics/a-smaller-navy-ship-with-troubles-but-presidents-backing.html?src=me&ref=us&_r=0).

<sup>68</sup> See "Remarks by the President at AIPAC Policy Conference," published on 3/4/2012; "Remarks by President Obama and President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China Before Bilateral Meeting," published on 3/26/2012; and "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 4/11/12," published on 4/11/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/03/04/remarks-president-aipac-policy-conference-0>; <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/03/26/remarks-president-obama-and-president-hu-jintao-peoples-republic-china-b>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/11/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-41112>.

seas.<sup>69</sup> And when asked about tough security issues regarding China, the White House generally refused to respond. For example, at press briefings on Apr. 19 and Jun. 5, Press Secretary Carney refused to label China as a military threat;<sup>70</sup> on May. 19, the Camp David Declaration welcomed the resumption of talks between Iran and the E3+3 including China;<sup>71</sup> and on Sep. 19, Carney claimed that U.S. did not take a position on the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Dao) issue between China and Japan.<sup>72</sup>

Though there were few *New York Times* articles about presidential candidates' positions on China's human rights, those articles, to some extent, encouraged the White House to take certain actions. A prominent case was Chen Guangcheng, a Chinese civil rights activist. On Apr. 22, 2012, Chen escaped from house arrest and entered the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.<sup>73</sup> The administration initially made no comment, but later took

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<sup>69</sup> See "Statement on the President's Meeting with President Aquino of the Philippines," published on 6/8/2012; and "Background Conference Call on Today's Presidential Determination Regarding the Availability of non-Iranian Oil in the Market," published on 6/11/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/08/statement-president-s-meeting-president-aquino-philippines>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/11/background-conference-call-todays-presidential-determination-regarding-a>.

<sup>70</sup> See "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 4/19/12," published on 4/19/2012; and "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, and Director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau Richard Cordray, 6/5/12," published on 6/5/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/19/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-41912>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/05/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-secretary-education-arne-dunca>.

<sup>71</sup> See "Camp David Declaration," published on 5/19/2012.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/05/19/camp-david-declaration>.

<sup>72</sup> See "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 9/19/12," published on 9/19/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/09/19/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-91912>.

<sup>73</sup> See Andrew Jacobs and Jonathan Ansfield, "Challenge for U.S. After Escape by China Activist," published on 4/27/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/28/world/asia/chen-guangcheng-blind-lawyer-escapes-house-arrest-china.html>.

actions to solve the case when Romney criticized Obama's silence about Chen Guangcheng. At the press briefing on Apr. 23, Press Secretary Carney refused to single out China as the regimes that repressed its dissidents.<sup>74</sup> And on Apr. 30, President Obama declined to talk about the case of Chen Guangcheng.<sup>75</sup> After Romney criticized Obama for his long silence about Chen Guangcheng,<sup>76</sup> the administration granted Chen and his families U.S. visas. They departed Beijing for New York City on May. 19.<sup>77</sup> It was difficult for the administration to take the actions regarding China's human rights at the time when the U.S. was seeking to improve relations with China and seeking its support with respect to crises in Iran, Sudan, Syria, and North Korea.<sup>78</sup> But Romney's anti-China rhetoric made the administration change its statement and take particular policy action on the Chen Guangcheng case. Accordingly, the pressure from an opposite candidate's anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign might contribute to a policy change of the White House on China's human rights issue.

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<sup>74</sup> See "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 4/23/12," published on 4/23/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/23/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-42312>.

<sup>75</sup> See "On a Tightrope, President Prods China on Rights," published on 5/1/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/01/world/asia/talks-between-china-and-united-states-over-dissident-chen-guangcheng.html>.

<sup>76</sup> See "Amnesia as the West Judges China," published on 5/11/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/12/world/asia/12iht-currents12.html>.

<sup>77</sup> See Andrew Jacobs. "Blind Chinese Dissident Leaves on Flight for U.S." published on 5.19.2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/20/world/asia/china-dissident-chen-guangcheng-united-states.html>.

<sup>78</sup> See Andrew Jacobs and Jonathan Ansfield, "Challenge for U.S. After Escape by China Activist," published on 4/27/2012, *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/28/world/asia/chen-guangcheng-blind-lawyer-escapes-house-arrest-china.html>.

#### 4.4 Congress and Anti-China Rhetoric in Presidential Campaign

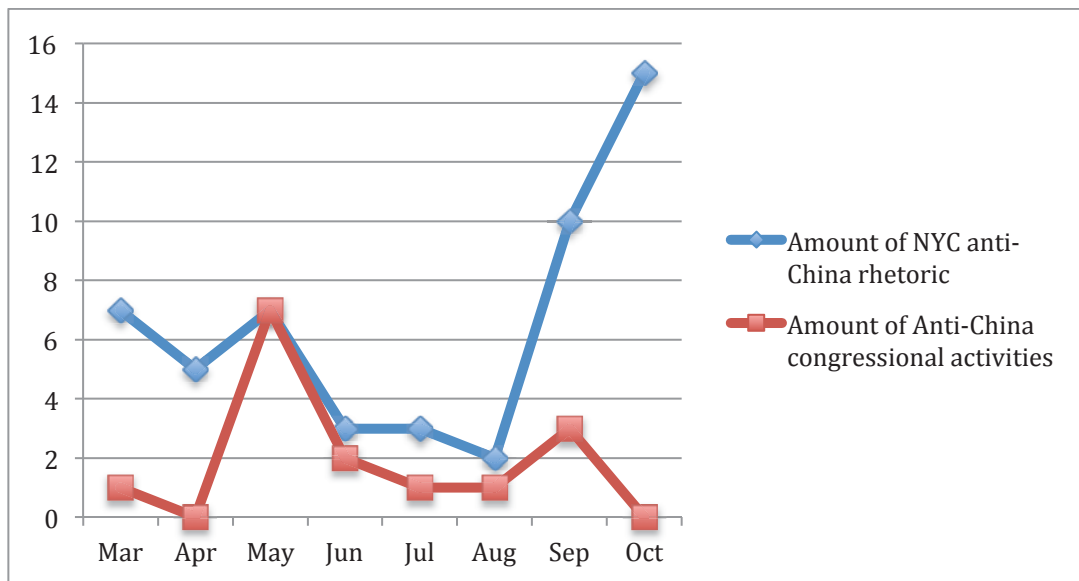
Since the end of the Cold War, there has generally been a shift away from the leadership of the foreign policy elite toward greater pluralism. A wide range of domestic actors has been active in the making of foreign policy, including Congress. The Congress plays an important role in influencing U.S. policy because of the greater fluidity and pluralism in U.S. foreign policy making, including the policy toward China. Scholars in congressional politics identified many factors that contribute to the congressional behavior, such as reelection, the pressure from interest groups, constituency and partisanship (e.g. Fenno 1973; Mayhew 1974; Fiorina 1974; Ripley 1998; Bennett 2002; Haney 2011). I argue that congressional behaviors regarding China issues are correlated with the presidential candidates' anti-China rhetoric during the presidential campaign period. Specifically, congressional activities regarding certain China issues are less in favor of China when there are more campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric.

The dependent variable in this section is campaign activity, which includes the introduction of a bill, roll call voting, and agreement of amendment. I identified all the congressional activities regarding China issues during the campaign period (from March to October 2012) from The Library of Congress (Thomas). The measurements of the dependent variable include 1) date; 2) issues; 3) the category of the issue (economy, security and/or human rights); 4) the action of the case (introduced, passed or agreed); 5) favoring China or against China; 6) House or Senate; and 7) sponsor's party ID. The independent variable is the intensity of anti-China rhetoric from the presidential candidates, which is indicated by the amount of *New York Times* articles. To examine the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable, I statistically analyze the

general relationship between anti-China rhetoric and the congressional activities throughout the 2012 presidential campaign period, and also qualitatively examine the detail congressional activities to support my argument.

Through the statistical and quantitative analyses, I find that 1) congressional activities are generally less in favor of China when there are more campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric; 2) partisan sponsorships are consistent with to their party's presidential candidates' anti-China campaign rhetoric; 3) human rights is the major issue of the anti-China congressional activities.

Figure 26 shows the monthly amounts of anti-China rhetoric in the presidential elections in the *New York Times* articles and monthly amounts of anti-China congressional activities from March to October 2012.



**Figure 26. Anti-China Rhetoric and Anti-China Congressional Activities.**

March to October 2012

Source: The *New York Times* and The Library of Congress

The growing amounts of anti-China campaign activities were associated with the increasing of anti-China rhetoric in quantity in May and September 2012. By contrast,

April and summer (June to August) 2012 had comparatively few anti-China campaign rhetoric in the *New York Times* articles and correspondingly few anti-China congressional activities. October was an outlier. With the presidential election and the congressional election approaching, there were 15 *New York Times* articles about anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates, but no anti-China legislation was introduced, voted or agreed. One probable reason was that the congressional elections were also approaching in October, and members of Congress might focus more on the re-election than on foreign policy making.

There were totally 18 congressional activities (12 from House of Representative and 6 from Senate) about China from March to October 2012. 15 congressional activities were tough on China, of which 7 were about human rights, 3 were about the economy, 3 were about security and 2 were about general U.S.-China relations (See Table 17). There were 3 congressional activities in favor of China, and all of them were House introductions regarding economic issues. Senate was always tough on China throughout the 2012 presidential campaign period. All of the 6 Senate activities were against China.

**Table 17.**  
**Amount of Anti-China Congressional Activities.**  
March to October 2012

Issue	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct
Economy	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Security	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Human Rights	1	0	3	1	0	0	2	0
General Relations	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	0	7	2	1	1	3	0

Source: The Library of Congress



Partisan sponsorships were consistent with their party's presidential candidates' anti-China campaign rhetoric. During the 2012 presidential campaign period, Republican members of Congress sponsored totally 11 congressional activities, 10 of which happened in May, the month with the highest amount of anti-China rhetoric by Romney.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, September witnessed the highest amount of Democratic sponsorship on congressional activities and the highest amount of Obama's anti-China campaign rhetoric.<sup>80</sup> Accordingly, presidential candidates' anti-China rhetoric, to some extent, exerted influence on their party's congressional behaviors regarding China issues.

Besides, unlike the President, who was generally tough on China regarding economic issues and fluctuating regarding human rights and security, the Congress was fluctuating on economic issue and was always tough on China regarding human rights and security issues during the presidential campaign period.

#### **4.5 Public Opinion: A Periodic Effect**

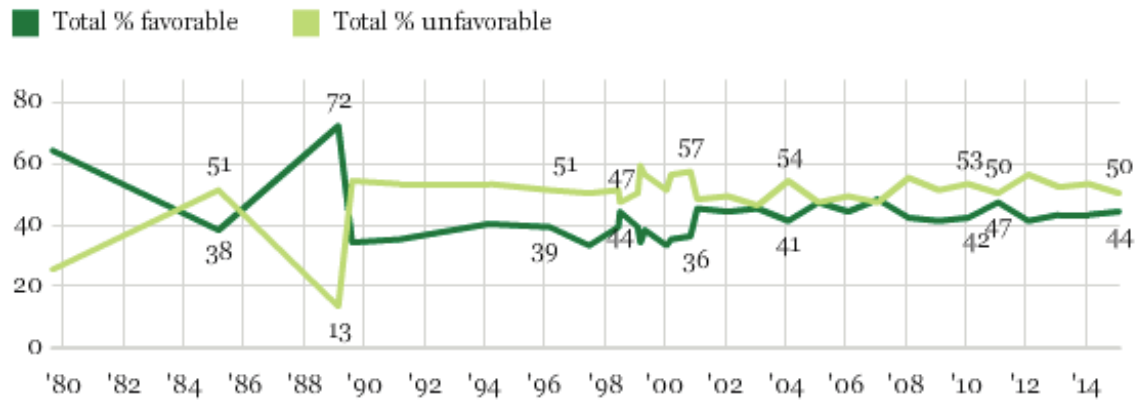
Anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates has a negative effect on American public opinion of China. By exploring Gallup poll's American public opinion of China, I find that American's favorability on China usually goes down in the election year when there is anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates and goes up after the election.

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<sup>79</sup> In May 2012, the *New York Times* had 4 articles regarding Obama's anti-China campaign rhetoric, the highest amount except October, the outlier of my congressional research.

<sup>80</sup> In September 2012, The *New York Times* had 6 articles regarding Obama's anti-China campaign rhetoric and Democratic members of congress sponsored 3 congressional activities.

Figure 27 shows the historical trend of Gallup’s polls on American public opinion of China.<sup>81</sup>



**Figure 27. American Public Opinion of China.**  
1980 – 2015

Obtained from Gallup.com

In general, the American public opinion of China remained stable after the Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989, particularly after 2000. The favorable rates of China declined in the presidential election year including 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012, and went up after then. Also, the unfavorable rates of China in those election years usually reached a higher point than those of the years around.

The decline of America public perceptions on China in the election year is due largely to the anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates. Presidential candidate’s anti-China rhetoric, such as the “Sold Us Out” ads that linked China with unemployment in the U.S., together with the echo effect including the massive anti-China media report, contributed to the negative public opinion of China. When the election is over the effect decays as there is no anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates.

<sup>81</sup> Gallup asks a random sample of American citizens normally in February each year if they have a “favorable”, “somewhat favorable”, “somewhat unfavorable”, or “unfavorable” opinion of China. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1624/perceptions-foreign-countries.aspx>.

Accordingly, anti-China rhetoric has a negative effect on American's public opinion of China during the presidential election year, and the effect decays after the presidential election is over.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates not only affects the voter support but also affects U.S. foreign policy towards China. The pressure from a presidential candidate, in conjunction with its echo effect, especially the news report and media coverage on the anti-China campaign rhetoric, could effectively make White House respond by certain foreign policy statements on China. President's statement on China responds to the anti-China rhetoric from the opponent presidential candidates or reinforces his own anti-China rhetoric. Congressional activities regarding certain China issues are less in favor of China when there are more campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric. Partisan sponsorships stick to their party's presidential candidates' anti-China campaign rhetoric. And anti-China rhetoric during the presidential election year has a negative effect on American public opinion of China.

## Chapter 5. Case Studies: China's Trade and Currency Issues

China has long been accused by U.S. politicians of undervaluing its currency to gain unfair advantages in trade with U.S. Bashing China using trade and currency issues is a popular strategy in recent presidential elections. Over the past decade, the Chinese government continues manipulating its currency to gain unfair trade advantages over the U.S., which is harmful to the U.S. manufacturers and job market. China undervalues its currency so that its exports are cheap. While U.S. exports are more expensive, and the cheaper Chinese imports flood U.S. markets, ultimately costing American manufacturing jobs.<sup>82</sup> Currency manipulation provides an unfair subsidy to Chinese exports and represents the most protectionist policy of any major country since World War II.<sup>83</sup> “And when American manufacturers try to sell their products to China, they are hit with the same percentage in what amounts to an unfair tariff.”<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the cost advantages resulted from China's currency manipulation cost American jobs and hurt the U.S. economy. The trade and currency have always been major issues regarding China in recent U.S. presidential campaigns.

In this chapter, I conduct case studies on China's trade and currency issues to show that how anti-China rhetoric during the 2012 presidential campaigns affected the White House statements on China regarding the trade and currency issues and eventually

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<sup>82</sup> In 2011, the US trade deficit with China reached a new record, of \$295 billion. The US trade deficit with China, exacerbated by Chinese currency manipulation, has caused the loss of more than 2.8 million American jobs since 2001 - including more than 1.9 million manufacturing jobs, just as a result of the Chinese trade deficit. See Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio), “Currency manipulation gives Chinese an unfair advantage.” July 11, 2012. <http://www.brown.senate.gov>.

<sup>83</sup> See Fred Bergsten, “An Overlooked Way to Create Jobs,” *The New York Times*, September 28, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com>.

<sup>84</sup> See Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio), “Currency manipulation gives Chinese an unfair advantage.” July 11, 2012. <http://www.brown.senate.gov>.

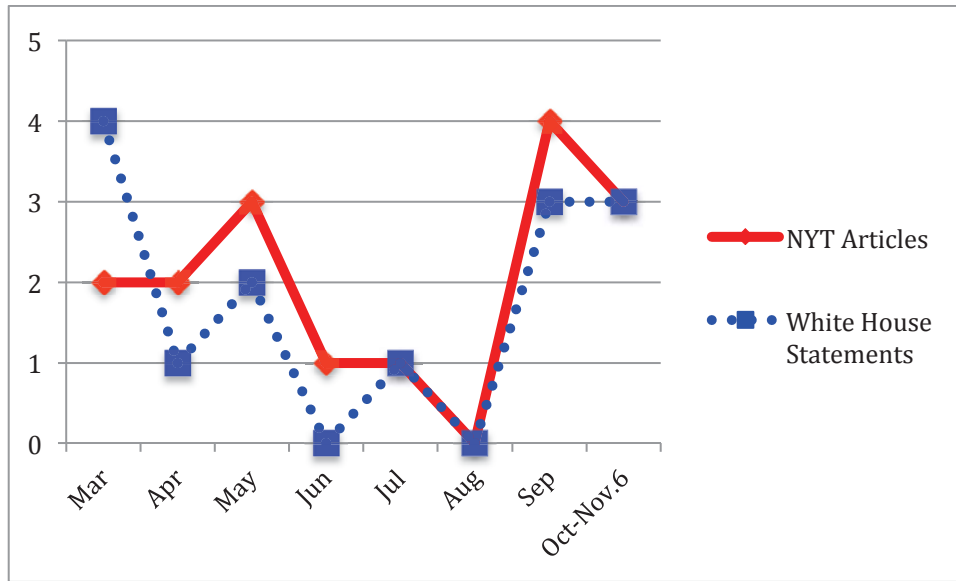
contributed to the policy outcome towards the U.S.-China economic relations. On the U.S. side, the president is more likely to make a tough foreign policy statement towards China on trade and currency issues when there is more related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates, and *vice versa*. The impact of anti-China campaign rhetoric on the White House tough statements towards China on trade and currency issues is independent of the congressional pressure and the White House's grand strategy toward China. On the China side, the Chinese government is more likely to allow for appreciation of its currency (Yuan) when there is more trade and currency related anti-China rhetoric by U.S. presidential candidates.

Apart from the case study for the 2012 presidential campaign, I also conduct a comparative study of the presidents' campaign promise and performance regarding China's trade and currency policy during and after the 2008 and 2012 elections to support my argument that the intensity of anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates contributes to the presidents' foreign policy towards China. In addition, I discuss the external confounding factors, the domestic pro-market reformer and international business interests that might also contribute to the U.S.-China economic relations to show the importance of anti-China campaign rhetoric compared to other pressures.

### **5.1 Anti-China Rhetoric and President's Policy**

President Obama's public statements on China's trade and currency were generally responsive to the related anti-China campaign rhetoric in the *New York Times* articles during the 2012 presidential campaign period. From Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012, totally 16 *New York Times* articles contained presidential candidate's anti-China rhetoric

on trade and currency issues, and 14 White House statements took a tough stance on China on trade and currency issues. Figure 28 shows the monthly amount of the *New York Times* articles and White House tough statements on China's trade and currency issues.



**Figure 28. Amount of Anti-China Rhetoric and the President's Tough Statements on China's Trade and Currency Issues.**

Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012

Source: The *New York Times* ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) and The White House ([www.whitehouse.com](http://www.whitehouse.com))

Apparently, the more campaign news that contains anti-China rhetoric on trade and currency, the more likelihood that the president would take a tough stance on China regarding trade and currency policies. Table 18 tracks the major anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates in the *New York Time* articles and their responses by the White House's tough economic statements towards China on trade and currency issues. Half of the *New York Times* articles that contain anti-China campaign rhetoric were responded by a concrete foreign policy action by the White House.

**Table 18.**  
**The New York Times Anti-China Rhetoric on Trade and Currency Issues**  
**and the Response by the White House.**  
 March to November 2012

Anti-China Rhetoric		White House Response		
Date	Issue	Date	Content	Statement / Action
Mar 20	Romney criticized Obama for a low level of attention to China trade issues over solar panel	Mar 21	President Obama enforced trade laws against China's unfair advantage on solar energy	Action
Mar 22	Romney vowed to crack down on China's trade policy	Mar 28	Vice President Biden reinstated the trade case against China on Mar 13	Statement
Apr 16	Romney repeatedly vowed to crack down on China's trade and named China as currency manipulator	May 30	President Obama reinstated the trade cases against China's unfair trade practices at signing the Export-Import Bank Bill	Statement
Apr 17				
May 2				
May 12				
May 24				
Jul 29	Romney vowed to sanction China	Jul 31	President Obama sanctioned China's Bank of Kunlun	Action
Sep 17	Romney ads claimed to crackdown on cheaters like China	Sep 17	President Obama filed WTO case against China	Action
Sep 26	Obama accused Romney on unfair trade case in China	Sep 28	President Obama issues executive orders to reject Chinese Acquisition of U.S. companies	Action
Oct 15	Romney criticized Obama administration for delaying the release of the currency report	Oct 17	President Obama highlighted the trade cases against China at the 2 <sup>nd</sup> presidential debate	Statement
Oct 22	Romney bashed China's trade policies	Oct 23	President Obama highlighted the trade cases against China at the 3 <sup>rd</sup> presidential debate	Statement

Source: The *New York Times* ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) and The White House ([www.whitehouse.com](http://www.whitehouse.com))

After May 2012, as Romney started to attack Obama fiercely on his trade and currency positions on China, the responses from President Obama became immediate and confrontational. All Romney's anti-China rhetoric on trade and currency issues received the President's response within two days, and all the China-related trade and currency issue raised by Romney were directly responded with a relevant White House statement or action, showing the president's effort to solve the issue. For example, President Obama sanctioned a China's Bank on Jul. 31 in response to Romney's vow to sanction China on Jul. 29;<sup>85</sup> and filed WTO case against China on Sep. 17 in response to Romney's claim to crack down China on the same day, though the White House denied that it was for campaign purpose.<sup>86</sup>

By contrast, when there was no anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates regarding trade and currency, the White House's economic policy statement towards China would be more positive. The president made two friendly economic policy statements towards China during the 2012 presidential campaign. The first one was on Apr. 14, after nearly one month without any *New York Times* articles with presidential candidate's anti-China rhetoric on trade and currency issues (the last one was on Mar. 22 when the *New York Times* reported Romney's vow to crack down on China's trade), the President mentioned the economic cooperation with China at the CEO summit of the Americas and Ben Rhodes, Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic

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<sup>85</sup> See "Romney and Obama Strain to Show Gap on Foreign Policy," reported on 7/29/2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?\\_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all).

<sup>86</sup> See "Press Gaggle by Principal Deputy Press Secretary Josh Earnest en route Cincinnati, OH, 9/17/12," published on 9/17/2012, Press Gaggle by Principal Deputy Press Secretary Josh Earnest en route Cincinnati, OH, 9/17/12.



Communication praised China for making some progress in currency.<sup>87</sup> The second one was on Jun. 19, also after nearly one month without any *New York Times* articles with presidential candidate's anti-China rhetoric on trade and currency issues (the last one was on May 24 when the *New York Times* reported Romney's Day 1 promises), the president welcomed the commitment by China on currency issue and claimed to build a cooperative economic partnership with China.<sup>88</sup>

### ***The Congressional Pressure***

During the 2012 presidential campaign period, anti-China congressional activities on trade and currency issue did not lead to White House tough statements on China. Only after presidential candidates raising China's currency and trade issues did the White House make the tough statements on China. On May 8, the House agreed to the Turner (R-OH) amendment that would increase by \$5 million the minimal level of funding for the International Trade Administration for use in dealing with Chinese trade practices.<sup>89</sup> The White House did not make any statements related to the House agreement until May 30 when President Obama reinstated the trade cases against China's unfair trade practices at signing the Export-Import Bank Bill, after Romney's repeatedly vowing to crack down

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<sup>87</sup> See "Remarks by President Obama at CEO Summit of the Americas," published on 4/14/2012 and "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communication Ben Rhodes," published on 4/14/2012, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/14/remarks-president-obama-ceo-summit-americas>; and <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/14/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-and-deputy-national-security-0>.

<sup>88</sup> See "G20 Leaders Declaration," published on 6/19/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/19/g20-leaders-declaration>; and "Remarks by President Obama and President Hu Jintao of China before Bilateral Meeting," published on 6/19/2012. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/19/remarks-president-obama-and-president-hu-jintao-china-bilateral-meeting>.

<sup>89</sup> Source: The Library of Congress.

on China's trade and named China as currency manipulator on May 12 and May 24.<sup>90</sup> On Jul. 26, Senate introduced the "China Fair Trade Act of 2012" by Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-MI).<sup>91</sup> The White House did not make any statements related to the Senate introduction until Jul. 31 when President Obama sanctioned China's Bank of Kunlun, after Romney's vowing to sanction China on Jul. 29.<sup>92</sup> Accordingly, rather than followed the congressional activities on China's trade and currency issues, the White House responded to the anti-China rhetoric by the presidential candidate and ignored the Congress.

### ***The Grand Strategy toward China***

The impact of anti-China campaign rhetoric on the White House tough statements on China is also independent of the administration's grand strategy toward China. In May 2012, the fourth round of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) was held in Beijing May 3-4, 2012. The two sides highlighted the cooperation and

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<sup>90</sup> See "Mitt Romney's Stance on China Trade," The *New York Times*, reported in 5/22/2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/23/us/politics/mitt-romneys-stance-on-china-trade.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0&gwh=3302F5D734F154236797F73F0DE25513&gwt=pay](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/23/us/politics/mitt-romneys-stance-on-china-trade.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0&gwh=3302F5D734F154236797F73F0DE25513&gwt=pay); and "When Packaging Oversteps the Facts," The *New York Times*, reported in 5/24/2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/25/opinion/sunday/when-packaging-oversteps-the-facts.html>.

<sup>91</sup> Source: The Library of Congress.

<sup>92</sup> See "Romney and Obama Strain to Show Gap on Foreign Policy," reported on 7/29/2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?\\_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/us/politics/obama-and-romney-strain-to-assert-foreign-policy-differences.html?_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss&pagewanted=all).

coordination during the summit.<sup>93</sup> However, the month of May 2012 also witnessed Romney's repeatedly vowing to name China as a currency manipulator. As a consequence, President Obama responded to Romney by reinstating the trade cases against China's unfair trade practices at signing the Export-Import Bank Bill on May 30, rather than followed the corporative grand strategy toward China after the S&ED summit.<sup>94 and 95</sup>

## 5.2 Obama's Promise and Performance: A Long-Term Effect

Apart from the analysis of 2012 presidential campaign, I also conduct a case study of the presidents' foreign policy changes regarding China's trade policy during and after the 2008 and 2012 elections to compare the different effects of anti-China rhetoric on the foreign policy towards China. The comparison between 2008 and 2012 indicates that whether the President keeps the campaign promises regarding China's trade and currency issues depend on the intensity of anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates on related

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<sup>93</sup> Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner, special representatives of President Barack Obama, together with Vice Premier Wang Qishan and State Councilor Dai Bingguo, special representatives of President Hu Jintao, co-chaired two days of S&ED discussions. On the media note, they stated that "the two sides engaged in candid, in-depth and constructive discussions and decided to advance practical cooperation between the United States and China in order to build a cooperative partnership based on mutual benefit and mutual respect... Given that cooperation should be the defining characteristic of U.S.-China relations, the two sides decided to strengthen bilateral relations, including through increased cooperation and coordination on a range of pressing global and regional issues, to build a new model of bilateral relations in the 21st century." See "Joint Statement on the 4th Round of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue," 5/4/2012. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/05/189286.htm>.

<sup>94</sup> Romney's vowing on China was reported by the *New York Times* on May 2, 12 and 24, 2012. Obama's accuse on Romney's outsourcing jobs to China was reported by the *New York Times* on May 1 and 7, 2012. See [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

<sup>95</sup> See "Remarks by the President at Export-Import Bank Bill Signing," published on 5/30/2012, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/05/30/remarks-president-export-import-bank-bill-signing>.

issues. Specifically, more anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign makes the president more likely to keep the campaign promise on related issues during the first year in office.

### ***Source and Method***

The comparative study examines whether the presidential performances in making foreign policy towards China keep their campaign promises. In other words, whether the anti-China rhetoric is just for the American audience in the electorate or does it have a long-term effect on foreign policy. Two questions are to be explored: 1) Has President Obama done what he promised regarding China issues during the presidential campaigns? 2) Are President Obama's China policies coincident with the anti-China rhetoric from his opponents (McCain and Romney)? Since policy change frequently occurs after the election, I treat President Obama's first year in office, including 2009 and 2013, as the post-election period. I do not study the President's foreign policy towards China in year two, three, and four because the mid-term election and the reelection might become the major consideration of the foreign policy making (Quandt 1986).

The resources of this case study are the China-related public statements obtained from WhiteHouse.gov, the presidential candidates' campaign websites, and PolitiFact.com – a website who compiled more than 500 promises that Barack Obama made during 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns and tracked their progress by rating them as “Kept”, “Broken”, “Compromise”, “In the Works”, and “Stalled.”

### ***Findings and Discussion***

Obama's campaign promise regarding China's trade issues was “compromised” after the 2008 presidential election since anti-China rhetoric regarding trade and currency

issues was scarcely used by presidential candidates. By contrast, Obama's campaign promise regarding China's currency issues was rated "in the works" after the 2012 presidential election since much more anti-China rhetoric regarding trade and currency issues was made by presidential candidates than those in 2008.

In the 2008 presidential campaign, Obama and Biden promised to "use all diplomatic means at their disposal to achieve change in China's manipulation of the value of its currency."<sup>96</sup> However, in President Obama's first year in office, the administration laid stress on cooperation and common interests in the public statements about China and maintained the disagreements and conflicting issues including trade and currency a low profile. Though President Obama brought up the issue of increasing the value of the Yuan during the trip to China at the end of 2009, no further progress was made to urge China to stop manipulation of its currency value, and therefore, this promise was compromised.<sup>97</sup> In the 2012 presidential campaign, Obama and Biden promised to "create a new trade enforcement unit that will address China's trade practices."<sup>98</sup> The tough stance on China in trade continued in 2013. For example, the president's budget

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<sup>96</sup> In their plan, "Protecting U.S. Interests and Advancing American Values in our Relationship with China," Obama and Biden promised to "use all diplomatic means at his disposal to achieve change in China's manipulation of the value of its currency, a practice that contributes to massive global imbalances and provides Chinese companies with an unfair competitive advantage." See <https://www.barackobama.com/pdf/FactSheetChina.pdf>.

<sup>97</sup> See "Urge China to stop manipulation of its currency value," Politifact.com, retrieved on 2/8/2015. <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/promises/obameter/promise/226/urge-china-to-stop-manipulation-of-its-currency-va/>.

<sup>98</sup> In "A Plan for Jobs and Middle-Class Security," Obama and Biden promised to "stand up for American workers and businesses in the global marketplace, taking on China's unfair trade practices through a new trade enforcement unit to level the playing field." See <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/557639-jobs-plan-booklet-from-the-obama-2012-campaign.html#document/p3/a86862>.

proposal for the fiscal year 2014 (posted on Apr 10, 2013) did single out China, saying the government's purpose is "to aggressively challenge unfair trade practices and trade barriers around the world, including in China."<sup>99</sup> While China was usually downplayed in most official documents in other years, such as the president's budget proposal for the fiscal year 2015 (posted on March 14, 2014), did not single out China.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, this promise was in the works during the first year of the President's second term.

The difference in performances of the president's similar campaign promises might be the consequences of the different intensities of related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates. During the 2008 presidential campaign, there were only two *New York Times* articles with presidential candidates' anti-China rhetoric regarding trade and currency issues. The first one was about the presidential debate on Oct. 15, 2008, when debating oil policy, Obama complained China's currency manipulation.<sup>101</sup> The other one was on Oct. 26, 2008, the *New York Times* noted that "in 2005, Mr. Obama supported a bill that would have imposed a tariff on imports from China if the Chinese did not agree to revalue their currency; Mr. McCain opposed it."<sup>102</sup> While in 2012, there were 16 *New York Times* articles that contained presidential candidate's anti-China rhetoric regarding trade and currency issues during the campaign period from Mar. 1 to Nov. 6, 2012. In addition, there were many more campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric in 2012 than

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<sup>99</sup> The full text of the "Fiscal Year 2014 Budget of The U.S. Government" could be found at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BUDGET-2014-BUD/pdf/BUDGET-2014-BUD.pdf>.

<sup>100</sup> The full text of the "Fiscal Year 2015 Budget of The U.S. Government" could be found at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BUDGET-2015-BUD/pdf/BUDGET-2015-BUD.pdf>.

<sup>101</sup> See "The Debate, Live Blogging," published on 10/15/2008, *The New York Times*. <http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/10/15/the-debate-live-blogging/>.

<sup>102</sup> See "Global Trade," published on 10/26/2008, *The New York Times*. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9402E3D6143CF935A15753C1A96E9C8B63>.

those in 2008. There were totally 40 campaign ads (18 Obama ads and 22 Romney ads) using anti-China rhetoric during the general presidential campaign. By contrast, there were only 7 Obama ads (no McCain ad) using anti-China rhetoric in the 2008 general presidential campaign. With an intensified campaign efforts using anti-China rhetoric, much more public attention was drawn in 2012 than those in 2008. Therefore, after the 2008 presidential election, the President had less need to respond to the opponent and under little public obligation to keep his campaign promises; while after the 2012 presidential election, with much more anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates were reported than that in 2008, the President was under greater public obligation to keep his own promises and response to the opponent's. Also, Obama's presidential approval rating was 51 percent on Election Day 2012, much lower than 67 percent when he took office in January 2009.<sup>103</sup> The low approval rating further increased the pressure on Obama to keep his campaign promises during the 2012 presidential campaign and maintain the tough stance on China throughout the year 2013.

Accordingly, the more intensity of anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates in 2012 than that in 2008 produced more pressure for the President to keep its campaign promises on China's trade and currency issues.

### **5.3 China's Response**

Anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaigns not only pushes the President to take tough policy stands towards China on currency and trade issues but also results in responses from China. Since the Chinese government attached considerable importance

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<sup>103</sup> Data obtained from Gallup, "Presidential Approval Rating."  
<http://www.gallup.com/poll/116479/barack-obama-presidential-job-approval.aspx>.

to protocol, ceremony, form, and appearances (Bader 2012), the statements by U.S. President, as well as by the potential future president, would merit serious consideration. To mollify the U.S. anger, the Chinese government is more likely to allow for appreciation of its currency (Yuan) when there is more trade and currency related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates, and the appreciation continues in the first year after the presidential election.

Over the course of the 2012 presidential campaign, China's currency (Yuan) went up steadily during the period when anti-China rhetoric was heavily used in candidates' speeches, debates and ads, particularly since September when the amount of anti-China rhetoric had been increased. By contrast, the Yuan depreciated in the summer (June to August), as there was less anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates during the period (See Figure 29)<sup>104</sup>.

USD per 1 Yuan



**Figure 29. The Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD from Mar. 1 to Nov 6, 2012.**

The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

<sup>104</sup> Figure obtained and generated from *Google Finance*. [www.google.com/finance](http://www.google.com/finance).



During the first year of President Obama's second term, Yuan continued to go up steadily in 2013, as Obama's campaign promise on Chinese currency was still in the works (See Figure 30).<sup>105</sup>

USD per 1 Yuan



**Figure 30. The Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD from Mar 1 2012 to Dec 26, 2014.**

The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

### ***The External Confounding Factors: The Comparison***

Common senses suggest that the changing (or manipulating) of Chinese Yuan might be affected by other domestic and international factors. However, compared to the anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates, those confounding pressures are less confrontational and less influential in shaping the policy statements and policy outcomes.

The Chinese government is facing domestic and international pressures on currency issues. Domestically, the pro-market reformers want to accelerate reforms in the

<sup>105</sup> Figure obtained and generated from *Google Finance*. [www.google.com/finance](http://www.google.com/finance).

financial sector, including the internationalization of Chinese Yuan. The pro-market reformers, including top officials of the People's Bank of China, Finance Minister, Commerce Minister and *etc.*, seek to boost the nation's growth momentum and foresee the Chinese Yuan becoming an international currency by 2020.<sup>106</sup> Internationally, China is facing the pressure from international business interests to raise its currency, especially from the U.S. A strong Chinese Yuan might cut the U.S. trade deficit because the rise in the price of imports from China would outweigh any gain in exports; and in turn create enough American jobs to put a modest dent in the unemployment rate.<sup>107</sup>

The Economic Track of The U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) provides an ideal proxy of the pressures from the domestic pro-market reformers and the international business interests on China's currency issues. The annual meetings of the S&ED were delegated by major U.S. Cabinet members and China's pro-market reformers including Ministers of Finance, Governor of the People's Bank of China, and Minister of the National Development and Reform Commission (See Appendix E for detail lists of participants). From July 2009 to July 2013, there were 5 round meetings of

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<sup>106</sup> See Huileng Tan, "Top officials: China is totally committed to reform." CNBC. published on November 10, 2015. <http://www.cnbc.com/2015/11/10/pbocs-zhou-promises-capital-markets-reforms-yuan-to-be-international-by-2020.html>. Retrieved on 11/20/2015.

<sup>107</sup> See Emily Kaiser, "Insight: What a stronger Chinese Yuan means for the U.S.," *Reuters*. Published on Oct 5, 2011. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-yuan-idUSTRE79411620111005#a0Mo3f9w76khfET1.97>. Retrieved on 11/12/2015.

the S&ED. Trade and currency issues between U.S. and China were always the highlights of the annual meetings.<sup>108</sup>

To estimate the effect of S&ED on the Chinese Yuan (RMB), I track the 15 days changing of the Yuan after each S&ED annual meeting from 2009 to 2013. The results indicate that the Yuan, in general, did not go higher after those meetings. Figure 31~35 shows the growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD about 15 days after the S&ED annual meetings.



**Figure 31. The 15 Days Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD after the 2009 U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Annual Meeting.**

The first round of the S&ED meeting took place on July 27–28, 2009 in Washington, D.C.

The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

<sup>108</sup> For example, the “Clause 8-13, Develop a More Balanced Trade and Investment Relationship” released for the 2011 annual meetings stated that “the two countries recognize the importance of open trade and investment for promoting innovation, creating jobs, and boosting incomes and economic growth. The United States and China are committed to further expanding bilateral trade and investment, fostering more open trade and investment globally, and fighting against trade and investment protectionism.” See “U.S.-China Comprehensive Framework for Promoting Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth and Economic Cooperation.” U.S. Department of the Treasury. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/TG1171.aspx>. Retrieved on 11/14/2015.

27 May 2010 00:00 UTC - 16 Jun 2010 00:00 UTC  
CNY/USD close:0.14632 low:0.14626 high:0.14647



**Figure 32. The 15 Days Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD after the 2010 U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Annual Meeting.**

The second round of the S&ED meeting took place on May 24–25, 2010 in Beijing. The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

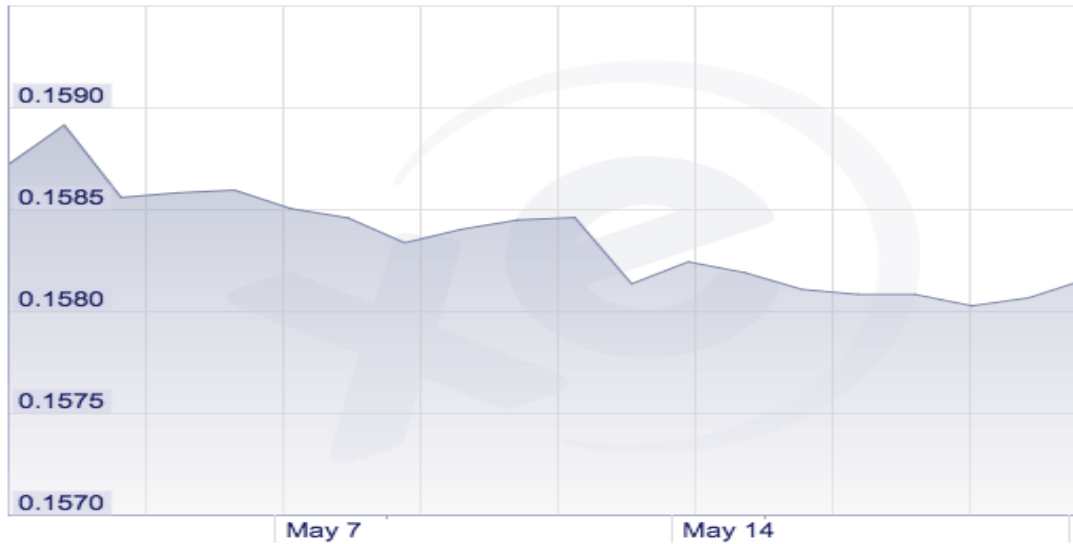
9 May 2011 00:00 UTC - 29 May 2011 00:00 UTC  
CNY/USD close:0.15406 low:0.15364 high:0.15406



**Figure 33. The 15 Days Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD after the 2011 U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Annual Meeting.**

The third round the S&ED meeting took place on May 9-10, 2011 in Washington, D.C. The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

3 May 2012 00:00 UTC - 23 May 2012 00:00 UTC  
 CNY/USD close:0.15786 low:0.15786 high:0.15891



**Figure 34. The 15 Days Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD after the 2012 U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Annual Meeting.**  
 The fourth round of the S&ED meetings took place on May 3–4, 2012 in Beijing.  
 The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

12 Jul 2013 00:00 UTC - 25 Jul 2013 00:00 UTC  
 CNY/USD close:0.16302 low:0.16277 high:0.16302



**Figure 35. The 15 Days Growth of Chinese (Yuan) RMB against USD after the 2013 U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue Annual Meeting.**  
 The fifth round of the S&ED meetings took place on July 10–11, 2013, in Washington, D.C.  
 The figure is generated and obtained from <http://www.xe.com>.

The Yuan either remained fluctuating or went slightly down after the S&ED annual meetings. Apparently, the S&ED meeting has no immediate effect on the currency issues between U.S. and China. Anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates plays a greater role than other domestic and international pressures in shaping U.S.-China economic relations.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

The case study of China's trade and currency issues indicates that anti-China rhetoric by a presidential candidate would not only receive a White House response in statements on China but also pressure the foreign policy outcome. On the U.S. side, the president is more likely to make a tough foreign policy statement towards China on trade and currency issues when there is more related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates. And the President is more likely to keep his campaign promises in the first year after the election if there has been more anti-China campaign rhetoric during the past presidential campaign period. On the China side, the Chinese government is more likely to allow for appreciation of its currency (Yuan) to mollify the U.S. anger when there is more trade and currency related anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates. The anti-China rhetoric by a presidential candidate is more effective than the pressures from other domestic and international factors in urging China to raise its currency.

## Conclusions

### Limitations and Future Studies

The statistical analysis focuses on a specific campaign advertisement over a short period. It may contain theoretical and empirical flaws. First of all, since the study is not a laboratory experiment, we are unable to control the sample of the population who are being treated and control the sample of the population who produce the effect. That is to say, the sample of the state opinions polls are not necessary those who have watched the “Sold Us Out” ads and therefore the effect on the poll changing may not come from the ads itself. Perhaps one solution, other than conducting a laboratory experiment, is to refine the level of analysis, for example, to estimate the ads effect on the presidential candidate’s voter support at the media market level. A possible approach is to track ads airing and the opinion polls in selected target media markets and estimate the effect of the ads airing on the presidential candidate’s polls standing. Another solution is to conduct a survey that identifies the issue related to China and tests the voter concern of its impact on a specific presidential candidate.

In addition, the “Sold Us Out” ads have just 16 days’ airing on 15 states and they could not represent all the campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric. One possible improvement is to expand the TSCS model to cover the whole presidential campaign period by focusing on all the campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric. However, adding more campaign ads into the model is subject to data availability and may result in the problem of internal confounding effect as discussed in the literature review.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> The WiscAds datasets do not cover all the ads using anti-China rhetoric. There are 4 ads using anti-China rhetoric in the 2008 WiscAds dataset, and 2 of them are for the primary campaign.

The foreign policy study also suffers from theoretically and methodological shortcomings. First, the president's policymaking is also subject to many governmental and environmental factors, which might undermine the effect of anti-China rhetoric in the presidential campaign. Second, the *New York Times* articles might not cover all the campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric, which might make the measurement of independent variables biased. Third, the study focuses solely on one presidency in one presidential election and the findings and implications might be inclusive and could not be generalized to other Presidencies in the past and in the future.

Future studies could start from these points, refine the method, and use more up-to-date data to estimate the effects of anti-China rhetoric in U.S. presidential campaigns and foreign policy towards China.

### **Findings and Implications**

Anti-China rhetoric continues to be a popular strategy in presidential campaigns. According to the "Political Communication Lab" (PCL) of Stanford University, in the 2012 presidential campaign Romney aired 22 ads using anti-China rhetoric to attack Obama and Obama aired 18 ads using anti-China rhetoric to attack Romney, much more than those in 2008 (Obama's 7 vs. McCain's 0).<sup>110</sup> And the strategies of using anti-China

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<sup>110</sup> The "Political Communication Lab" (PCL) has records of all the major ads in the 2004, 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns. <http://pcl.stanford.edu/campaigns>.



rhetoric is expected to continue in the future elections.<sup>111</sup> Does Anti-China rhetoric work in the presidential campaign? Base on my statistical models on campaign advertising, the answer is Yes. The airing of campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric effectively increases the favoring candidate's voter support across the target states over time. Is it worth spending a significant amount of money airing the ads using anti-China rhetoric? The answer is No. Presidential candidates will gain more voter support in the states where they air ads using anti-China rhetoric, but there is no need to spend more money or increase the ads quantity in a state and/or on a specific day. Once the opposite candidate has been linked to the China issue and the momentum has been created, the echo effect of airing the ads has shifted the burden to other forms of campaign activities and media coverage to extend the attack on the opposite candidate and increase the favoring candidate's voter support beyond the target media market.

According to my statistical models, to seek voter support, the “freshness” of ads using anti-foreign rhetoric on different days and/or in more states appears to be more efficient than the “repeating” of the ads on the same day and/or in the same state. Therefore, a good strategy for campaign management is “dilution”, specifically, 1) diluting the spending and amounts of airings ads using anti-foreign rhetoric on one target state into more states; 2) and diluting the spending and amounts of airings ads using anti-

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<sup>111</sup> For example, there has been several campaign ads using anti-China rhetoric during the 2014 congressional campaign and 2016 presidential campaign. See William Saletan, “Panda Sluggers.” *Slate*. [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/politics/2014/10/democratic\\_candidates\\_are\\_bashing\\_china\\_liberals\\_are\\_trying\\_to\\_tarnish\\_republicans.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/10/democratic_candidates_are_bashing_china_liberals_are_trying_to_tarnish_republicans.html); and Paula Dwyer, “Republicans’ Misguided China-Bashing.” *Bloomberg*. <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-08-28/republicans-misguided-china-bashing>.

foreign rhetoric on the same day into more days, thus extending the airing period to generate more echo effect beyond the target media market.

On the other hand, anti-China rhetoric in presidential campaigns exercises significant influence on U.S. foreign policy statements on China. President will generally make a related foreign policy statement on China in response to the anti-China rhetoric of presidential candidates during the presidential campaign period. The foreign policy towards China is generally tough during the election year, but the level of toughness depends largely on the intensity of anti-China rhetoric of presidential candidates. Congress and the American public are also affected by the anti-China rhetoric of presidential candidates. Congressional activities are less in favor of China when there are more campaign activities using anti-China rhetoric, and *vice versa*. American public opinion is less favorable on China in the election year than that in non-election years.

Accordingly, U.S. foreign policy towards China and the U.S.-China relations are not always following a historical pattern. In the election year, the President's foreign policies statement towards China, as well as the activities of the Congress, are more apt to use anti-China rhetoric and are not always being tough during the campaign period. The anti-China rhetoric by presidential candidates also receives positive responses from the Chinese government, particularly in trade and currency issues. The impact of the campaign activities on foreign policy towards China could be extended to the elected President's first year in office, depending on the intensity of anti-China rhetoric in the election year.

Based on my foreign policy study, a good strategy to proposal foreign policy changes is raising the anti-foreign issues by a presidential candidate in campaign

activities. Such anti-foreign rhetoric will draw more public attention and is more likely to result in a foreign policy discussion and perhaps change by the President and Congress.

## Appendices

### Appendix A. Transcripts of the Ads Used in the Research

#### 1) Transcript of the “Sold Us Out” Ads

OBAMA: "I'm Barack Obama, and I approve this message."

ANNOUNCER: Corning shuts down its plant in Pennsylvania. Hundreds lose their jobs. Then, the workers are rehired to disassemble the plant and ship the equipment to China. Washington sold them out with the help of people like John McCain. He supported tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas and voted against cracking down on China for unfair trade practices. We can't afford more of the same.

\* Obtain from the *New York Times*.

<http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/president/advertising/ads/6702392--barack-obama-sold-us-out> (accessed May 15, 2016).

#### 2) Transcript of the “Real Change” Ads

OBAMA: We've heard a lot of talk about "change" this year. The question is: change to what? To me, change is a government that doesn't let banks and oil companies rip off the American people. Change is when we finally fix health care instead of just talking about it. Change is giving tax breaks to middle-class families instead of companies that send jobs overseas. Change is a president who brings people together.

I'm Barack Obama. And I approve this message because, this year, change has to be more than a slogan.

[TEXT: Read the Obama plan for real change. BARACKOBAMA.COM/ISSUES]

\* Obtained from Museum of the Moving Image, The Living Room Candidate:

Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2012.

[www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008/real-change](http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008/real-change) (accessed May 14, 2015).

### **3) Transcript of the “Alternative” Ads**

Museum of the Moving Image

The Living Room Candidate

"Alternative", Obama, 2008

MALE NARRATOR: We must break our addiction to foreign oil. [with TEXT:] But John McCain voted against tax incentives for alternative energy. Against ethanol. Against fuel cells.

(Sound of videotape fast-forwarding)

MALE NARRATOR (voice growing higher, as if it's playing on fast-forward): Against hybrids. Against electric cars. Against wind and solar. Against geothermal and biomass. Against hydropower.

(Sound of videotape stopping)

MALE NARRATOR: But McCain does support tax breaks for one source of energy. Oil companies. McCain would give four billion in new tax breaks to big oil.

\* Obtained From Museum of the Moving Image, The Living Room Candidate:

Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2012.

[www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008/alternative](http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008/alternative) (accessed May 14, 2015).

## **Appendix B. Polling Information Used by RealClearPolitics.com**

### **7News/Suffolk**

By 7News and Suffolk University

Survey Question Wording: “There are 5 major candidates for President: <WORD9 >. At this point, for whom will you vote?” and “As of today, who are you leaning toward?”

<http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

### **ARG**

By American Research Group, Inc.

Survey Question Wording: “If the general election were being held today between John McCain for president and Sarah Palin for vice president, the Republicans, and Barack Obama for president and Joe Biden for vice president, the Democrats, for whom would you vote - McCain and Palin, Obama and Biden (names rotated), or someone else?”

<http://www.americanresearchgroup.com>

### **Big10 Battleground**

By Big Ten Battleground Poll

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://ww2.bigtenpoll.org>

### **Ciruli Assoc.**

By Ciruli Associates

Survey Question Wording: “First, let me ask you about the presidential election. If you had to vote today, would you vote for John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans; Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats; or some other candidate?”

<http://www.ciruli.com>

### **Civitas/TelOpinion (R)**

By Civitas Institute

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.nccivitas.org>

### **Columbus Dispatch**

By The Columbus Dispatch

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.dispatch.com>

### **Concord Monitor**

By Concord Monitor

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.concordmonitor.com>

### **CNN/Time**

By CNN/Time Magazine/Opinion Research Corporation

Survey Question Wording: "Please tell me whether you agree or disagree that each of the following candidates has the personality and leadership qualities a president should have.

..."

<http://www.cnn.com>

### **Democracy Corps (D)**

By Democracy Corps

Survey Question Wording: "Now thinking about the presidential election in November. If the election for president were held today and the candidates were -- Democrat Barack

Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr or Independent

candidate Ralph Nader for whom would you vote?”

[http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/ohsw100108fq1\\_pb.pdf](http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/ohsw100108fq1_pb.pdf)

**Det. News (EPIC/MRA)**

By The Detroit News

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.detroitnews.com>

**Detroit Free Press**

By The Detroit Free Press

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.freep.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080925/NEWS15/80925082>

**Denver Post/Mason-Dixon**

By Mason-Dixon Polling & Research Inc.

Survey Question Wording: “If the 2008 presidential election were held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama & Joe Biden, the Republican ticket of John McCain & Sarah Palin, or one of the other party candidates?”

<http://www.denverpost.com>

**Florida Chamber (R)**

By Florida Chamber of Commerce

Survey Question Wording: “If the election for president were held today, would you vote for Republican John McCain, Democrat Barack Obama (ROTATE) or one of the other candidates?”

<http://www.flchamber.com>



### **FOX News/Rasmussen**

By Rasmussen Reports for FOX News

Survey Question Wording: “If the Presidential Election were held today, would you vote for Republican John McCain, Democrat Barack Obama, Libertarian Bob Barr, Independent Ralph Nader or Green Party Candidate Cynthia Ann McKinney?”

<http://www.foxnews.com>

### **Franklin & Marshall**

By Center for Opinion Research, Floyd Institute for Public Policy, Franklin & Marshall College

Survey Question Wording: “If the November general election for president were being held today and the candidates were (rotated) John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans, Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats, Ralph Nader and Matt Gonzalez, the Independents, and Bob Barr and Wayne Root, the Libertarians, would you vote for John McCain and Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Joe Biden, Ralph Nader and Matt Gonzalez, Bob Barr and Wayne Root, or aren't you sure how you would vote?”

<http://www.fandm.edu/fandmpoll/survey-releases>

### **InAdv/PollPosition**

By InsiderAdvantage/Poll Position

Survey Question Wording: N/A

Data collected from <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

### **Indy Star/Selzer**

By S The Indianapolis Star-WTHR, conducted by Selzer & Co. Inc.

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.indystar.com>

### **Marist**

By Marist College Institute for Public Opinion

Survey Question Wording: “If November’s presidential election were held today, whom would you support if the candidates are: John McCain/Sarah Palin the Republicans, Barack Obama/Joe Biden the Democrats, Other, or Undecided.”

<http://www.maristpoll.marist.edu>

### **Miami Herald/SP Times**

By The Miami Herald and St. Petersburg Times

Survey Question Wording: N/A

Data collected from <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

### **Morning Call**

By Institute of Public Opinion, Muhlenberg College and The Morning Call

Survey Question Wording: “Now, if the 2008 presidential election was being held today and the race was between Barack Obama and John McCain, who would you vote for? (INCLUDING LEANERS)”

<http://www.muhlenberg.edu>

### **MRG (R)**

By Marketing Resource Group

Survey Question Wording: “If the election for U.S. President and Vice-President were being held today, and the candidates were John McCain and Sarah Palin, the

Republicans, and Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats, for whom would you vote?”

<http://www.mrgmi.com/PR%20Pres%20Fall%2008.pdf>

### **National Journal/FD**

By National Journal

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.nationaljournal.com>

### **NBC/Mason-Dixon**

By National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Mason-Dixon Polling & Research, Inc.

Survey Question Wording: “Do you recognize the name \_\_\_\_\_? (IF YES) Do you have a favorable, unfavorable or neutral opinion of \_\_\_\_\_?”

<http://msnbcmedia.msn.com>

### **Ohio Newspaper Poll**

By The Ohio News Organization — a cooperative formed in 2008 by the state’s eight largest daily newspapers / Survey conducted by the Institute for Policy Research at the University of Cincinnati

Survey Question Wording: “If the election were held today, who would you vote for?”

<http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/09/ONOpoll.pdf>

### **Post-Dispatch/R2000**

By St. Louis Post Dispatch and Research 2000

Survey Question Wording: N/A

[www.stltoday.com](http://www.stltoday.com)

### **PPP (D)**

By Public Policy Polling

Survey Question Wording: “The candidates for President are Republican John McCain and Democrat Barack Obama. If the election was today, who would you vote for? If John McCain, press 1. If Barack Obama, press 2. If you’re undecided, press 3.”

<http://www.publicpolicypolling.com>

### **Quad-City Times/R2000**

By Quad-City Times and Research 2000

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://qctimes.com>

### **Quinnipiac**

By Quinnipiac University

Survey Question Wording: “If the election were today, for whom would you vote?”

<http://www.quinnipiac.edu>

### **Quinnipiac/WSJ/WP**

By Quinnipiac University, Wall Street Journal and Washington Post

Survey Question Wording: “If the election were today, for whom would you vote?”

<http://www.washingtonpost.com>

### **Rasmussen**

By Rasmussen Reports

Survey Question Wording: “If the Presidential Election were held today, would you vote for Republican John McCain, Democrat Barack Obama, Libertarian Bob Barr, Independent Ralph Nader or Green Party Candidate Cynthia Ann McKinney?”

<http://www.rasmussenreports.com>

**Rossmann Group/MIRS (D)**

By The Rossmann Group and Michigan Information & Research Service

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.mirsnews.com>

**Research 2000**

By Research 2000

Survey Question Wording: “If the election for President were held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin, Bob Barr, the Libertarian Party candidate, Ralph Nader, an Independent, Chuck Baldwin, the Constitution Party candidate, Cynthia McKinney, the Green Party candidate, or John Joseph Polachek, the New Party candidate?”

Website unknown. Questionnaire obtained from <http://www.pantagraph.com>

**St. Anselm/SRBI**

By Saint Anselm College Institute of Politics and SRBI Research

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.anselm.edu/>

**Star Tribune**

By Startribune.com

Survey Question Wording: N/A

<http://www.startribune.com>

### **Strategic Vision (R)**

By Strategic Vision, LLC

Survey Question Wording: “If the 2008 Presidential election were held today between (candidates), for whom would you vote?”

<http://www.strategicvision.biz>

### **Suffolk/WSVN**

By Suffolk University Political Research Center

Survey Question Wording: “There are 14 candidates for President on the Florida ballot. Of these, the major 5 candidates are: Republican John McCain, Democrat Barack Obama, Libertarian Bob Barr, Green Party Cynthia McKinney, and Ecology Party Ralph Nader {NAY-der}. At this point, for whom will you vote?”

<http://www.suffolk.edu/research/1450.html>

### **Sun-Sentinel/R2000**

By Sun-Sentinel.com and Research 2000

Survey Question Wording: “If the election for President were held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin, Bob Barr, the Libertarian Party candidate, Ralph Nader, an Independent, Chuck Baldwin, the Constitution Party candidate, Cynthia McKinney, the Green Party candidate, or John Joseph Polachek, the New Party candidate?”

<http://www.sun-sentinel.com>

### **SurveyUSA**

By Surveyusa.com

Survey Question Wording: “If the election for President were today, would you vote for

... (choices rotated) Republican John McCain? Democrat Barack Obama? Or one of the other candidates?"

<http://www.surveyusa.com>

### **University of New Hampshire**

By The Survey Center, University of New Hampshire

Survey Question Wording: "Suppose the 2008 presidential election was being held today and the candidates were John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans and Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats, who would you vote for?"

<http://cola.unh.edu/survey-center>

**Appendix C. Detail Polling Data by State during the Research Period. From Sep. 15 to Oct. 2, 2008.**

<b>Colorado</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>MoE</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>	<b>McCain (R)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>53.7</b>	<b>44.7</b>
Denver Post/Mason-Dixon	9/29 - 10/1	625 LV	4.0	44	44
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/28 - 9/28	500 LV	4.5	49	48
InAdv/PollPosition	9/23 - 9/23	505 LV	4.3	50	41
CNN/Time	9/21 - 9/23	794 LV	3.5	51	47
Ciruli Assoc.	9/19 - 9/23	501 LV	4.4	44	43
Rasmussen	9/23 - 9/23	700 LV	4.0	50	47
PPP (D)	9/20 - 9/21	1084 LV	3.0	51	44
Quinnipiac/WSJ/WP	9/14 - 9/21	1418 LV	2.6	49	45
InAdv/PollPosition	9/17 - 9/17	508 LV	4.3	51	41

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

<b>Florida</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>MoE</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>	<b>McCain (R)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>51.0</b>	<b>48.2</b>
Florida Chamber (R)	9/30 - 10/1	619 RV	4.0	42	45
CNN/Time	9/28 - 9/30	770 LV	3.5	51	47
InAdv/PollPosition	9/30 - 9/30	532 LV	4.0	49	46
Suffolk/WSVN	9/27 - 9/30	600 LV	--	46	42
Quinnipiac	9/27 - 9/29	836 LV	3.4	51	43
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/28 - 9/28	500 LV	4.5	47	47
SurveyUSA	9/27 - 9/28	599 LV	4.1	47	48
PPP (D)	9/27 - 9/28	941 LV	3.2	49	46
Rasmussen	9/24 - 9/24	700 LV	4.0	47	48
Strategic Vision (R)	9/21 - 9/23	1200 LV	3.5	45	48
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/21 - 9/21	500 LV	4.5	46	51
NBC/Mason-Dixon	9/16 - 9/18	625 LV	4.0	47	45
Sun-Sentinel/R2000	9/15 - 9/18	600 LV	4.0	45	46
SurveyUSA	9/16 - 9/17	707 LV	3.8	45	51
Miami Herald/SP Times	9/14 - 9/17	800 LV	3.5	45	47
CNN/Time	9/14 - 9/16	907 RV	3.5	48	48

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican



### Iowa

Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
Final Results	--	--	--	53.9	44.4
Research 2000	9/29 - 9/30	600 LV	4.0	55	39
Rasmussen	9/25 - 9/25	700 LV	4.0	51	43
Marist	9/18 - 9/21	467 LV	4.0	51	41
Quad-City Times/R2000	9/15 - 9/17	600 LV	4.0	53	39
SurveyUSA	9/17 - 9/18	702 LV	3.8	54	43
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	643 RV	4.0	45	45

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

### Indiana

Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	McCain (R)	Obama (D)
Final Results	--	--	--	48.9	50.0
Research 2000	9/29 - 10/3	800 LV	3.5	46	46
Research 2000	9/28 - 9/30	600 LV	4.0	46	45
SurveyUSA	9/28 - 9/29	687 LV	3.8	48	45
Rasmussen	9/17 - 9/18	500 LV	4.5	49	47
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	612 RV	4.0	47	43
Indy Star/Selzer	9/14 - 9/16	600 LV	4.0	44	47

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

### Michigan

Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
Final Results	--	--	--	57.4	41.0
Rossman Group/MIRS (D)	10/1 - 10/4	600 RV	--	44	39
PPP (D)	9/29 - 10/1	731 LV	3.6	51	41
Detroit Free Press	9/22 - 9/24	602 LV	4.0	51	38
Strategic Vision (R)	9/22 - 9/24	1200 LV	3.0	48	45
NBC/Mason-Dixon	9/18 - 9/23	625 LV	4.0	46	46
CNN/Time	9/21 - 9/23	755 LV	3.5	51	46
National Journal/FD	9/18 - 9/22	406 RV	4.9	47	39
Det. News (EPIC/MRA)	9/20 - 9/22	400 LV	4.9	48	38
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/21 - 9/21	500 LV	4.5	51	44
Quinnipiac/WSJ/WP	9/14 - 9/21	1346 LV	2.7	48	44
MRG (R)	9/15 - 9/20	600 LV	4.1	43	46
Marist	9/16 - 9/17	599 LV	3.5	52	43
Det. News (EPIC/MRA)	9/14 - 9/17	602 LV	4.0	43	42
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	600 RV	4.0	48	44

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

<b>Minnesota</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>MoE</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>	<b>McCain (R)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>54.1</b>	<b>43.8</b>
Star Tribune	9/30 - 10/2	1084 LV	3.7	55	37
SurveyUSA	9/30 - 10/1	725 LV	3.7	46	47
CNN/Time	9/28 - 9/30	849 LV	3.5	54	43
Quinnipiac/WSJ/WP	9/14 - 9/21	1301 LV	2.7	47	45
Rasmussen	9/18 - 9/18	500 LV	4.5	52	44
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	610 RV	4.0	47	45

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

<b>Missouri</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>MoE</b>	<b>McCain (R)</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>49.4</b>	<b>49.3</b>
CNN/Time	9/28 - 9/30	744 LV	3.5	48	49
SurveyUSA	9/23 - 9/24	705 LV	3.8	48	46
Post-Dispatch/R2000	9/22 - 9/24	800 LV	3.5	47	46
Post-Dispatch/R2000	9/15 - 9/18	800 LV	3.5	49	45

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

<b>Montana</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>		<b>McCain (R)</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--		<b>49.5</b>	<b>47.3</b>
Rasmussen	10/1 - 10/1	500 LV		52	44
Research 2000	9/22 - 9/24	600 LV		52	39
CNN/Time	9/21 - 9/23	737 LV		54	43
Rasmussen	9/8 - 9/8	700 LV		53	42

\* MoE not provided by realclearpolitics.com

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

<b>North Carolina</b>					
<b>Poll</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>MoE</b>	<b>McCain (R)</b>	<b>Obama (D)</b>
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>49.4</b>	<b>49.7</b>
Rasmussen	9/30 - 9/30	700 LV	4.0	47	50
ARG	9/27 - 9/29	600 LV	4.0	49	46
PPP (D)	9/27 - 9/28	1041 LV	3.0	45	47
Rasmussen	9/23 - 9/23	500 LV	4.5	47	49
Civitas/TelOpinion (R)	9/17 - 9/20	600 LV	--	45	45
Rasmussen	9/18 - 9/18	500 LV	4.5	50	47
PPP (D)	9/17 - 9/19	1060 LV	3.0	46	46

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

New Hampshire					
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>54.1</b>	<b>44.5</b>
Rasmussen	10/1 - 10/1	700 LV	4.0	53	43
St. Anselm/SRBI	9/25 - 9/30	823 LV	3.5	49	37
Concord Monitor	9/22 - 9/24	600 LV	4.0	48	44
Strategic Vision (R)	9/22 - 9/24	800 LV	3.0	46	45
7News/Suffolk	9/20 - 9/24	600 LV	--	46	45
Rasmussen	9/23 - 9/23	700 LV	4.0	47	49
National Journal/FD	9/18 - 9/22	403 RV	4.9	44	43
Marist	9/17 - 9/21	604 LV	3.5	51	45
University of New Hampshire	9/14 - 9/21	523 LV	4.3	45	47

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Nevada					
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>55.2</b>	<b>42.7</b>
Rasmussen	10/2 - 10/2	700 LV	4.0	51	47
InAdv/PollPosition	9/30 - 9/30	437 LV	5.0	48	47
CNN/Time	9/28 - 9/30	684 LV	3.5	51	47
ARG	9/27 - 9/29	600 LV	4.0	47	49
Suffolk University	9/17 - 9/21	600 LV	4.0	45	46
Rasmussen	9/11 - 9/11	700 LV	4.0	46	49

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Ohio					
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>51.5</b>	<b>46.9</b>
Columbus Dispatch	9/24 - 10/3	2262 LV	2.0	49	42
Democracy Corps (D)	9/29 - 10/1	600 LV	--	49	43
InAdv/PollPosition	9/29 - 9/29	512 LV	4.0	47	45
SurveyUSA	9/28 - 9/29	693 LV	3.8	48	49
Quinnipiac	9/27 - 9/29	825 LV	3.4	50	42
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/28 - 9/28	500 LV	4.5	47	48
Rasmussen	9/24 - 9/24	700 LV	4.0	46	47
InAdv/PollPosition	9/22 - 9/22	545 LV	4.1	46	46
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/21 - 9/21	500 LV	4.5	46	50
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	619 RV	4.0	46	45
Ohio Newspaper Poll	9/12 - 9/16	869 LV	3.3	42	48
Marist	9/11 - 9/15	565 LV	3.5	47	45
National Journal/FD	9/11 - 9/15	400 RV	4.9	41	42

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Pennsylvania					
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>54.5</b>	<b>44.2</b>
Morning Call	9/26 - 9/30	598 LV	4.0	48	41
Quinnipiac	9/27 - 9/29	832 LV	3.4	54	39
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/28 - 9/28	500 LV	4.5	50	42
Franklin & Marshall	9/23 - 9/28	767 RV	3.5	45	38
Morning Call	9/21 - 9/25	577 LV	4.5	47	43
Rasmussen	9/24 - 9/24	500 LV	4.0	49	45
SurveyUSA	9/23 - 9/24	1094 LV	3.0	50	44
Strategic Vision (R)	9/21 - 9/23	1200 LV	3.0	47	46
CNN/Time	9/21 - 9/23	730 LV	3.5	53	44
National Journal/FD	9/18 - 9/22	406 RV	4.9	43	41
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/21 - 9/21	500 LV	4.5	48	45
NBC/Mason-Dixon	9/16 - 9/18	625 LV	4.0	46	44
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	600 RV	4.0	45	45
Marist	9/11 - 9/15	535 LV	3.5	49	44

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Virginia					
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>52.6</b>	<b>46.3</b>
Mason-Dixon	9/29 - 10/1	625 LV	4.0	45	48
CNN/Time	9/28 - 9/30	684 LV	4.0	53	44
InAdv/PollPosition	9/29 - 9/29	436 LV	5.0	51	45
ARG	9/27 - 9/29	600 LV	4.0	46	49
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/28 - 9/28	500 LV	4.5	50	47
Rasmussen	9/25 - 9/25	700 LV	4.0	50	45
NBC/Mason-Dixon	9/17 - 9/22	625 LV	4.0	44	47
FOX News/Rasmussen	9/21 - 9/21	500 LV	4.5	48	50
ABC News/Wash Post	9/18 - 9/21	698 LV	3.5	49	46
SurveyUSA	9/19 - 9/21	716 LV	3.7	51	45
InAdv/PollPosition	9/17 - 9/17	502 LV	4.3	46	48
National Journal/FD	9/11 - 9/15	400 RV	4.9	41	48

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Poll	Date	Wisconsin Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	McCain (R)
<b>Final Results</b>	--	--	--	<b>56.2</b>	<b>42.3</b>
Strategic Vision (R)	9/26 - 9/28	800 LV	3.0	49	40
Research 2000	9/22 - 9/23	600 LV	4.0	49	43
Quinnipiac/WSJ/WP	9/14 - 9/21	1313 LV	2.7	49	42
Big10 Battleground	9/14 - 9/17	600 RV	4.0	45	44
Rasmussen	9/15 - 9/15	700 LV	4.0	48	46

\* LV-likely voter; RV-Registered Voter; MoE-Margin of Error; (D)-Democrat; (R)-Republican

Source: Real Clear Politics. <http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

## Appendix D. Content of the Anti-China Rhetoric and White House Statements

### 1) Romney's/GOP's anti-China rhetoric with a response from the President

Mar 4	Gingrich's PAC invested by SEC related interests in China
Mar 5	Republican candidates accused Obama of being soft on China regarding Iran issue
Mar 20	Romney criticized Obama for a low level of attention to China trade issues
Mar 22	Romney vowed to crack down on China's trade policy in his 59-point economic plan
Apr 5	Republican candidates criticized Obama on Navy budget cut and the South China Sea
Apr 16	Romney prioritized China's currency manipulation
Apr 17	Romney named China as a currency manipulator
May 2	Romney named China as a currency manipulator
May 11	Romney criticized Obama for his long silence about Chen Guangcheng
May 12	Romney vowed to declare China as currency manipulator
May 24	Romney promised to label China as currency manipulator on Day 1
Jun 24	Romney took a tough stance on China and bashes China on human right and trade
Jul 29	Romney vowed to sanctions China
Aug 29	Romney said Obama's assault on coal and gas and oil would send energy and manufacturing jobs to China
Sep 15	TV ads accusations over who is softer on China
Sep 16	Romney said Obama was soft on China
Sep 17	Romney ads claimed to crack down on cheaters like China
Sep 24	Romney ads said Obama failed to stand up on China
Oct 7	Romney said Obama was soft on China
Oct 9	Romney used China as a punching bag
Oct 15	Romney criticized Obama administration for delaying the release of the currency report
Oct 17	Candidates Spared Sharply Over China
Oct 22	Romney bashed China's trade policies
Oct 29	GOP turned fire on producing Jeeps in China

### 2) Romney's/GOP's anti-China rhetoric without a response from the President

Mar 17	Romney's Bain Purchase in China was reported
Mar 24	Romney defended the Bain purchase by criticizing Chinese authoritarianism
Jun 8	Crossroads GPS Press ad blamed Obama borrowing from China for spending
Aug 16	A super PAC's ad supporting Romney falsely said Gingrich had voted to finance a program supporting China's one-child policy
Oct 11	Ryan accused Obama of borrowing money from countries like China
Oct 13	Ryan criticized Obama Administration's China policy

### 3) President's response with a foreign policy towards China

Mar 6	President Obama said he was setting up a Trade Enforcement Unit to aggressively investigate and counter unfair trade practices against China
Mar 21	Obama was enforcing trade laws against China's unfair advantage over ours
Mar 26	Obama took a tough stance by urging China to preventing nuclear proliferation
Mar 28	Vice President Biden reinstated the trade case against China on Mar 13
Apr 11	Press Secretary Carney asked China to have North Korea change
May 19	Deputy national security adviser Rhodes said the government deal with Chen Guangcheng case cooperatively with China
May 30	Obama claimed the trade cases against China
Jul 31	Obama sanctioned China's Bank of Kunlun
Sep 17	Earnest said the President was filing WTO case against China, But not for campaign purpose
Sep 26	Carney said the President had been tough on China
Sep 28	Obama issued executive orders to reject Chinese Acquisition of U.S. companies
Oct 8	Obama claimed to fight China on cleaning energy
Oct 11	Press Secretary Earnest said the President had taken actions on China
Oct 17	Obama said he had taken actions against China; while Romney had created 12 million jobs in China
Oct 23	Obama had been tough on China and brought cases against China

### 4) President's response without a foreign policy towards China

May 8	Obama asked companies moving their manufacturing operations from China back to the US
May 24	Carney said Governor Romney wasn't always for enforcing trade laws against China
Jun 25	Obama said Romney was a "pioneer" in offshoring jobs to China
Jul 5	Obama said Romney outsourcing jobs to China
Sep 1	Obama said Romney ceded jobs to China
Nov 2	Obama said Romney ad cheated on Jeep production in China

### 5) Obama's campaign statements using anti-China rhetoric

Mar 26	Obama Urged China to Restrain North Korea
Apr 6	Obama said Romney will be portrayed as playing both sides of numerous issues, for and against enforcing trade laws against China
Apr 9	Obama criticized Republican letting Canadian oil to China
May 1	Obama accused Romney's shipping jobs to China
May 7	Obama accused Romney's outsourcing jobs to China
Jun 30	Obama alleged Romney shipped jobs to China and Mexico
Jul 14	Obama said Mr. Romney shipped jobs to Mexico, China and India
Jul 23	Obama blamed Romney's firm shipped jobs to Mexico and China
Jul 29	Obama's aides said he had acted against unfair practices but he had not been as confrontational
Sep 6	Obama criticized GOP's firing teachers and cutting student financial aid and claimed to compete with the scientists and engineers out of China
Sep 15	Obama ad accused Romney sending jobs to China
Sep 17	Obama said Romney shifting jobs to China
Sep 21	Obama had been tough on China
Sep 26	Obama accused Romney on unfair trade cases
Oct 4	China had assailed the anti-China comments by President Obama by President Obama
Oct 10	Obama accused Romney's Bain purchase in China
Oct 14	Obama charged that Romney was putting profits for China ahead
Oct 16	Obama mentioned Romney's investment in Chinese companies
Oct 17	Obama painted Romney as a tool of big oil who was soft on China
Oct 20	China is wary of U.S. candidates' tough talk
Oct 31	Obama said Romney ad auto bailout did nothing but create more jobs in China

### 6) President reinforced the campaign statements with a foreign policy towards China

Apr 11	Press Secretary Carney reinstated the President's statement that asked China to have North Korea change direction
Apr 13	Obama claimed that he had brought trade cases against China at nearly twice the rate as the last administration
Jul 5	Obama said he had brought trade cases against China at a faster pace than the former administration
Jul 31	Obama sanctioned China's Bank of Kunlun
Sep 17	Earnest said the President was filing WTO case against China, But not for campaign purpose
Sep 28	Obama issued executive orders to reject Chinese Acquisition of U.S. companies
Oct 8	Carney highlighted cooperation with China and refuse to comment on trade issue with China
Oct 23	Paski claimed that we were being tough on China when we need to be tough



**7) President reinforced the campaign statements without a foreign policy towards China**

May 8	White House released report to show that manufacturing jobs were moving back to U.S. from China
Jul 24	Obama claimed to create manufacturing jobs not in China, but here in U.S.
Nov 1	Obama claimed to create jobs in U.S., not in China

**Appendix E. Participants of the First Round Joint Meeting of the U.S.–China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) Held in Washington, D.C. from July 27-28, 2009**

***On the U.S. side:***

Secretary of States Hilary Clinton

Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner

Secretary of Agriculture Thomas Vilsack

Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis

Secretary of Transportation Raymond LaHood

Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors Christina Romer

Director of Office of Management and Budget Peter Orszag

U.S. Trade Representative Ronald Kirk

Director of the National Economic Council and Assistant to the President for Economic Policy Lawrence Summers

Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke

Chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Sheila Bair

Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission Mary Schapiro

Chairman of Commodity Futures Trading Commission Gary Gensler

Chairman and President of the Export-Import Bank Fred Hochberg

***On the Chinese side***

Vice Premier Wang Qishan,

State Councilor Dai Bingguo

Minister of Finance Xie Xuren

Governor of the People's Bank of China Zhou Xiaochuan  
Chairman of the China Banking Regulatory Commission Liu Mingkang  
Chairman of the China Securities Regulatory Commission Chairman Shang Fulin  
Chinese Ambassador to the United States Zhou Wenzhong  
Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council Bi Jingquan  
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs He Yafei  
Vice Minister of the National Development and Reform Commission Zhang Xiaoqiang  
Vice Minister of Human Resources and Social Security Wang Xiaochu  
Vice Minister of Transport Weng Mengyong  
Vice Minister of Agriculture Niu Dun  
Vice Minister of Commerce Ma Xiuhong  
Vice Minister of Health Yin Li  
Vice Chairman of the China Insurance Regulatory Commission Li Kemu  
President of the Export-Import Bank of China Li Ruogu

\* For a complete lists of all annual meetings, see *Wikipedia*, “U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue.”  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S.%E2%80%93China\\_Strategic\\_and\\_Economic\\_Dialogue#cite\\_ref-32](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S.%E2%80%93China_Strategic_and_Economic_Dialogue#cite_ref-32)

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