ABSTRACT

THREE ESSAYS ON CONGRESSIONAL INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Afrimadona, Ph.D.
Department of Political Science
Northern Illinois University, 2018
Scot Schraufnagel, Director

This dissertation examines congressional influences in US foreign policy. As such, it addresses the nature of inter-branch relations and the quality of checks and balances in the American political system. An underlying assumption in the dissertation is that politics in the US does not stop at the water's edge. Put differently, the research recognizes the great potential domestic politics plays in shaping US foreign policy. As the president's partner in the law-making process, Congress is potentially one of the most important foreign policy actors.

Three empirical foreign policy cases are examined in this dissertation. In each of the cases, I investigated how congressional dynamics shape foreign policy making process. In the first case, I tested the arguments that ideology and congressional support affect presidential decisions in engaging in the military intervention during a foreign policy crisis. I found empirical support for these arguments. Specifically, when Congress becomes more conservative, the president is more likely to command a military operation in a foreign policy crisis abroad. I also found partial support for the effect of congressional support for the decision to become involved in a foreign policy crisis. Especially interesting is that the president values the Senate support higher than that of the House. The president is emboldened to engage in a military adventure when he has strong backing from the Senate.

In the second case, I examined the impact of congressional support and party polarization in Congress throughout the duration of legislated sanctions. This examination is based on the argument that the president and Congress tend to see the use of sanction against another country differently. The president generally wants shorter and less punitive sanctions, while Congress wants longer and more punitive ones. Although the president has ample authority to terminate the sanctions, the termination process is more complicated due to the legislative process entailed in the legislated sanctions. The question then is under what conditions can the president terminate the sanction. I argue that the legislated sanctions can be shorter when the president has more support from Congress and the level of party polarization in Congress is moderate. While some empirical evidence supporting the polarization arguments were observed in both the House and the Senate, the empirical analysis for the congressional support revealed that the president can successfully terminate sanctions only if he has more support from the Senate.

Finally, I also explored the effects of partisan preferences and partisanship on congressional decisions to give foreign aid to foreign countries. Using literature of public opinion and political psychology, I investigate whether the Democrats are more supportive of development aid but averse to the military aid. The empirical analysis shows that they are. However, the empirical support is found in the House only. An increase in the Democratic seats in the House is associated with a general increase in the level of development aid but a general decrease in the military aid.

All empirical observations in the dissertation demonstrate that Congress is still a potent actor in American foreign policy. This is especially true for the Senate, which is constitutionally endowed with some authority to be involved in foreign policy decision-making process. These

findings have some implications for the study of American foreign policy both theoretically and methodologically.

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Zainuzir, whose dream now comes true

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines congressional influences on US foreign policy. As such, it addresses the nature of inter-branch relations and the quality of checks and balances in the American political system. An underlying assumption in the dissertation is that politics in the US does not stop at the water's edge. Put differently, the research recognizes the great potential that domestic politics plays a significant role shaping US foreign policy. As the president's partner in the law-making process, Congress is potentially one of the most important foreign policy actors. Historically, we know that Congress has played a central role in some foreign policy making decisions. The division in the first Congresses between pro-British and pro-French factions, for instance, shaped many early American foreign policy decisions. For instance, the funding blockade by the pro-British Federalist leaders during the War of 1812, or what they called "Mr. Madison's War," sharpened division in the national legislature and eventually led to the advent of partisan politics in Congress (Hickey 2004). This is just one early example that politics, in the US, does not stop at the water's edge.

As Bruce Jentleson (2010) suggests, the absence of partisan politics during the early Cold War period is an exception rather than the rule. The rule is that internal division within the legislature often bled into foreign policymaking. Although in times of crisis, the president can dominate the policy making process, it is common for executive dominance to occur only at the

peak of a foreign policy crisis. Once the crisis recedes, internal differences in Congress, normally, surface, and executive dominance begins to be challenged.

This dissertation provides tests of a series of empirical questions regarding the role of Congress in the foreign policymaking process. Focusing on three distinct foreign policy issue areas, I show that congressional dynamics can influence government decisions in these policy domains. By summarizing existing theories and providing some unique theoretical insights regarding certain aspects of congressional dynamics and foreign policy actions, the dissertation aimed to not only explain how Congress can affect American foreign policy, but also add to the ongoing debate about the role of domestic politics in shaping state behavior in international relations, more generally.

In this introductory chapter, I provide an overview of the dissertation, covering the general theoretical framework and case selection method that will be elaborated completely in each of the subsequent empirical chapters. I will start with the general ideas of how the American foreign policy has been approached in scholarly works hitherto. It will be followed by a survey of literature on congressional influence in American foreign policy and elaborate on research questions that have been left unanswered. In one of the subsequent sections, I focus on the impact of congressional partisan dynamics and their potential to influence US foreign policy. Specifically, I elaborate on how these congressional dynamics fit some observations that are explored in the empirical chapters. The last two sections of this chapter are reserved for some notes on the method of case selection and the chapter overview.

Understanding US Foreign Policy

Standard textbooks on US foreign policy mostly borrow the conceptual framework to explain American foreign policy from James N. Rosenau (1971). To Rosenau, a country's foreign policy is shaped by five sources: external environment (the international system), domestic/societal environment, the governmental structure of the foreign policy-making process, the bureaucratic role of individual policy-makers, and the individual characteristics of the decision-makers. However, as Brian Schmidt (2012) argues, Rosenau's framework is only a simplifying device that helps identify the multiple sources of state behavior.[1] Nevertheless, Rosenau's attempts to simplify fulfill one of the core functions of a theory – that is to enable us to identify what to focus on as one delves deeper into explanation and elaboration. To provide more substance to these base theories, it is necessary to turn to other established works either in international relations or in other disciplines such as the study of domestic American politics.

Theorizing any policymaking is a daunting task given the multiple factors that can simultaneously influence the decision-making process. This difficulty of constructing a theory of American foreign policy is admitted by one of luminaries in the study of international relations, Kenneth N. Waltz. In defending his *Theory of International Politics* (1979), Waltz argues that it is impossible to construct a comprehensive explanation of foreign policy due to the complexity of the process and the many domestic and international players that shape the process. Thus, the best we can hope to achieve is to be able to describe likely systemic outcomes produced by the

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[1] Rosenau (1971) himself admits that he only offers a pre-theory rather than a 'standard' theory of foreign policy. In this sense, he does not attempt to explain the relative importance of these multiple sources of foreign policy, nor does he try to make causal statements and predictions on what source 'causes' what kind of actions. See Rosenau (1971).

actions and interactions of states within the international system and how our expectations of the outcomes vary as system attributes change (Waltz 1979, 71).[2]

Despite the challenging task, many scholars continue to build their theories of American foreign policy by tweaking existing theories of International Politics/Relations and by borrowing insights from other disciplines in the political and social sciences. In explaining the five sources of American foreign policy, for example, scholars modify International Relations theories and blend them with some theoretical works in American politics to illuminate the causal mechanisms linking explanation to policy outcomes. In this chapter, I follow this same tactic. Below, I explain how the five sources of American foreign policy, elaborated by Rosenau, affect policy outcomes using explanations found in both International Relations and American politics literature.

Making a Unique Set of Arguments to Explain US Foreign Policymaking

The first source of US foreign policy is the international system. This explanation is consistent with the systemic study of International Relations found in schools of thought such as neorealism, neoliberalism, and social constructivism. Accordingly, when we explain American foreign policy using this source, we can refer to these theories, depending on what aspect of the international system we would like to focus on. Neorealism, for example, focuses on the impact of the distribution of power in the international system on state behavior (Waltz 1979; Gilpin 1981). According to this theory, in an anarchic international system, states are forced to ensure

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[2] Waltz (1979, 71) himself does not consider his neorealist theory as a theory of foreign policy because he actually does not predict particular types of state behavior from specific structural change in the international system. Instead he tries to predict the international outcome produced by the actions and interactions of states within the international system from the change in the attributes of the international system (i.e., the distribution of power).

their own survival by accumulating power. Power, using this train of thought, is the currency of the international system. To understand the behavior of states in the international system, we need to know the state's power position in the distribution of global power because the distribution of global power shapes state behavior. For example, changes in the US grand strategy from hedging in the nineteenth century until World War II, to balancing in the Cold War period, to unilateral foreign policy in the post-Cold War era can be explained by the changing distribution of global power and the US changing position in the distribution of global power (Layne 1998; Martel 2015; Thompson 2016; Wittkopf, Jones, and Kegley 2008). The change in the distribution of power since the US founding changed the orientation and form of US foreign policy.

Deciding what causal argument can be used to explain how the distribution of the power in the world shapes foreign policy is less straightforward. On this issue, structural realists are divided into two primary camps. For the defensive structural realists, because the anarchic and self-help international system does not provide incentives for states to be expansionistic, states should maximize their security to ensure their survival (Van Evera 1998; Grieco 1997; Layne 1996, 1998; Taliaferro 2000; Waltz 1979). Therefore, states should pursue prudent foreign policies, that is the policies that can warrant their survival without provoking others to do something counterproductive to the initial intention to guarantee survival (Walt 2005). This prudent foreign policy requires the accumulation of an appropriate amount of power and the avoidance of expansionistic policies because expansionist foreign policies create fear on the part of the other states and provoke counter-balance by other states.

On the other hand, for the offensive structural realists, the uncertainty inherent in the anarchic international system requires states to maximize power to ensure their survival. While

offensive realists share the structural realism assumptions about the anarchic and self-help nature of the international system, the nature of the state actor, and survival as the ultimate interest of states, they part company with the defensive camp regarding the level of uncertainty inherent in the anarchic world and the best way for states to ensure their survival. To the offensive realists, the asymmetric information problem does not allow states to be certain of the intentions of others. Because states have never been sure of what others want in the future when the distribution of power is in their favor, the best way to ensure state survival is to maximize power. The most powerful state is the most secure state. While the global hegemony might be difficult, with the US as the exception in the modern world history, regional hegemony is a possible goal to be pursued by other states. In fact, this should be the main goal of states because the potential threats often originate from neighbors. Offensive realism, claims its founder John Mearsheimer, well explains the US expansionist foreign policy of the nineteenth century (Mearsheimer 2001, 2011).

Nevertheless, the distribution of power is only one of several attributes of the international system that can, theoretically, affect US foreign policy. Another potentially important systemic source of US foreign policy is the ideational factors such as global norms, institutions, and international laws. These are the systemic factors emphasized by neoliberal institutionalism and social constructivism. According to constructivists, norms play a central role because they shape the identity, interest, and eventually the action of states (Checkel 1998; Hopf 1998; Ruggie 1997; 1998; Wendt 1992; 1994; 1999). Thus, foreign policy can be influenced by the global norms of the day. For example, the belligerent foreign policy adopted by countries until World War II cannot be separated from the fact that war was still a norm; that is, it was a

typical policy of the day. Although war still occurs in some parts of the world, great power wars do not.

International norms undoubtedly have shaped US foreign policy because they redefine and constrain some policy options. Nuclear weapons, for example, are considered taboo (Tannenwald 1999; 2005). Because of their destructive effect, the international community through the United Nations and other international forums has attempted to delegitimize this kind of weapon. International agreements on the nuclear bans have circumscribed "the realm of legitimate nuclear use and restrict freedom of action with respect to nuclear weapon[s]" (Tannenwald 1999, 436). The constraining effect of norms on nuclear weapons shaped the US's decision to not use this weapon in the Korean War and subsequent wars.

Although, as the current world hegemon, the US can dismiss global norms for the sake of its national interests, as a democratic country, it cannot. Norms can affect state behavior through the public pressure that eventually shape leaders' positions on policy options. The US's sanction policy against South Africa in the 1980s, for example, was influenced in part by the norm of global racial equality voiced by transnational activists. The global norm of racial equality voiced by these groups shaped public discourse in the US that eventually helped redefine US interest and policy in South Africa (Klotz 1995).

Despite the importance of the systemic variables in shaping US foreign policy, some scholars argue that these variables affect US foreign policy only indirectly. Their effects are mediated by unit-level variables, which are the elements within the state or individual policy-makers. For example, neoclassical realists argue that the impact of structural change in the global distribution of power can only be translated into foreign policy through the attributes inherent in the policy-makers (e.g., their perception of the relative power of their country within the

international system)[3] or the attributes of the state-system such as the domestic structure and foreign policy resources (Lobell, Ripsman, and Taliaferro 2009; Rose 1998; Wivel 2005; Zakaria 1992, 2001). This is why many foreign policy scholars tend to resort to domestic political explanations when they attempt to elucidate American foreign policy.

According to Rosenau, the second source of American foreign policy is the domestic/societal environment. Some International Relations theories (sometimes called Second Image theories and *Innenpolitik* theories such as liberal internationalism, Marxism, and some variants of constructivism) are considered appropriate analytical tools to explain this second potential influence on American foreign policy. Notwithstanding their differences, they agree that the state's internal structure such as political and economic ideologies, domestic structures, national character, partisan politics, and socio-economic variables can determine state behavior in international relations.

The main assumptions of these *Innenpolitik* theories are that 1) the state is not a unitary actor in the sense that state is not the single entity that tries to maximize its national interests. There are competing actors with their own interests and they can challenge one another. 2) The interests of the states are complex, and they can vary depending on the domestic and international context. Thus, interests are situational. And 3) state interests are the product of the competing interests of domestic and transnational actors. In other words, state interests will be representative of the dominant actors in society (Moravcsik 1997)

These liberal assumptions have generated much scholarly work that attempts to explain US foreign policy from the domestic political perspective. Among important works on American foreign policy influenced by this liberal theory are the American democratic idealism model

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[3] See among others (Jervis 1976; Levy 1983; Zakaria 2001).

(Bouchet 2013; Carothers et al. 2000; Clinton et al. 2011; M. Cox, Ikenberry, and Inoguchi 2000; Diamond 2008; Scott and Carter 2016; Scott and Steele 2005; 2011) and the political process model (Wiarda 2009). The democratic idealism model focuses on the US promotion of democracy policy. The US democracy promotion policy is based on the American conviction of Democratic Peace Theory. [4] According to this theory, democracies tend to be peaceful (monadic argument) because rational voters, on which the political destiny of the leaders depend, do not support wars due to their cost. Because the risk of going to war is high when there is no domestic support, a rational leader whose political position depends on the public will is less likely to risk going to war (Quackenbush and Rudy 2009). Although democracies may fight non-democracies, they do not fight each other (dyadic argument) because a democratic society does not see the other democratic society as a threat (Doyle 2005; Russett 1995; Tomz and Weeks 2013) and because democratic societies share democratic values with each other (Ikenberry 2008; Maoz and Russett 1993; Owen 1994; Russett 1995). Additionally, complicated decision-making procedures in democracies also constrain leaders from going to war (de Mesquita et al. 1999; Pahre 2006). This conviction or belief in democratic peace can explain the US policy of expanding the club of democratic countries either by peaceful means such as foreign aid (Meernik James and Poe 1998; Scott and Carter 2017; Scott and Steele 2011) or by violent acts such as the Iraq invasion in 2003 (Farrell and Von Hippel 2000; McCartney 2004;Von Hippel 2004)

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[4] The American belief in democracy is especially apparent in Bill Clinton's 1994 State of the Union Address that argued, "Ultimately, the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere. Democracies don't attack each other…" See William J. Clinton: "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union," January 25, 1994. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=50409.

Second, scholars also note the importance of domestic political actors in explaining US foreign policy. Scholarly works in this area can be best summarized as the so-called political process model. This model is based on the assessment that foreign policy, like domestic policy, is shaped by powerful forces, interests and actors in the broader political system and cannot be separated from it. This model views foreign policy as emerging from the interactions of hundreds or even thousands of pressures and interest groups operating on foreign policy issues. Rather than the purview of a handful of experts in various governmental units, foreign policy outcomes involve a complicated political process and are subject to the influence of many actors. Foreign policy is also unpredictable because it involves logrolling, political deal making, and partisan politics. The interested groups usually build coalitions of like-minded individuals to be more effective in advancing their cause. They also are involved in partisan politics such as election campaigns, fund-raising, and lobbying to have their interests and influence translated into policy decisions made by their preferred candidates (Newhouse 2009). Due to the great number of actors involved, the decisions are usually a compromise (Wiarda 2009).

While most of the works in this area focus on the impact of public opinion on American foreign policy (Hartley and Russett 1992; Holsti and Rosenau 1996; Jentleson and Britton 1998; Mueller 1973; Risse-Kappen 1991) both in the short term and the long-term (Baum 2004; Brody 1991; Canes-Wrone 2006; Mueller 1973; Sobel 2001), some other works most specifically investigate the role of domestic interest groups in shaping the US foreign policy. These include internationally oriented business groups and experts (Jacobs and Page 2005; Milner and Tingley 2010) and minority ethnic groups (Haney and Vanderbush 1999; Newhouse 2009; Rubenzer and Redd 2010; Vanderbush 2009).

Although some of these domestic political actors can directly affect presidential decision making in the foreign policy realm through public opinion (Sobel 2001; DeRouen 1995; Ostrom and Job 1986; Mueller 1973), most of these actors shape foreign policy through Congress or the legislative process (Milner and Tingley 2010; Milner and Tingley 2015; Rubenzer and Redd 2010; Newhouse 2009; Vanderbush 2009; Haney and Vanderbush 1999; Hartley and Russet 1992). This is unsurprising given that Congress is intended to represent the people and is accessible to the general public and interest groups (the following section will address congressional influence on US foreign policy).

The third source of American foreign policy is the governmental structures used in the foreign policymaking process. As part of the liberal theoretical framework, analysis of governmental structure assumes that the state is a non-unitary actor. The foreign policy decision making process is distributed across governmental units or agencies, each of which has its own organizational culture and procedures. Graham Allison's organizational model seems to be an appropriate analytical tool to analyze this influence on American foreign policymaking, and the main argument of this school of thought is that the government sees foreign policy issues from organizational sensors. Government defines policy responses and their consequences as organizations process information (Allison 1969, 698). The way organizations process information depends on the culture, structure and standard operating procedures developed in these organizations. Thus, the policy output of the governmental units is the product of organizational cultures and routines.

Scholarly works on the governmental structure of the foreign policymaking process mostly center on the role of presidential leadership (Barber 2009; Bock 1987; Corwin 1957; Edwards and Wayne 2013; Garrison, Rosati, and Scott 2013; George 1980; Melanson 2005;

Pfiffner 2011; Preston 2001; Strong 2005). These works attempt to explain, for instance, how the decision-making structure created by each of the US presidents affects the way foreign policy is made (Barber 2009; Hermann and Preston 1994; Preston 2001). Some other works focus on the National Security Council as the president's foreign policy advisory team in foreign security matters (Daalder and Destler 2008; Inderfurth and Johnson 2004; Preston 2001; Rothkopf 2006; Shoemaker 1991) and the National Economic Council as the president's advisory team for international economic policy (Destler 1980, 1989, 1996, 1998).

The fourth potential influence on American foreign policy is the bureaucratic roles played by individual decision-makers. This potential source of American foreign policy can be understood using Allison's bureaucratic model (Allison 1969; Allison and Halperin 1972; Allison and Zelikow 1999). This model sees foreign policy as a product of a bargaining process among governmental agencies with different interests. The model implies three assumptions. First, there is no overarching master plan and decisions emerge from political struggle and bargaining among groups (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 2001). Thus, foreign policy decisions emerge through an abstract political space rather than a formal decision procedure that relies on a formal chain of command. The actors in the bureaucratic politics model are key individuals representing their organizations, each of whom is trying to maximize the organizations' interests, agendas, and goals. Second, the model assumes there are multiple organizations and bureaucracies that compete to advance their interests and influence foreign policy in their favor. Finally, the way the policy issue is perceived by the actors depends on the position of the actors. For example, during the US Cuban missile crisis, the Department of Defense (DoD) often clashed with the Department of State on how to approach the problem. While the DoD and the military supported a more aggressive approach, the State Department tended to approach the

issue diplomatically. Not only are the interests of the agencies different; the way the agencies see the issue is also different. While Robert McNamara as the Secretary of Defense saw the Cuban missile installation as a strategic issue and the military saw it as a challenge and a chance to "cleanse the Western Hemisphere of Castro's Communism," the State Department and some of Kennedy's closest advisors, including his brother Attorney General Robert Kennedy, viewed it from the diplomatic perspective, that is in terms of the relations between the US and Soviet Union (Allison 1969, 712-715).

Finally, the last potential source of American foreign policy is the characteristics of individual decision-makers. Examining US foreign policy from this perspective, scholars mostly look at how the belief system and personality traits of American leaders shape the foreign policy decisions they make. Two clusters of works, generally, focused on this causal argument. First is the operational code analysis approach. This method is used to investigate the belief system of individual leaders (Houghton 2014; Schafer and Walker 2006; Walker 1990). Two prominent figures in this genre are Alexander George and Ole R. Holsti. George is the one who laid the systematic foundation for the use of operational code for studying foreign policy. He reformulated the operational code method by categorizing belief systems into two types: philosophical and instrumental beliefs. While philosophical beliefs concern general philosophy about the nature of political life embraced by leaders (perception about the world, optimism/pessimism about the future and belief about the controllability of historical development and view of the predictability of the future), the instrumental beliefs deal with more practical and strategic questions in the context of political action (George 1969, 199-216). The two sets of beliefs are closely related. The way national leaders view the world and perceive each other fundamentally affect their policy choices in approaching each other (Walker 1990, 407).

George's reconceptualization of an operational code was widely used by many scholars to assess the belief systems of American leaders and link these beliefs to their general approach to foreign policy. Earlier applications include Holsti (1970), who analyzed John Foster Dulles' belief system, and David McLellan (1971), who studied Dean Acheson's belief system. These two studies found that Dulles and Acheson had contrasting beliefs regarding the Soviet Union. While Dulles was prone to embrace an anti-Soviet rhetoric, Acheson seemed to show a more prudent way of thinking. Although he still saw the Soviets as an adversary, he did not attribute this adversarial relation so much to ideological contestation as to the strategic behavior of the Soviet Union. Therefore, he tended to have a more nuanced approach to US/Soviet relations because he believed that strategic behavior was subject to change and was simply a response to strategic constraints. Thus, he believed that peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union was a desirable policy.

The study of operational code or belief systems has expanded especially since the 1970s (Houghton 2009, 111). Scholars use this method to describe a huge variety of leaders and explain their particular actions in dealing with various foreign policy issue areas. Among leaders who have been analyzed by scholars are John F. Kennedy (Marfleet 2000); Henry Kissinger (Walker 1977); Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson (Rosenberg 1986); Mao Zedong (Feng 2005); Fidel Castro and Kim Il Sung (Malici and Malici 2005); Bill Clinton and Tony Blair (Schafer and Walker 2006); Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres (Crichlow 1998); George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton (Walker, Schafer, and Young 1999); and Vladimir Putin (Dyson 2001). Many interesting findings have been reported by these studies. Stephen Walker's (1977) work on the operational code of Henry Kissinger, for example, found that Kissinger's bargaining strategy in his effort to pull the US out of the Vietnam War can be

explained by his philosophical and instrumental beliefs. His realist proclivity, as indicated by his personal bias toward realist statesmen like Klemens von Metternich and Viscount Castlereagh, contributed to his realistic approach to US policy in Vietnam. In his collaborative work with Lawrence Falkowski (Walker and Falkowski 1984), Walker attempted to expand operational code analysis to four pairs of US presidents and Secretaries of State (Truman/Marshall, Eisenhower/Dulles, Kennedy/Rusk and Johnson/Rusk). Walker and Falkowski found a close link between these leaders' early socialization experiences; their need for power, achievement, and affiliation; and their types of operational code.

According to this line of reasoning, their types of operational code eventually determined their bargaining tactics when dealing with crises (Walker and Falkowski 1984). Further analysis of the four presidents done by Rosenberg (1986) found that although the Cold War mindsets were ubiquitous in the four presidents, the way Kennedy understood the world around him was different from the other three presidents. While the other three presidents tended to be dogmatic and understood the world, especially the US-Soviet relations, in the ideological perspective, Kennedy was more pragmatic in that he placed the relationship between the two countries within a strategic context. Rosenberg' analysis of Kennedy's operational code indicates that Kennedy was closer to Acheson in the way he viewed foreign policy crisis.

While those scholars used operational code to study the belief systems of leaders, some other scholars used a general psychological approach for studying leaders' personality traits. Among the earlier studies that specifically focused on leaders' personality and foreign policy decision making is Friedlander and Cohen's (1975), who analyzed the relationship between personalities and the belligerent behaviors of fourteen leaders. They also connected the childhood experiences of these leaders with their belligerent behavior as adults. Barber's ([1972]

2009) study of US presidents is an earlier work as well as one of the most influential and important contributions to the study of leaders' personality and leadership style. His categorization of leaders as active-passive and positive-negative, however, has attracted some criticism as being too simple. Fitting a person within a particular category based on his/her general trait description might be easier. But some unusual policies a leader made sometimes complicate the analysis. One example given by McDermott is Barber's categorization of Theodore Roosevelt as a passive-positive leader. On closer observation, Roosevelt's attempt to pioneer anti-trust legislation and bring greater democracy to the American economy might not be appropriately considered as passive (McDermott 2004, 234).

Margaret G. Hermann is also an innovative and productive scholar in this area of study. Her studies of leaders' personality traits through content analysis of their public speeches allowed her to compare large numbers of leaders. She also explored a more complex structure of leaders' personality components, including beliefs, motives, decision style and interpersonal style (Hermann 1980). In a collaborative work with Paul Kowert (Kowert and Hermann 1997), she linked leaders' personality traits to their risk propensity. She subsequently modified and expanded her identification of leaders' personality traits into seven components: belief in one's ability to control events, conceptual complexity, need for power, distrust of others, in-group bias, self-confidence, and task orientation (Hermann 2002). Hermann's method of at-a-distance content analysis to assess personality traits was then used by Stephen B. Dyson (2006) to evaluate Prime Minister Blair's personality and his decision to attack Iraq.

Of all these sources of American foreign policy, the current research is best situated in the domestic political model because I focus on the role of Congress in shaping the foreign policymaking process. Yet, before proceeding to some theoretical explorations of the role

Congress plays in shaping some foreign policy decisions, I survey some scholarly works that focused on the role of Congress in US foreign policymaking.

Congressional Influence on US Foreign Policymaking

Perhaps the most significant domestic political actor that can shape American foreign policy is Congress. Congress, by virtue of the Constitution, was intended to be the dominant foreign policy actor (Carter 1998). Most literature on Congress' foreign policy roles discusses the influence of Congress on presidential decisions such as the presidential use of force (Gowa 1998; Howell and Pevehouse 2005; 2007a; Kartzmann 1990; Kriner 2006; 2010; Meernik 1993; 1995; Morgan and Bickers 1992; Stoll 1987), foreign aid, immigration and foreign trade (Milner and Tingley 2010; 2015; Epstein and Halloran 1996; Lohmann and Halloran 1994; Sherman 2002). Still some others examine the direct legislative activities of Congress in the US foreign policy process (Carter 1989; Carter, Scott, and Rowling 2004; DeLaet, Rowling, and Scott 2005; DeLaet and Scott 2006; Johnson 2006).

The research on congressional influence on US foreign policy generally is clustered into two camps. The first camp is the proponent of congressional power (Carter and Scott 2004; Carter and Scott 2009; Scott and Carter 2002; Howell and Pevehouse 2007a; 2007b; Kriner 2006; 2010; Kriner and Shen 2014). Although this view is supported by relatively small empirical evidence, some scholars suggest that Congress does have some influence on presidential decision-making in the realm of foreign policy. For example, Howell and Pevehouse (2005; 2007a) show that partisan composition in Congress can affect the presidential use of force. When Congress is controlled by the opposition, the president is less likely to order the use of military force abroad. Congress through legislation, appropriation, hearings, and public

appeals can increase the cost of the President's military adventurism. In anticipation of this, the president is discouraged from the political gamble (Howell and Pevehouse 2007a). Similarly, Epstein and O'Halloran's (1996) investigation of US trade policy from 1890 to 1990 found that different compositions of Congress affect the likelihood that Congress will delegate discretionary authority to the president that eventually affects the trade policy. When Congress is controlled by the opposition, Congress is less likely to delegate discretionary authority to the president, and this makes it difficult for the president to pursue a more liberal trade policy. These works suggest that Congressional dynamics shape presidential foreign policy choices, be it a military policy or an international economic policy.

The second camp is the opponent of congressional influence. Scholars in this camp view a more limited congressional power when dealing with foreign policy. For example, DeRouen (1995) failed to find evidence that Congress had successfully challenged the president's military policy since the Vietnam war. Despite the Congressional enactment of the War Power Resolution in 1973, DeRouen showed that presidents are less constrained by this congressional check. It is the public opinion rather than congressional power that can restrain the presidents in their security policy.

Stoll's (1987) analysis of the President-Congress relations from 1946-1982 found that rather than constraining the president, Congress precisely tended to support the presidents in their military adventurism abroad. Congress tended to rally behind the presidents on some international issues shortly after the presidents engaged in use of force overseas. This finding suggests that Congress tends to succumb to the president when the country is in crisis. Although some scholars indicate that Congress attempts to check the presidential foreign policy powers through some legislation (e.g., war power resolution), these attempts often failed to produce the

desired effect. Some scholars like Katzmann (1990), Fisher (2000) and Weissman (1995) all agree that this congressional check fails.

While Congressional submission to the presidents on security issues or during security crises might not surprise us given that the presidents and the executive agencies in charge of the issues control the policy process, Congressional acquiescence turns out to be apparent in general foreign policy issues. It is this observation that has led to the so-called "Two Presidencies" thesis (Wildavsky [1966] 1998). This thesis argues that in American politics , there are two presidencies: one for domestic affairs and the other for foreign and defense policy. This idea was put forward by Aaron Wildavsky in 1966 after examining the facts that most of the presidents' foreign and defense policies proposals enjoyed higher approval rates by Congress as compared to the lower approval rates for domestic policies proposals. Wildavsky then concluded that "since World War II, Presidents have had much greater success in controlling the nation's defense and foreign policies than in dominating its domestic policies" (Wildavsky [1966] 1998, 23).

Since then, most scholars tested the thesis and found mixed evidence for the arguments. Cohen (1991), for example, found that from 1861 until Kennedy's administration, presidents were more able to control the agenda in foreign policy than in domestic issues. This makes sense given that presidents are advantaged by his position as commander-in-chief and the sole representation of the nation in the international community. In addition, as argued by Canes-Wrone, Howell, and Lewis (2008, 4-5), presidents in the modern era have more knowledge about foreign policy affairs than Congress. This knowledge ranges from the relevant players around the world, the status of ongoing negotiation to covert operations. This informational advantage is enabled because it is the executive agencies under presidential control that conduct day-to-day operations related to foreign affairs. They report all information about these activities to the

presidents. The presidents also have the privilege of accessing confidential information not easily shared with members of Congress.

In contrast, members of Congress often lack information about foreign affairs. Although they attempted to develop expertise in specific foreign policy areas, they find it difficult to keep up with the presidents regarding the latest and/or confidential information about foreign policy issues. Furthermore, members of Congress also have less incentive to know a lot about foreign policy issues. They are concerned with foreign affairs as long as those issues affect their constituents directly or the issues become a national concern that pushes them to act. This is in contrast to the domestic policy arena. In the domestic policy arena, members of Congress have direct access to any information and can directly see the effect of different policies. They are also helped by interest groups concerned about particular issues to garner information and do an independent assessment for them. With this informational gap between presidents and Congress on foreign policy issues, "presidents can better tailor the presentation of facts to suit their interests on these issues." (Canes-Wrone, Howell and Louis 2008, 5). Although presidents might not be able to convince members of Congress about their actions regarding foreign policy issues, with the lack of information at hand, members of Congress cannot challenge presidents effectively. Thus, if presidents issue executive orders related to foreign policy issues, Congress is less likely to challenge them by passing resolutions revoking the orders. A president's ability to structure and manipulate the foreign policy agenda is also obvious when he deals with the public. Cohen's (1991) finding that presidential leadership effects are more lasting in foreign policy issues than economic or civil rights issues is one piece of evidence supporting this argument.

However, several authors disputed the two presidencies thesis. Lee Sigelman (1979), for example, argued that congressional support for the presidents on key foreign policy roll-calls

tends to diminish over time to the extent that the level of foreign policy support equals the domestic one. This occurred from both the presidents' party and the opposition party. While support from the opposition party was huge for presidents' foreign policy positions from 1957 to 1972, since 1973 this support has dwindled. Sigelman further argued that increasing the informational capacity on the part of Congress may contribute to its more aggressive role in foreign and defense policy legislation. Also, increasingly the ideological or issue-conscious orientation of some members along with the growing interconnectedness between foreign and domestic issues can also explain greater congressional assertiveness in foreign and defense policies.

Furthermore, Richard Fleisher and his co-authors' (Fleisher et al. 2000) observation of roll-call votes for foreign and defense policy also suggests that the absolute level of support for minority presidents on foreign and defense issues has declined since the second Reagan administration. This decline occurred at the same time as growing partisanship in foreign policy decision making in Congress (Fleisher et al. 2000, 4). To these authors, members' strategies to win public support can also explain this greater congressional involvement in foreign policy. Taking a position on controversial foreign policy issues may help garner more support from some constituents concerned about the issues. However, the authors also remind us of not construing the arguments as indicating presidents' weakening positions to influence foreign policy. Instead this is to show there are some conditions that enable each branch to influence the other. Fleisher's findings are supported by Schraufnagel and Shellman (2001). Using more extensive data and a refined measure of presidential support, they found that there is no systematic support received by the White House in the foreign policy realm. Despite some support from the opposition, the support is not consistent and is temporal in nature.

The challenge against the Two Presidencies thesis suggests that Congressional influence has encroached on foreign policy. This is in accord with Scott and Carter's (Carter and Scott 2009; Scott and Carter 2002) observation that Congress has been increasingly assertive on foreign policy issues, especially since the Vietnam War. While the activity of Congress on foreign policy issues might have declined since the mid-1980s, congressional assertiveness is still robust (Carter and Scott 2009, 17). This assertiveness to a significant extent can constrain the presidents in making foreign policy. When Congress is more assertive and watchful of any foreign policy actions done under the leadership of the presidents, the executive branch might be more careful and take Congress into account in devising their foreign policy. This is because any congressional responses to the policy can derail the foreign policy currently underway.

Because Congress has been increasingly important in shaping US foreign policy, any congressional dynamics can be expected to affect the direction of US foreign policy. While some of these congressional dynamics might induce the presidents to take some particular foreign policy actions, some other dynamics might discourage them from doing the same foreign policy actions. The problem is what kind of congressional dynamics can we expect to influence what foreign policy actions and how do these dynamics shape these foreign policy actions. These are the puzzle I investigated in the current research.

Research Questions

To elaborate on the puzzle raised above, the main question raised in this research is: what kinds of congressional dynamic can shape the US foreign policy? And how do these congressional dynamics influence the US foreign policy? To answer these two questions, I focused on three empirical cases in US foreign policy. The first case is the US military

intervention in foreign policy crises. In this case, I tested whether congressional ideology and congressional support for the president affect the president's decision to engage in military intervention during a foreign policy crisis. In the second case, I examined the impact of party polarization in Congress and the level of congressional support for the president on the duration of legislated sanctions. Finally, I examined the politics of foreign aid allocation. In this case, I tested whether the partisanship influenced variation in the amount of particular types of foreign aid. To be more specific, I examined:

1. Ideology, Congressional Support and Military Intervention in a Foreign Policy Crisis:

   a. How can ideology influence the presidential decision in conducting a military intervention in another country's foreign policy crisis?

   b. How can congressional support affect the presidential decision in conducting a military intervention in another country's foreign policy crisis?

2. Polarization, Congressional Support and the Duration of Legislated Economic Sanction:

   a. How can party polarization in Congress impact on the duration of legislated economic sanctions?

   b. How can congressional support for the president influence the duration of legislated economic sanctions?

3. Party Control, Partisanship and Foreign Aid Allocation:

   a. How can changes in Democratic control in either chamber of Congress affect the variation in the amount of development aid provided to foreign countries?

b. How can partisanship moderate the impact of Democratic control in either chamber of Congress on the amount of development aid provided to foreign countries?

c. How can changes in the Democratic control in either chamber of Congress affect the variation in the amount of military aid provided to foreign countries?

d. How can partisanship moderate the impact of Democratic control in either chamber of Congress on the amount of military aid provided to foreign countries?

e. How can changes in the Democratic control in either chamber of Congress affect the variation in the amount of political aid given to foreign countries?

f. How can partisanship moderate the impact of Democratic control in either chamber of Congress on the amount of political aid?

Purpose and Significance of the Research

As suggested above, the purpose of the research was to identify some congressional dynamics that can be expected to shape US foreign policies and explain how these congressional dynamics influenced foreign policies. By doing this, it was expected that this dissertation would contribute to the understanding of US foreign policy and international relations field in two ways. First, it provides a direct test of whether congressional dynamics matters in US foreign policy. This contribution is considered significant given the lack of systematic investigation on the relationship between congressional dynamics and US foreign policy actions, especially in the area of the military intervention and sanctions. Second, more specifically this dissertation sheds light on what particular types of congressional dynamics shape the US foreign policy and how these dynamics shape the foreign policy actions. As seen in the empirical chapters, while some

congressional dynamics can constrain executive foreign policy decisions, other dynamics can embolden the presidents to take action. This dissertation specifies what kinds of dynamics can constrain and embolden certain types of foreign policy actions.

Congressional Dynamics and the U.S. Foreign Policy

Before examining how Congress shapes US foreign policy, I discuss what I mean by congressional dynamics. The simple dictionary definition of dynamic refers to "a force that stimulates change or progress within a system or process" (*Oxford Online Dictionary* 2018). Applied to this research, congressional dynamics is simply defined as changes in the congressional process and/or institution over time that may affect its policy output and its relations with other branches, especially the president.

In this research, I focus on four variables of congressional dynamics. First is the chamber ideology. Ideology, simply put, is "the widely shared and systematic beliefs about how the world does and should work" (Gries 2014, 5). Ideology plays central role in the policy-making process because ideology shapes the members' policy positions on a range of issues. While traditionally, ideologies have pushed both Democrats and Republicans away from each other on many domestic economic, social and political issues, this is also the case for the foreign and defense policy realm regardless of the nature of the issues (low vs. high politics issues) as reported by McCormick and Wittkopf (1992). As shown in Chapter 2, chamber ideology affects both security and political economic issues (DeLaet and Scott 2006; Fleck and Kilby 2006, 2010; Lindsay 1991; Meernik and Oldmixon 2008; Milner and Tingley 2010; Peake 2016; Rosenson, Oldmixon, and Wald 2009).

The second congressional dynamic that strongly affects the congressional foreign policy position is party polarization. In this dissertation, party polarization is defined as the gap in the means of the party's DW-NOMINATE scores on the first dimension, that is the liberal-conservative scale (Poole and Rosenthal 2007, 2015).[5] While there are a lot of scholarly works on the impact of party polarization in Congress on the domestic policy and congressional performance in general (e.g., Binder 1999; 2003; Dodd and Schraufnagel 2009; 2017; Jones 2001; Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz 2006; Theriault 2008), there are only a few works on the impact of polarization on US foreign policy (e.g., Bafumi and Parent 2012; Parent et al. 2008; Chaudoin, Milner, and Tingley 2010; Hurst and Wroe 2016; Kupchan and Trubowitz 2007, 2010; Peake, Krutz, and Hughes 2012). Unfortunately, rather than examining the effect of this polarization on a particular foreign policy action, scholars tend to focus on the debate about whether polarized roll-call votes in foreign policy issues exist (with the exception of Peake et al 2012). Chapter 3 provides the direct test of the impact of party polarization in Congress on the duration of legislated sanctions.

The third congressional dynamic considered here is partisanship. Partisanship is measured as different partisan preferences on particular issues and the degree of partisan voting behavior shown by the legislators. This latter concept is best represented by the so-called Party Unity Scores, that is the percentage of roll-call votes in which at least 50 percent of Democrats vote against at least 50 percent of Republicans. This measures the intra-party cohesion and inter-

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[5] DW-NOMINATE scores measure the average ideological positions (based on the ideal points of members) of each of the parties on a liberal-conservative continuum (first dimension). As seen in Chapter 3, I also weigh this polarization measure by the degree of internal party cohesion using Party Unity Scores of each of the parties. Party Unity Scores for each of the parties is measured as the percentage of members voting together with their own party in party unity votes (votes where majority of the members in one party (at least 50% of the members) vote for a position opposed by the majority of the members from the other party). This weighted DW-NOMINATE mean difference represents the idea that polarization should measure not only the ideological difference between the two parties but also the internal cohesion of the two parties. See Poole and Rosenthal (2015).

party differences. Most earlier studies on the effect of partisanship on the US foreign policy tend to resort to the concept of bipartisanship, measured as the percentage of foreign policy votes in which the majority of both parties agree with each other and agree with the president's position (McCormick and Wittkopf 1992). Conceptually, this is the reverse of the Party Unity Scores measure. Using this measure, scholars examine whether partisanship encroaches on US foreign policy, especially the presidents' foreign policy decisions (McCormick and Wittkopf 1992; Trubowitz and Kupchan 2007; Trubowitz and Mellow 2005; 2011; Chaudoin, Milner and Tingley 2010).

The problem in this research is that scholars tend to confuse polarization, partisan preferences, and partisanship. When they discuss polarization, they measure it using bipartisan roll-call votes that best capture the partisanship. Although the two measures overlap conceptually, they are technically different. This is implied in most of the literature on American politics. While polarization, at least that proposed by Poole and Rosenthal (2007), is based on ideological differences between the two parties; the measure of partisanship is based on the percentage of roll-call votes in which the majority of members of either party agree with one another but disagree with the opponents.[6] Like the polarization literature, most studies on (bi)partisanship in foreign policy also focus on the examination of whether (bi)partisanship exists in some foreign policy issues. Different from these works, the current work sought to investigate

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[6] Polarization and partisanship measure different things: polarization measures the ideological difference between the two parties, while partisanship measures the internal cohesion of the party. Nonetheless, polarization and partisanship are closely related, especially since the 1970s. This is because ideological inclination is increasingly in line with party identification. The Democratic party is increasingly liberal, while the Republican party is increasingly conservative. Technically, the difference (distance) between the DW-NOMINATE median scores of the two parties measures the levels of polarization. Meanwhile, the internal cohesion in each of the parties' voting records measures the level of partisanship. This technical difference captures the possibility that a member can vote for a policy position based on his/her ideological position (shaped by the district's ideology) even if his/her party's formal position is against the policy position (e.g., McCain's position on an Obama Care vote).

the impact of partisanship on one of the most important foreign policy instruments, that is foreign aid.

Finally, I also explored the effect of congressional support on the presidential foreign policy decisions. Some scholars show that congressional support lent to the presidents can embolden presidents to engage in particular foreign policy actions such as the use of force (Howell and Pevehouse 2005, 2007a; Kriner 2010). In Chapters 2 and 3, I show that the effect of congressional support is not only limited to risky foreign policy behavior such as military policy but is also expanded into other policy areas such as sanction decision.

How do all of these dynamics influence US foreign policy in general and presidential foreign policy choices in particular? Ideology can shape US foreign policy and presidential foreign policy choices because it has a clear causal direction on some policy positions. For example, literature on the political psychology and political attitude (Carney et al. 2008; Gerber et al. 2010; Gries 2014; Jones et al. 2017; Jost 2006; Jost et al. 2003; Jost, Federico, and Napier 2009; Bonanno and Jost 2006; Rentfrow et al. 2009) show that liberals are more inclined to values such as humanitarianism, multilateralism, social justice, and freedom. On the other hand, the conservatives are more inclined to values such as nationalism, unilateralism, order, and stability. These different values lead them to prefer different policy positions on some issues. For instance, as some public opinion surveys reveal (Busby and Monten 2012; Gries 2014; Holsti and Rosenau 1996; Smeltz, Daalder, and Kafura 2014), Republicans are more supportive of a military approach in US foreign policy. By contrast, the Democrats are more supportive of multilateral and cooperative approaches in foreign policy. Because the ideological preferences of liberal and conservative are obviously different in some foreign policy issues, we can expect that a change in the dominant ideology in Congress will have some implications for foreign policy in

general and presidential foreign policy choices. This, for example, is shown in Chapter 2. When Congress is more conservative, the presidents are more courageous about using military instruments when dealing with a foreign policy crisis overseas. In contrast, when Congress is more liberal, the presidents are hesitant to command military engagement abroad.

Party polarization in Congress also has some foreign policy consequences. While ideology has some impact on the direction of a foreign policy action (e.g., conservative members tend to support military intervention while liberal members tend to reject it), polarization affects the probability that a policy can be produced or approved. As some scholars (e.g., Barber and Mccarty 2015; Binder 1999; Binder 2003; Jones 2001; Mccarty 2007) observe, high polarization can lead to policy gridlock because the two parties cannot compromise their policy positions. An extremely polarized Congress can obstruct its policy productivity in that Congress finds it difficult to approve a policy proposal and, thus, fails to produce the policy.

However, these scholars usually assume that policy productivity is linearly related to the level of polarization. This might not be the case because as Dahl (1967) suggested a long time ago, political outcomes are the products of political conflicts.[7] Therefore, assuming that the absence of political polarization (no inter-party conflicts) or a low level of political polarization is a pre-requisite for the policy productivity of Congress may not be correct. Very low political polarization indicated by a very high intra-party difference can be problematic because it complicates the process of formulating the party's policy agenda and advances their collective interests (Dodd and Schraufnagel 2009, 2012, 2017). As Rohde (1991) observed, high intra-party

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[7] Dahl (1967) argues that conflict is the inherent nature of a democracy. Conflicts arise due to the democratic dilemma. On the one hand, by nature, human beings have different views. On the other hand, democracy entails the liberty to express these different views. Thus, "to condemn all political conflict as evil is to condemn diversity and liberty as evils. If you believe that some diversity is inevitable, and that liberty is desirable, then you must hold, logically, that political conflict is not only inevitable but desirable" (Dahl 1967, 270).

policy conflicts lead members to hesitantly empower their party leaders, which eventually inhibits the leaders' ability to devise a partisan policy. Thus, Congress's policy productivity can be interrupted when political polarization is at either of the ends of the polarization continuum.

By contrast, when parties are moderately polarized as indicated by sufficiently internal cohesivity along with external heterogeneity, party members are willing to bestow their leaders with limited resources and authority that eventually enable them to formulate partisan agenda and negotiate their differences with the opposition party (Dodd and Schraufnagel 2012). Policy productivity can be maximized under this situation. The empirical support for this non-linear relationship between the level of political polarization in Congress and its productivity level is explained in Chapter 3 on the sanction duration.

Like political polarization, partisanship can also cripple the policy productivity of Congress. Partisanship is closely related to political polarization in the sense that partisanship can worsen the ideological differences between parties, thus it contributes to the polarizing process. Yet the impact of partisanship on the policy outcome can be best explained by the debate between Conditional Party Government (CPG) theory (Aldrich and Rohde 1998, 2000) and Pivotal Politics theory (Krehbiel 1998). According to CPG theory, when both intra-party homogeneity and inter-party heterogeneity are high, members are more likely endow their party leadership and the party institution with strong power and greater resources. Under this situation, party control will be stronger, and the majority party provided with these greater power and resources will skew the policy outcome to their preferred position. However, these conditions are more likely to occur in the House than in the Senate because the House is the majoritarian institution in which the majority party can exert its control to shape the outcome at the expense of the minority.

However, as Krehbiel (1998) indicates, the ability of the majority party to skew the policy outcomes to the median of the majority party's ideal point might be constrained when partisanship is greater. As long as there is no supermajority party in both chambers (defined as controlling sixty seats of the Senate or two-third seats of the House) and both the presidency and Congress are controlled by different parties, high partisanship might lead to gridlock. Under this situation, the majority party should negotiate and compromise its policy preference in order for the Congress to produce a policy. Otherwise, the status quo outcome will remain.

Applied to foreign aid cases, as explained in detail in Chapter 4, the expectation of pivotal politics theory seems to be borne out. Higher partisanship appears to constrain the majority party to deflect the policy outcome in its favor. When partisanship is high, both parties are forced to compromise their position on the amount of aid so the degree of an increase or decrease in the amount of particular aid they propose declines as partisanship becomes stronger. Thus, partisanship can moderate the impact of party preference on the policy outcome.

Finally, congressional support can affect foreign policy due to some institutional advantages owned by Congress. For instance, as explained by Howell and Pevehouse (2005), Congress has the power of the purse (power to appropriate funds), which allows it to affect a president's foreign policy plan. This is especially true for military policy. Congress can cut off military funding or refuse to appropriate needed funding that will materially affect the course of military actions. Besides Congress can also impose burdensome requirements on the president's military plan, which can dissuade presidents from continuing the plan.

When Congress is controlled by the president co-partisans, congressional resistance to a president's foreign policy plan diminishes and encourages the president to move forward with the plan. Less congressional resistance means the president does not have to worry about the

budgetary support for his foreign policy agenda. Similarly, when the president has a history of good relationships with Congress, the president might feel less restricted in implementing his foreign policy agenda.

In contrast, when the Hill is controlled by the opposition party, the president might find it difficult to implement his foreign policy agenda successfully. The opposition will eagerly complicate the president's foreign policy plan, either by restricting the scope and duration of the policy or by establishing firm reporting requirements. The opposition will use all the power it has over the structure, budget, and control of the foreign policy actions that will eventually affect the implementation of the policy (Grimmett 2007; Lindsay 1999). This is especially true in the use of force policy. The War Power Resolution, for example, came out during the divided government era when Congress was controlled by the Democratic opposition.

Because Congress can affect the prospect of foreign policy action, the president takes the congressional dynamics seriously when devising his foreign policy strategies. However, congressional dynamics affect not only the presidential foreign policy choices but also US foreign policy in general. This is because Congress itself can have a direct-legislative influence on the foreign policy (Carter and Scott 2009) such as sanction legislation or foreign aid appropriation. In the current research, I show how these congressional dynamics affect both the presidential foreign choices (the use of force in a foreign policy crisis) and US foreign policy in general (sanction ad foreign aid policy).

Some Notes on the Methodology: Case Selection

This work is built on earlier studies on American foreign policy in addition to borrowing some theoretical insight from the literature on American politics. The literature of American

politics is especially helpful due to its extensive elaboration of congressional dynamics and its explanation on how these dynamics shape domestic policy. By extending these theoretical and empirical works on the relationship between congressional dynamics and domestic policy to the realm of foreign policy, I contribute to the ever-growing literature on the domestic political explanation of US foreign policy in general and the study of congressional foreign policy in particular (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2012; Fearon 1998).

To understand the impact of congressional dynamics on the US foreign policy actions, I focus on three cases: US military intervention in a foreign policy crisis, legal economic sanctions (legislated sanctions), and foreign aid allocation. These cases represent the two areas of the International Relations discipline: international security (Buzan and Hansen 2009; Nye and Lynn-Jones 2007) and international political economy (Frieden and Lake 2000; Gilpin 2001). The examination of congressional influence on US crisis behavior is interesting because this is a hard case to test congressional influence on US foreign and defense policy. In crisis policy, the executive is usually given greater control over the policy and Congress is thought to defer to the presidential foreign policy authority (Lindsay and Ripley 1993, 19). This is because most legislators believe that in critical situations, national interest can be best served by strong executive leadership. The rally around the flag effects usually occurring after military action (Feaver and Gelpi 2004; Gartner and Segura 1998; B. W. Jentleson and Britton 1998; Bruce W. Jentleson 1992; Mueller 1973; Oneal and Bryan 1995) can also discourage legislators from taking critical response to the presidential military policy that would leave them open to public blame and electoral punishment.

While the first case, military intervention policy, represents examination of congressional influence in the realm of international security policy, the second and the third cases represent

examinations of congressional influence in the realm of international political economic policy. Like military intervention policy, legal economic sanctions are also hard cases. The sanction policy is a hard case because in most sanction acts, presidents are given broad authority to waive, suspend and terminate them. Thus, presidential power and preferences should determine the length of sanctions more than congressional dynamics. In addition, as Milner and Tingley (2015, 61) claim, sanctions have less clear ideological bases. Both liberals and conservatives might be opposed or in favor of this policy for different reasons. But they do not consistently support or oppose this policy. Thus, there is no clear ideological position on sanction policy. Therefore, Congress is typically not expected to play a significant role in this policy. However, as shown in the chapter on sanction duration, congressional dynamics does matter in influencing the duration of these legislated sanctions. This indicates that even for this hard case where presidents should exert more influence, Congress is still powerful.

Finally, foreign aid policy can be considered an intermediary between the hard and easy cases. Again, based on Milner and Tingley's (2015, 49-50) categorization, military aid is the hard case because it has minimal and indirect distributional consequences on local economies. In addition, the material effects from military aid programs do not produce concentrated economic gains and losses for some domestic economic groups so the pressures for members of Congress to influence the decision regarding this type of aid on behalf of their district's interests is minimal as well. This might lead to the expectation that Congress might not be influential on this type of aid. The incentive to become involved in the aid is further reduced because military aid is the type of aid over which there is likely a limited ideological division between liberal and conservative (Milner and Tingley 2015, 62). However, as I demonstrate in Chapter 4, this is not

the case. Ideological differences on this aid are clear, and different party control in the House has an obvious impact on variations in the amount of military aid.

Meanwhile, development aid might be an easy case because this type of aid has large concentrated distributional consequences. Although it accounts for only a very small fraction of the American economy, some domestic economic groups gain some benefits from the flow of this aid. Milner and Tingley (2010) even found that it has distributional impact on the districts as well. Furthermore, development aid is very ideological because it entails the taxation and redistribution of money through a centralized governmental system of the donor country. Thus, right-wing conservatives are likely to oppose development aid as an inappropriate role of the government, while liberals are likely to support it (Noel and Therien 1995; Therien and Noel 2000; Milner and Tingley 2015; Greene and Licht 2017). Due to its distributional consequences and ideological attachment, congressional dynamics should affect variation in the amount of development aid. Yet although congressional involvement can be expected for this type of aid, scholars have not extensively elaborated on how congressional dynamics shape this type of aid. This is the contribution offered by the current research.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation consists of three empirical chapters, all of which are loosely interconnected. They are connected by one theme, that is Congressional influence on the US foreign policy. They are loosely connected, however, because each of them deals with different issues involving varying degrees of presidential control and authority in foreign policy decisions. Presidential control and authority is considered at its maximum in the case of military

intervention and its minimum in the case of foreign aid allocation. Presidential authority is at its medium in the case of legislated sanctions.

The second chapter discusses the role of Congress in shaping president's decisions to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis. In this chapter, I test the argument that congressional support and ideology matter in a president's military intervention policy. More specifically, I test two hypotheses. First, presidents are more likely to conduct military intervention in a foreign crisis when they have congressional backing. Second, presidents are more likely to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis when the chambers are controlled by the conservatives. I analyze the relationship between the two congressional dynamics and the probability of military intervention in each legislative chamber separately. While the support for the second hypothesis is found in both the House and the Senate, the support for the first hypothesis only exists in the Senate. The importance of Senate support in foreign policy is especially important given that the institutional rules of the Senate do not allow easy support for the president (e.g., the filibuster rule that enables even a single senator to derail any legislation). In addition, the prominent role of the Senate in foreign affairs also makes presidents seriously consider its support when they make foreign policy decisions.

The third chapter discusses how congressional polarization and congressional support for the presidents affect the duration of legislated sanctions. Legislated sanctions are enacted by Congress through law. Drawing on theoretical insights from the moderate polarization thesis, I tested the argument that there is a non-linear relationship between the level of party polarization in Congress and the duration of legislated sanctions. This non-linear relationship between party polarization and sanction duration is because both low and high polarizations are problematic for party cooperation. While high polarization can prevent inter-party effort in reaching a policy

consensus, very low polarization can also be problematic because it hinders the internal consolidation of parties, thus making it difficult for the party to push a policy agenda forward. Applied to the case of legislated sanction, I argue that both low and high degrees of party polarization can complicate the process of ending a sanction because the lack of internal support within a party can discourage a legislator from proposing a sanction termination scheme or giving support for a president's decision to end the sanction. On the other hand, high inter-party difference can also prevent legislators from reaching an inter-party consensus to end a sanction. Using the most recent version of the Threat and Imposition of Economic Sanctions (TIES) data, I found support for this hypothesis.

In addition, I also tested the hypothesis that congressional support for presidents can help them end the sanctions earlier. Institutionally, presidents and Congress have different policy preferences regarding sanction duration. Because presidents are held accountable for foreign policy, general welfare, and national security, they tend to think of an economic sanction in terms of broader national interest. This sometimes requires a more flexible diplomacy toward another country. In contrast, legislators are not held accountable for any policy outcomes, including foreign policy. They are assessed by their constituents based on their policy positions (whether they support the policies espoused by their constituents). Therefore, legislators tend to support policies favored by their constituents or pressure groups. These different institutional roles lead the president to prefer shorter and less punitive sanctions, while Congress prefers longer and more punitive sanctions (Tama 2015; 2016). Despite the different preferences between the two institutions, we know that presidents' positions are usually supported by their co-partisans in Congress. Therefore, I argue that presidents' efforts to end sanctions are more likely to succeed if they have more co-partisans in Congress. Testing this hypothesis in each

legislative chamber separately, I found support for the Senate model. Again, this further supports the argument employed in Chapter 2 that the Senate plays a significant role in shaping a president's foreign policy choice.

In the last empirical chapter, I analyze the impact of partisanship on variation in the amount of three types of foreign aid: development aid, military aid, and political aid. Partisanship is defined as two things: party differences in attitude toward particular aid and partisan voting behavior. Drawing on scholarly works in partisanship, ideology, and political psychology on partisan differences in foreign policy issues, I tested the argument that the Democratic Party is more supportive of development aid but less supportive of military aid. I also tested the argument that the impact of Democratic control on the surge of development aid and the decline of military aid diminish as the partisan behaviors of the two parties in Congress become stronger. Using USAID data on foreign aid, I found support for the arguments. Especially when partisanship is at its mean level or above, the impact of party control on foreign aid disappears, leading us to conclude that partisanship moderates the effect of party control. As theory on the impact of partisanship on the policy preference discussed above suggests, a high level of partisanship compels both parties to compromise their policy positions, thus reducing the ability of the majority party to skew policy outcomes to its preferences.

CHAPTER 2

CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT, IDEOLOGY, AND THE US MILITARY INTERVENTION
IN A FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS

In this chapter, I test competing claims regarding the influence of congressional dynamics on US foreign policy. This chapter investigates under what congressional situations US presidents are more likely to use military force as a foreign policy instrument. Because there are a lot of instances of the use of military forces abroad, this chapter especially focuses on the use of military force in a foreign policy crisis. This is because foreign policy crisis provides opportunities for the US to use force. However, since the responses to these opportunities are not always militaristic, this raises a puzzle that led to the current research. Thus, the main question asked in this chapter was "why does the US become involved militarily in foreign policy crises." As the focus of the research is the impact of the congressional dynamic on the US president's foreign policy decisions, I analyzed US military involvement in a foreign policy crisis from the presidential perspective in the sense of how a president considers Congress when deciding to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis.

Investigating US military intervention in a foreign policy crisis is important for at least two reasons. First, a foreign policy crisis is the most frequent type of hostile interaction in global politics (Brecher 1993, 1). The fact that the US was involved in some of the crises while not in others is an intriguing puzzle. Yet, it is surprising that there is little research that has

been conducted on the US involvement in a foreign policy crisis.[8] Second, investigating US intervention in a foreign policy crisis is a good choice to test congressional influence on presidential foreign policy actions, the main theme of this project. This is because the decision in a foreign policy crisis lies fully on the hand of the president. Because the president is the commander-in-chief, he has the power to deploy the military force. Thus, in crisis situations, presidential power is at its maximum (Lindsay and Ripley 1993, 19). In addition, a crisis situation can also help the president to justify his military plan. However, since the funding for the military adventure is under the authority of Congress, the presidents might not have a free hand in this adventure. The presidents should calculate the potential support and anticipate any challenge they might face in deciding to militarily intervene in a foreign policy crisis.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the following section, I elaborate on the definition of foreign policy crisis and the literature on US involvement in a foreign policy crisis. Then I explore the theoretical explanations of congressional influence on presidential decisions to command military operations in a foreign policy crisis. In the third section, I explain the method and data collection processes followed by the results. Finally, I summarize the answers to the puzzle and speculate on the alternative explanation for the findings in the conclusion section.

US Involvement in Foreign Policy Crisis

Before delving into the literature on US involvement in a foreign policy crisis, it is important to define what a foreign policy crisis is. According to Brecher and Wilkenfeld (2000,

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[8] Some works on US involvement in a foreign policy crisis include the following: (Brands 1987; Brecher and Wilkenfeld 2000; Butler 2003; Huth 1998; James and Hristoulas 1994; James and Oneal 1991; Prins 1999).

3), a foreign policy crisis occurs when there are three necessary and sufficient conditions stemming from the changing internal and external environments of a state. These three conditions are actually more of a perception rather than a reality held by the key decision makers of the state actor. The three conditions are 1) a threat to one or more basic values; 2) an urgency to respond to the value threat (time pressure); and 3) a heightened probability of involvement in military hostilities.

While foreign policy crises can erupt from changing both the internal and external environment of a state, an international crisis emerges when there is "a change in type and/or an increase in intensity of disruptive interactions between two or more states, with a heightened probability of military hostilities that in turn destabilizes their relationship and challenges the structure of an international system." (Brecher 2008, 7). While some scholars tend to treat foreign policy crisis and international crisis similarly (Hermann 1972; Lebow 1981), this research follows Brecher (2008) by distinguishing the two types of crisis. The key distinction of the two types of crisis is the recognition of the internal sources of a crisis. While foreign policy crises can erupt from the internal environment of a state (e.g., Austrian 1934 crisis triggered by the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss by Austrian Nazis) with some external ramification, an international crisis arises from existing disruptive interactions between states (e.g., a series of Kashmir crises erupting from adversarial relationship between India and Pakistan).

The key necessary and sufficient conditions of a crisis should help distinguish it from other types of hostile inter-state relations. For example, although crises often come along with conflict, conflict is a more general term that characterizes relationships among parties. As Gurr (1980, 1-2) defines, "Conflict phenomena are the overt, coercive interactions of contending collectivities." Conflict only requires two conditions: 1) mutually hostile actions among the

parties and 2) the use of coercion to control the opponent. Thus, conflict is broader and more general in scope than crisis. Conflict encompasses insurrection, revolution, and riot as well as rivalry, crisis, and war (Brecher 2008, 6).

Crisis is also closely related to protracted conflict or rivalry because crisis often occurs in adversarial relationships between rivals. As explained by Diehl and Goertz (2000, 222-223), rivalry is a type of inter-state relationship characterized by repeatedly disruptive interactions between countries. As rivalry is fraught with disruptive interactions, crisis can occur when these disruptive interactions heighten in intensity, leading to a higher probability of military hostility that, by definition, is a crisis.

However, among the three defining conditions of a foreign policy crisis—perception of value threat, time pressure, and probability of war, the most crucial is the heightened expectation of war. Heightened expectation of war indicates that the perception of value threat is dire, and the time pressure increases substantially. Therefore, the probability of war is a pivotal condition of a foreign policy crisis. In reality, both foreign policy and international crisis are indicated by value threat, action demonstrating resolve, and overt hostility. These are the main indicators on which the International Crises Behavior database is constructed (Brecher et al. 2016)

When all three indicators of crisis are felt by leaders of a country, the country is said to be a crisis actor. The responses of the crisis actor to the crisis it faces will determine if the crisis escalates to a war or terminates peacefully. When the crisis actor responds to the crisis using violent military actions, the crisis can descend into military clash or war (e.g., July 1914 crisis leading to World War I). When the crisis actor is creative enough to solve the crisis, the crisis can de-escalate and terminate peacefully (e.g., Berlin Blockade, 1948-49).

Although a crisis actor is, by the definition, the main participant of the crisis, the outsiders can be participants in the crisis as well. This is especially true for the great powers owing to the scope and nature of their national interests. For example, the US was a third-party intervener in the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1958, which is a tension between the mainland China (People's Republic of China) and Taiwan (Republic of China). The US sent the US Navy Seventh Fleet to the strait because of US-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954. The alliance between the countries drove the US to become involved in the crisis.

As indicated in the International Crisis Behavior data, among the great powers, the US is the most frequent third-party intervener in any crisis (Brecher and Wilkenfeld 2000). Even compared to its superpower rival during the Cold War, the Soviet Union, the US level of involvement in a foreign policy crisis is higher overall. While the global orientation of American foreign policy is often cited as the overarching explanation for the US's higher level of intervention in a foreign policy crisis (Brecher and Wilkenfeld 2000, 203; Ulam 1974, 408), there are at least four other reasons for American military interventions found in the literature.[9] First, US military intervention in a foreign policy crisis was driven by some strategic reasons such as containing communist influence, assisting the allies, or geographic proximity (Butler 2003; Huth 1998; Prins 1999). Second, US intervention in a foreign policy crisis can also be affected by normative factors such power disparity between the target and the attacker; the violent trigger suffered by the target state; and the severity of the crisis (Butler 2003; Brecher

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[9] The works cited here are limited to the US military intervention in international and foreign policy crises only. While there is a wealth of works on the US's uses of military force, there are only few works related to US military intervention in international or foreign policy crises. For works related to the American use of military force, among others see Howell and Pevehouse (2005, 2007a); Meernik (1994); Mueller (1973); Ostrom and Job (1986).

and Wilkenfeld 2000; James and Oneal 1991). The likelihood that US involvement can help to mitigate the crisis is also part of this normative explanation (Butler 2003; Brands 1987/1988).

Third, the US intervened in a foreign policy crisis to promote democratic agenda (Hermann and Kegley 1998; Meernik 1996; Peceny 1995). Meernik's (1996) study, for example, found that the US military intervention was closely related to the agenda of democracy promotion. Countries that experience the US military intervention tend to see democratic growth. He also found that the US ground forces played an important role in shaping democratization. Although somewhat different from Meernik's (1996), Peceny's (1995) analysis suggests that democracy promotion and liberal policies are important agenda in US military intervention. While initially the US strategy during military intervention is conditioned by strategic and security factors, the pressure from the liberal Congress often compels the president to switch to liberal policies during the intervention. A pro-liberalization policy is important to legitimize the intervention underway. Thus, Congress plays an important role in shaping the policy during the intervention.

Finally, the US military intervention in a foreign crisis is also related to some domestic factors. For example, Yoon (1997) finds that worsening domestic economic situations and election years constrained the US presidents from engaging in military interventions. However, later works (Meernik 2000; Prins 1999) reveal that domestic economic problems can lead presidents to intervene in a crisis. Similarly, Huth's (1998) findings also suggest that election year is a critical period for military intervention.

However, while almost all the research explores the impact of domestic political variables on the likelihood of US military intervention in international crisis, few of them investigate the impact of congressional dynamics in shaping this intervention decision (Brule

2008; Carey 2001; Peceny 1995; Prins 1999).[10] Most of the literature on US military intervention in international or foreign policy crises that take into account congressional dynamics focus on the impact of congressional support in terms of divided government and the number of the president's co-partisans on the military intervention. Their analysis of congressional support, however, returns mixed results. While some of them find the substantial impact of congressional support on the presidential decision to command military force (Brule 2008), others failed to find the significant effect of Congress (Prins 1999).

Whereas some scholars have paid attention to the role played by congressional support in influencing a president's decision to use military force in a foreign policy crisis, less attention has been given to the role of congressional ideology in shaping this decision. This is unfortunate given that ideology plays an important role in shaping legislators' position regarding military intervention (Hildebrandt et al. 2013). In this chapter, I re-examine the impact of congressional support on the presidential decision to engage in military intervention in a foreign policy crisis, but I also extend the investigation to another congressional dynamic hitherto neglected in the study of US military intervention, that is congressional ideology. Before proceeding to the empirical exploration on the impact of these congressional dynamics on the presidential decision to command military force in a foreign policy crisis, I elaborate on some theoretical link between these congressional dynamics and the presidential decision to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis. Based on this theoretical exploration, I generated some hypotheses to be tested in the empirical analysis.

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[10] The works cited here are those specifically focused on US military intervention, and not the political use of military force or US involvement in militarized interstate disputes (MID). While there are some overlapping and some similarities in these data sets, their different dynamics lead to some differences in the data (Meernik 2004). In regard to the impact of congressional dynamics on the political use of force, some scholars have identified it, such as Christenson and Kriner (2017); Howell and Pevehouse (2005, 2007a), Kriner (2006, 2010).

Constitutionally, Congress is the dominant player when it comes to foreign affairs. While the Constitution expressly granted foreign affairs powers to the three branches of government, Congress was mandated with the dominant role (Koh 1991). This is especially true in authorization of hostilities against foreign nations. The Constitution assigned Congress the major role (Weissman 2017, 133).

While the practice conformed to the constitutional expectation in the early years of American history, presidential dominance began to surface at the turn of twentieth century when the presidents began to unilaterally send troops to China, Central America, and the Caribbean in the name of US national interest. However, Congress still played a significant role during this period, as evident in the decision to enter World War I, the passage of legislation on US neutrality in the 1930s, support of military aid to the United Kingdom under the lend-lease policy, and declaration of war against Japan in 1940s (Weissman 2017, 133).

It is during the early period of Cold War that Congress began to yield foreign policy roles to the president. The emergence of the Soviet Union as the rival superpower allowed the president to amass greater foreign policy powers by commanding military, diplomatic and intelligence resources to defend the nation against the communist threat. Equipped with greater access to these resources, presidents were able to command the use of military forces or covert paramilitary operations in some countries without meaningful resistance from Congress. But the mounting casualties of the Vietnam War sent a signal to Congress that the president cannot be entrusted with managing foreign policy without congressional scrutiny. The Vietnam War convinced Congress that presidential foreign policy power needs to be checked and this led

Congress to reassert its constitutional power by passing the War Powers Act in 1973 to check presidential use of force.

The assertiveness of Congress to some extent helps to constrain the White House in making foreign policy decisions. The Cold War consensus, which saw congressional deference and marked the bipartisan era, immediately faltered when Congress began to reassert itself (e.g., (Destler, Gelb, and Lake 1985; Holsti and Rosenau 1984; Melanson 2005). Although the White House still retained some leadership roles, its leadership by and large was increasingly challenged by Congress (Carter and Scott 2009, 15). As Drischler (1986, 193) observed, the Vietnam and other domestic political messes of the 1970s has reinvigorated Congress and this has led back to an era of "shared enterprise arrangement." This congressional assertiveness continued to hold in the post-Cold War era when the "intermestic" issues and increasing constituency pressures provided members of Congress more incentives to challenge the executive dominance (Aldrich et al. 2006; Conley 1999). Furthermore, the changing nature of the global security environment of the 1990s along with the cracks in the foreign policy consensus increasingly pave the way to more assertive Congress.

While congressional assertiveness is obvious in international economic policies due to the distributive nature of the policies (e.g., see Lohmann and O'Halloran 1994; Milner and Rosendorff 1996 for trade policy), it is less clear in the military policy (Milner and Tingley 2015). Although the 1973 War Power Resolution was seen as the epitome of congressional assertiveness, almost all scholars agree that it fails to achieve what Congress intended. Even if every president since Nixon, regardless of the party, has refused to recognize its constitutionality, Congress is still reluctant to challenge this defiance (Kartzmann 1990, 35). This leads scholars to doubt congressional capacity as the executive balancer (Irons 2005; Fisher 2000).

Despite the pessimistic view of Congress's ability to check presidential war power, a closer look at the relationship between the two branches reveals that the White House often made foreign policy decisions with some anticipated congressional reactions in their minds (Lindsay and Ripley 1993). The presidents consider Congress very seriously because Congress can affect the course of policy actions they made. After all members of Congress are very creative in finding avenues to influence the president's decisions to send troops abroad. As explained by Howell and Pevehouse (2005; 2007a), there are at least three ways Congress can affect president's belligerent foreign policy. First, because Congress has the power of the purse (power to appropriate funds), it can affect a president's foreign policy plan. This is especially true for military policy. Congress can cut off military funding or refuse to appropriate needed fund that will materially affect the course of military actions. Besides, Congress can also impose burdensome requirements on the president's military plan that dissuade presidents from continuing the plan (Auerswald and Cowhey 1997).

However, exertion of this congressional power to a significant extent depends on who controls the Hill and the history of cordial relations between the president and Congress. When Congress is controlled by the president's co-partisans, congressional resistance to a president's foreign policy plan will diminish and this will encourage the president to move forward with the plan. Less congressional resistance could mean that the president does not have to worry about budgetary support for his foreign policy agenda. Similarly, when the president has a history of good relationships with Congress, as indicated by the congressional support for his positions in the past, the president might feel less restricted in implementing his foreign policy agenda.

In contrast, when the Hill is controlled by the opposition party, the president might find it difficult to implement his foreign policy agenda successfully. The opposition eagerly

complicates the president's military plan either by restricting the scope and duration of the conflict or by establishing firm reporting requirements. The opposition will use all the power it has over the structure, budget, and duties of the armed forces that will eventually affect the course of military campaign (Grimmett 2001; Lindsay 1999a). After all, the War Power Resolution came out during the divided government era when Congress was controlled by the Democratic opposition.

Second, Congress can affect presidential foreign policy decisions through public appeals or dissent. When a president launches a controversial foreign policy action such as military action, members of Congress often engage in public debate commenting the efficacy of this foreign policy action, raising concern about the cost involved, and expressing doubt about the plan laid before the American public. They put the president on notice. This can undermine the credibility of the foreign policy action made by the president and potentially can lead the policy action to go awry (Schultz 1998). When the policy does go awry, the opposition can publicly challenge the president through hearings, further complicating the policy action underway. Under this situation, the president needs strong backing from his co-partisans in Congress. When the president has large congressional support due to his co-partisans controlling both chambers of Congress or due to his strongly amicable relationship with Congress, congressional opposition to his foreign policy plan might not be that strong and this can help maintain the credibility of his resolve in the foreign policy action.

Finally, Congress can also affect a president's foreign policy plan or action through its power to move public opinion (Berinsky 2007; Zaller 1992). Some scholars show presidential approval ratings tend to increase when Congress supports presidential decisions. In contrast, when the critical voices predominate in Congress, public support for the president diminishes.

Thus, the rally round the flag effects are affected by congressional support (Brody 1991; Lian and Oneal 1993). In addition, media outlets tend to approach Congress to find information about foreign policy implementation abroad. This is because Congressional members are thought to be more open and critical to issues whose views are interesting to the media. Information from Congressional members is sought, especially when there is debate about the issue within the Washington community (Groeling and Baum 2008).

Furthermore, Congress can directly inform the public's understanding of past policy actions. When the policy actions run off the plan, the opposition party may raise criticism that may affect the prospect of the president to secure the next election. If the opposition party is large enough to cause a significant number of voters to vote against the president and his party, the president and his party can be ousted from office. Anticipating this potential challenge to his fortune in the next election, the president may be discouraged from engaging in certain policy actions and choose another options.

Because Congress can affect the prospect of a foreign policy action, the president will take the congressional support seriously when devising the foreign policy strategy. When the president has a base of support in both the House and the Senate, the president is more likely to continue his military intervention policy. Otherwise, he will be constrained from executing the plan. This leads to my first hypothesis on the relationship between the congressional support and the likelihood of engaging in the military intervention in a foreign policy crisis:

Hypothesis 1: the president is more likely to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis when he has larger congressional support.

Just as congressional support is important for encouraging a president to continue his military intervention policy, congressional ideology is equally essential for the president move

forward with his plan. Chamber ideology is especially important to undergird the weak support from his own party. When the president losses the support for his military policy from his own party in Congress, he can still pursue his military plan as long as there is some support from the opposition. The bipartisan support emboldens the president to implement the policy. Yet the president can only expect this bipartisan support provided the chambers (his own co-partisans and the opposition) embrace his hawkish ideology.

Research on the role of ideology in congressional foreign policy has demonstrated that ideology plays an important role in shaping members' position on foreign policy issues. Lindsay's (1991) observation of Congressional voting on the Strategic Defense Initiative revealed that the ideology of the members rather than the economic interests of the constituents mattered more in influencing their positions on the issue. While economic interests sometimes affected the members' vote for higher spending, the result was not robust. On the other hand, ideology, especially the degree of the member's hawkishness, robustly shaped his/her support for higher defense spending. This result applied in both the Senate and the House. This result is in line with Carter's (1989) findings. Focusing on senators' decisions to support Reagan's defense budget proposal, Carter found that ideology along with partisan affiliation was a strong predictor of the senators' support. As predicted, Reagan received more support from conservative senators. The impact of ideology on the senators' support for Reagan's defense budget proposal was greater in procurement issues than non-procurement ones. Quite surprisingly, the impact of ideology was even greater than expected the economic benefits of the budget.

Not only does ideology produce a substantial impact on congressional votes on the defense budget issue, in broader foreign policy issues, it also matters. An earlier study conducted by McCormick and Wittkopf (1992) comparing congressional votes on high politics (national

security and foreign policy) and low politics (foreign aid and trade) issues found that ideology along with partisanship are consequential in congressional voting across all issue areas (low and high politics). Their multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) suggests that ideology is an even more important predictor than partisanship. The impact of ideology was even greater during the post Vietnam War era. Their finding on the importance of ideology is supported by more recent studies. For example, Meernik and Oldmixon's (2008) examination of all foreign policy-related roll-call votes in the Senate from 1979-2000 found that the ideological congruence between the senators and presidents is a strong predictor of the senators' support for the president's foreign policy positions. A more recent study on presidential decision to use force for humanitarian intervention in Somalia, Kosovo, Haiti, and Bosnia during the Clinton Administration also shows ideology matters. In general, more liberal members of Congress are more likely to support humanitarian intervention (Hildebrandt et al. 2013).

The impact of ideology was also obvious in other direct-legislative actions such as members' decision to sponsor/co-sponsor bills and the treaty consideration/ratification process. Examining senators' bill sponsorship/co-sponsorship supporting Israel, Rosenson, Oldmixon, and Wald (2009) found that the frequency of bill sponsorship/co-sponsorship increased along with senators' level of ideological conservatism. Similarly, in the treaty ratification process, DeLaet and Scott (2006) and Peake (2016) show that ideology is strongly influential. DeLaet and Scott's (2006) observation of congressional vote for an arms control treaty found that more conservative senators were less likely to vote for an arms control treaty. Peake's (2016) investigation on the treaty ratification process also found that ideological polarization contributes to a longer duration of the treaty process. Change in ideological polarization from the lowest to

the highest was expected to increase the duration time for processing the treaty by about 178 days or around six months.

The impact of ideology is also apparent in economic issues such as trade and foreign aid (Ehrlich 2009; Milner and Judkins 2004; Milner and Tingley 2010; 2011). For instance, Milner and Tingley (2011) found that ideology determines legislators' positions on trade policy. Conservative legislators on average were more supportive of trade liberalization than the liberal members. But these conservative members were less likely to support foreign aid (Milner and Tingley 2010; 2011). Their findings confirm Milner and Judkins's (2004) previous work on ideological division in trade policy in developed economies. As they predict, right (conservative) parties are more likely to support free trade policy than the left ones. While Ehrlich's (2009) analysis of roll-call votes on trade liberalization failed to find a significant impact of ideology on the legislators' positions on free trade policy in general, he found that conservative members were more likely to support free trade with Andean countries. Thus, ideology generally still shapes foreign economic policy.

All these works suggest that ideology is consequential in shaping legislators' positions on foreign policy issues. The works also suggest that more conservative members are also more supportive of hawkish foreign policies. This implies that the larger the number of conservative members in both chambers, the larger the base of support for hawkish foreign policy. And because military intervention in a foreign policy crisis is one form of hawkish foreign policy, more conservative members means larger support for military intervention policy. This leads to my second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: the more conservative the chambers (the House and Senate), the more likely the president is to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy crisis.

Research Design

Methodologically, this research was a theory testing enterprise. It tested congressional effect on US foreign policy actions. For this purpose, I used the International Crises Behavior Data Version 11 from the International Crisis Behavior (ICB) project currently hosted by Duke University (Brecher et al. 2016). This data set contains information for all crises during the 1918 to 2013 period. The datasets include information on 470 international crises and 1,036 foreign policy crises. There were 35 protracted conflicts. This data set contains 80 variables divided into three groups: crisis dimensions (42 variables), contextual variables (14 variables), and actor attributes (24 variables). Because the phenomenon of interest is US military intervention in a foreign policy crisis, I excluded the observations in which the US was the crisis actor in a crisis. I was not interested in how the US handled its own crises. Instead I was interested in the conditions under which the US became involved in a foreign crisis elsewhere in the world.

The dependent variable in the model is whether the US became involved militarily in a foreign policy crisis. This variable was dichotomously coded. The value of 1 indicated the US direct military intervention in the crisis while the value of 0 was non-intervention. This variable was recoded from the ICB variable of USINV (US INTERVENTION). The original scale of the US intervention variable ranged from 1 to 9. I collapsed the values of 1-7 (non-involvement, neutrality, political involvement, economic involvement, propaganda involvement, covert involvement, and semi-military involvement) into the value of 0, indicating the US non-military intervention. I recoded the value of 8 (direct military intervention) into the value of 1, denoting the US direct military intervention. I dropped the observations with a value of 9 (the US as a crisis actor) because of their irrelevance to the research question. Of the 793 cases of foreign

policy crises since World War II, the US was the crisis actor in 68 cases, or 8.58 percent of the

time, and engaged in direct military involvement in 95 cases, or 11.98 percent of the time. While

the US mostly became involved in political intervention (278 cases or 35 percent), and semi-

military involvement placed second in the US's most active types of crisis involvement (143
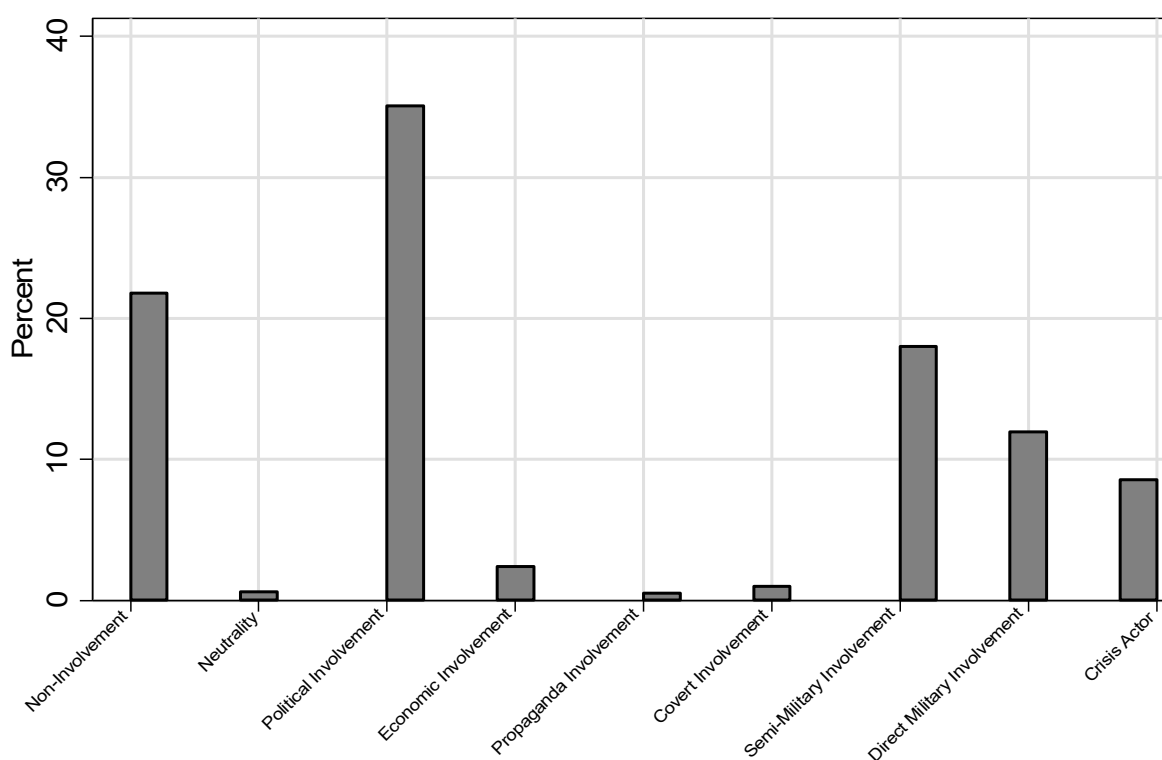
cases or 18 percent).[11]

Figure 2-1. Types of U.S. involvement in foreign policy crisis.

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[11] Due to the availability of the data for the predictor variables, the temporal dimension for the research is limited from 1954 to 2013. Thus, the number of observations dropped to 458 cases. But the proportion of US direct military intervention in the data did not change significantly (11.6).

There are two main independent variables here: first, an indicator of the level of partisan support in Congress a president enjoys and, secondly, each chambers' ideological makeup. The former is a latent variable extracted using factor analysis from three distinct indicators. The first is the percentage of seats in each of the chambers controlled by the president's party. This is simply measured by dividing the number of the president's co-partisans in each chamber by the total number of legislators in the chamber. The data on party composition in Congress were obtained from the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress compiled by Ornstein et al. (2017). Second, following Howell and Pevehouse (2007a), I used what is called the president party power, calculated as follows:

$$ChamberPresidentPartyPower$$
$$= [(\%PresidentParty) * (PresidentPUS_{t-1})]$$
$$- [(\%OppositionParty) * (OppositionPUS_{t-1})]$$

The percent president party and the percent opposition party were respectively measured by dividing the number of the president's co-partisan (opposition) in each chamber by the total number of legislators in the chamber. Meanwhile, the president's opposition Party Unity Scores (PUS) were measured as the percentage of the president's opposition party members voting together with the majority of their party on party unity votes. Party unity votes are those roll-calls on which at least 50 percent of members of president's party vote against at least 50 percent of the members of the opposition party (Ornstein et al. 2017; Poole and Rosenthal 2007). The party unity scores measure the level of cohesion of each of the parties in each of Congresses. Because party unity votes were measured for the whole congressional sessions, we could not observe the measure until the session ended. And because a military intervention occurs sometime during the congressional sessions, I used the previous period of party unity scores

(previous Congress session) to avoid the simultaneity problem. Data on party unity scores are originally published by the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports and compiled by Ornstein et al (2017) in the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress.

Finally, I used the presidential batting averages in the Congress preceding the foreign policy crisis. Presidential batting averages are measured by dividing the number of successful congressional roll-call votes that support the president's stated position by the total number of roll-call votes on which the president had taken a clear position. The data were also obtained from the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress. As Hypothesis 1 suggests, I expected there would be a positive association between the latent measure of congressional support and the likelihood of military intervention in a foreign policy crisis. This should be the case for the level of support the president was receiving in each legislative chamber.

The second primary independent variable is the chamber ideology. Just as the congressional support variable, this was also a latent variable consisting of three components. The first component was the average ideological positions of the chambers' committees. These variables measured how liberal or conservative both the House and the Senate committees were on average. The ideological scores were based on the members' voting records (DW-NOMINATE) developed by political scientists Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal (Poole and Rosenthal 2015). A positive score denotes a conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the most centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies. The data for all years studied were compiled by Ornstein *et al*. (2017) in the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress.

The second variable is the average ideological position of each chamber's partisan caucus or conference. These variables measured the level of conservatism of each of the two major

political parties on average in both chambers during each year studied. Like the variable of the chamber's committee ideology, this variable was also measured based on Poole and Rosenthal's DW-NOMINATE scores and compiled by Ornstein et al. (2017) in the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress. The last variable is the ideological positions of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs committees. Again, the variables also measured how liberal or conservative the foreign affairs-related committees were in both chambers. The data were also obtained from the Brookings Vital Statistics on Congress.

To avoid spurious relationships between the dependent variable and the main independent variables, I included some control variables typically used in the study of presidential use of force. First, as some studies show, presidents are more likely to engage in use of force when the economy is in trouble (Fordham 1998; James and Oneal 1991). To account for this diversionary argument, I included the misery index, which consists of unemployment and inflation rates. The data on unemployment and inflation were obtained from the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Economic Data Bank (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2018a), which are originally collected by U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. While data on unemployment are straightforward, the data for inflation should be calculated based on the consumer price index (CPI) as regularly published by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics. Because CPI is "a measure of the average change over time in the prices paid by urban consumers for a market basket of consumer goods and services" and inflation is "the overall general upward price movement of goods and services in an economy" (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013) we can calculate inflation as follows: $INFLATION_t = \frac{cpi_t - cpi_{t-1}}{cpi_{t-1}} * 100$. To avoid the simultaneous relationship between the misery index and the decision to engage in the military intervention, I used one-quarter lag of the misery index (i.e., the misery index for the period of one quarter before the crisis occurred).

Second, related to the diversionary use of force thesis, some scholars also suggest that presidential decisions to engage in military intervention or force use abroad are associated with the president's popular support. As Ostrom and Job (1986) argued, presidents are more likely to command the use of force abroad when their popularity is declining. To account for the presidential popularity in the decision to engage in military intervention in foreign policy crisis, I also included presidential approval rates. The data were obtained from the Presidential Job Approval database of the American Presidency Project hosted by the University of California, Santa Barbara (Peters and Woolley 2018).

Third, historically, Congress, especially the House, is often controlled by the Democrats. Of 36 congressional sessions since 1945 to 2017, Democrats controlled the House about 70 percent of the time. Because the dominance of the Democrats in the House (and in Congress generally) is an established fact, failure to control for this variable might subject the models to omitted variable bias. Thus, it was important to include this control in the model.[12] The variable Democratic-controlled Congress was coded dichotomously. I assigned the value of 1 if the Democrats were a majority party in both the House and the Senate and the value of 0 otherwise. The data were obtained from the Brookings's Vital Statistics on Congress.

The fourth control variable is election period. As some research (Yoon 1997) suggests, presidents are less likely to intervene in a foreign policy crisis when the crisis occurs during the election year. This is because the presidents are thought to be more cautious that their risky

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[12] A sensitivity analysis confirms this omitted variable bias. Because Democratic-controlled Congress has negative significant relation with the latent variable of both House and Senate ideology, and the variable of democratic-controlled Congress and the latent variables of House and Senate ideology have different impacts (in direction) on the decision of military intervention where the former has negative coefficient, while the latter has a positive one, omitting the democratic-controlled Congress variable will overestimate the impact of ideology on the decision of military intervention. See Wooldridge (2013, 87-92) for an econometric explanation on omitted variable bias.

military adventure will be counter-productive to their electoral goals. Even though the president might not seek reelection, he has an interest in seeing his co-partisan win the election to help maintain control of his party. Because the failure of his military gamble can affect the odds of his party's electoral victory, he might be deterred from engaging in the military intervention if the foreign policy crisis occurs in the election year. Thus, I expected a negative association between the election year and likelihood of military intervention. Election was the dummy variable with the value of 1, which indicates the three quarters preceding the election period and the value of 0 otherwise.

The fifth control variable is the president party. This variable whether Republican presidents, seen as being more conservative, are more likely to engage in military intervention in a foreign policy crisis. As some studies (Busby and Monten 2012; Gries 2014; Holsti and Rosenau 1996; Rathbun 2008; Wiarda 2009) show, Republicans are more hawkish than the Democrats. Generally, they are more likely to take a hardline position in foreign affairs, while Democrats are more supportive of the accommodationist position in foreign affairs. This president party variable was also coded dichotomously, where the value of 1 indicated the Republican party (Republican presidents), while the value of 0 was the Democratic party (Democratic presidents).

To capture the effect of the international system on the likelihood of military intervention in a foreign policy crisis, I used three standard control variables, i.e., the US hegemonic power, world disputes, and the period of the Cold War. The US hegemonic power was measured using the percentage of international military capabilities held by the US and derived from the Correlates of War Capabilities dataset (Small and Singer 1990). According to the dynamic power differential theory (Copeland 2000), the declining powers tend to be more aggressive because

they fear future uncertainty. Faced with commitment problems (Fearon 1995), the declining

states are more likely to be aggressive to prevent any rising power from being dominant, thus

conquering the declining hegemons in the future. In this research, it was hypothesized that the

US expected to be more actively involved in international conflict when its hegemonic power

showed a declining trend. In addition to showing its assertiveness and commitment to

maintaining the global stability, it also shows its fear of the future uncertainty of the crisis,

leading it to intervene in the crisis. Thus, I expected negative association between the US

hegemonic power and the likelihood of the intervention.

The variable of world disputes simply refers to the number of non-US militarized

interstate disputes. This measures the opportunity for the US to use military force (Howell and

Pevehouse 2005, 2007a; Meernik 1994). Thus, it was expected that there would be a positive

association between the number of non-US MID and the likelihood of US intervention in a

foreign policy crisis. The data on non-US MID were obtained from the *Correlates of War*

Project Militarized Interstate Disputes Dataset (Palmer et al. 2015). Finally, I also included the

period of the Cold War to capture the systemic effect of superpower rivalry, which saw frequent

interstate conflicts (Howell and Pevehouse 2007a).

While all those control variables captured the possible factors that could affect the use of

force, I also needed to account for the specific factors related to the crisis. As some scholars

suggest, factors such as the triggers of the crisis, the power disparity between the crisis actor, and

the triggering entity (states and non-state actors), Russian/Soviet intervention in the crisis, US

allies' involvement as the crisis actor, and the regime type of the crisis actors all contributed to

the US decision to intervene in a crisis (Brecher and Wilkenfeld 2000; Brecher 2008; Butler

2003; Prins 1999). The first two crisis variables captured the just war arguments (Butler 2003).

According to Butler, the US is more likely to intervene in an international crisis when there are some reasons for just intervention inherent in the crisis. Two important just causes for a war are the direct violence in the crisis trigger and the power disparity between the trigger and the target states. When these conditions existed in a crisis, the US was more likely to intervene. Thus, I expected a positive association between these two variables and US involvement in the crisis.

The last three variables represented the so-called crisis saliency hypothesis (Prins 1999). To Prins, When Russia/Soviet was involved in a foreign policy crisis, or when the US ally was a crisis actor, or when the non-democratic states were involved in a crisis, the US tended to see the issue being involved in the crisis was salient and pertinent to the US global interest. Thus, the US was more likely to get involved as well in the crisis. I, therefore, expected a positive association among all the three variables and the US involvement in the crisis.

Finally, to account for unobserved factors related to each of the presidents, I included presidential fixed effects term. This fixed effect term controlled much of the unexplained variation that was specific to the presidents, such as their perception of the crisis, ideology, variation in their advisory system, and so on.

Because my dependent variable was a binary choice, I employed probit model analysis estimated using maximum likelihood estimator. I estimated this model:

$$\Pr(\text{int} = 1) = \Phi\left(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{CongressIdeology} + \beta_2 \text{CongressSupport} + \sum_{i=1}^{13} \beta_i \text{Control}_i \right.$$
$$\left. + \sum_{j=1}^{8} \beta_j \text{PresFE}_j \right)$$

Where Φ indicates the cumulative density function of the normal probability distribution with mean 0 and the variance 1. I clustered the standard error using congressional session

because I have repeated measures of congress-level variables as the main predictors. Thus, it is very likely that the decisions to intervene in a foreign policy crisis within a particular congressional session are related to one another because they are affected by the congressional dynamic of the same quantities. If this is so, then failure to cluster the standard errors would render the hypothesis testing unreliable because I overestimated the precision of my parameter estimates and subjected my analysis to type I error.

Results and Analysis

The factor analysis results presented in Table 2-1 and 2-2 provide information about the latent measures of both ideology and congressional supports in both chambers. As seen in both tables, Factor 1 is strongly associated with the measure of ideology. The factor loadings of this factor and all variables of ideology are high, ranging from .8 to .9. In contrast, Factor 2 is strongly associated with measure of congressional support. The factor loadings of this factor and the variables of congressional support are also high, ranging from .7 to .9 for the House and from .8 to .9 for the Senate. Although in each of the models, there is one variable with large uniqueness, the variances of these variables accounted for by their two factors are reasonably high. Thus, the factors can usefully represent the latent measures of ideology and congressional supports.[13]

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[13] The Factor Analysis models presented here use oblique rotation to simplify the factor structure. I use oblique promax rotation because I believe that there is a correlation between the two factors. For example, level of conservatism increases as Republican congressional support increases. Using oblique promax rotation allows us to account for this correlation. See Bartolomew et al. (2008); Tabachnick and Fidell (2015).

Table 2-1

Factor Analysis Model: House

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
House Ideology			
House FA Ideology [t-1]	.9720318	.0690229	.0569161
House Ideology [t-1]	.9688887	-.0336616	.0569493
Ave.House Comm.Ideology [t-1]	.9315909	.0069319	.1327185
Presidential Support in the House			
President party House (%)	.0331879	.9463333	.1064067
President Party Power House [t-1]	.0630104	.9812923	.0391095
Presidential Victory House [t-1]	-.1264144	.751208	.4104689

Note: The Values are promax-rotated factor loadings

Table 2-2

Factor Analysis Model: Senate

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Senate Ideology			
Senate FR Ideology [t-1]	.8649814	.0680385	.2640277
Senate Ideology [t-1]	.9612915	-.0818549	.0466898
Ave.Senate Comm.Ideology [t-1]	.9513394	-.0357479	.0839385
Presidential Support in the Senate			
Presidential Victory Senate [t-1]	.1726397	.8091442	.3554756
President Party Power Senate [t-1]	-.0530148	.9635546	.0541266
President party Senate (%)	-.1243833	.9276529	.0909535

Note: The Values are promax-rotated factor loadings

Switching now to the main effect, Figure 2-2 shows the coefficient plot for the main parameter estimates. As seen in the graph, both the variables of ideology and congressional support are positively related to the decision regarding military intervention. While both variables are significantly related to the presidential decision in military intervention for the

Senate model, only ideology is significantly related to the decision of military intervention for the House model. This suggests that the House and the Senate have different internal dynamic that eventually exert different influences on the intervention decisions.
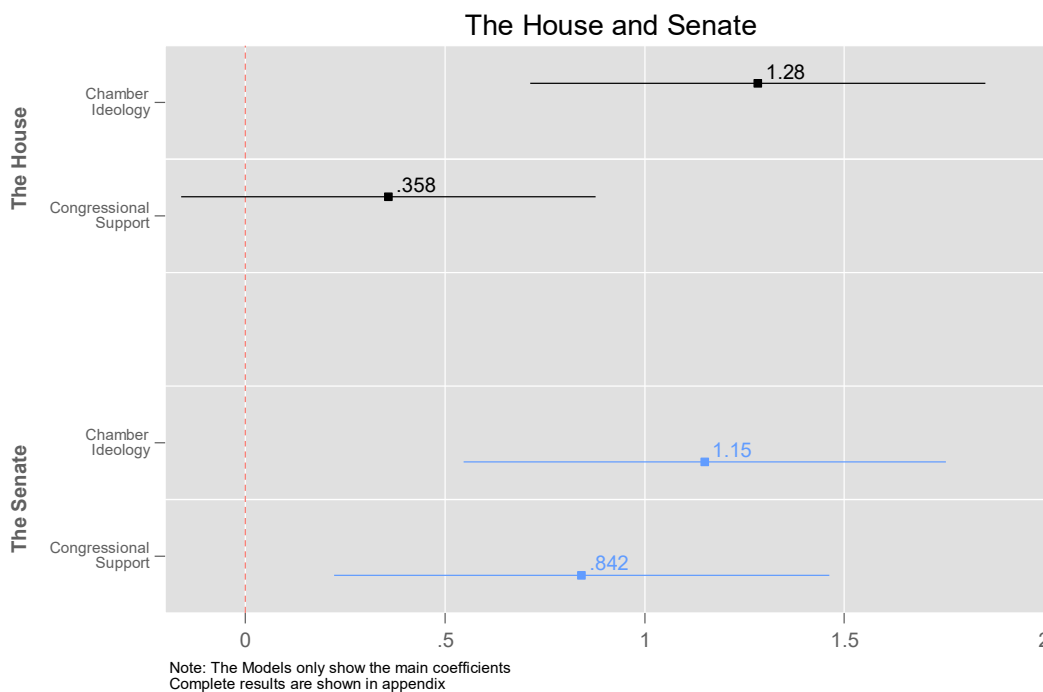
Figure 2-2. Models of congressional dynamics and the US military intervention
in a foreign policy crisis.

Substantively, holding all other control variables at their means, an increase of one standard deviation in the measure of ideology in the House changes the predicted probability of the president engaging in military intervention in a foreign crisis by 0.087 or an increase almost 9 percent. That is to say, as the House becomes more conservative, indicated by a larger ideology score, the president has been more likely to take military action. In the Senate, one standard deviation increase in the measure of ideology predicts the probability of the president deciding a military intervention in a foreign crisis by a 0.085, holding all other control variables at their

means. While the impact of ideology on the presidential decision to conduct military intervention in a foreign policy is slightly lower in the Senate than in the House, the impact of congressional support is much stronger in the Senate than in the House. In the Senate, one standard deviation increase in the measure of congressional support for the president increases the predicted probability that the president conducts military intervention in a foreign policy crisis by more than 4 percent (0.042). In the House the same level of increase in the measure of congressional support for the president only pushes the predicted probability of military intervention by 1.5 percent (0.015). Figure 2-3 visualizes the different effects of ideology and congressional support in the presidential decision to conduct military intervention in both the House and the Senate.
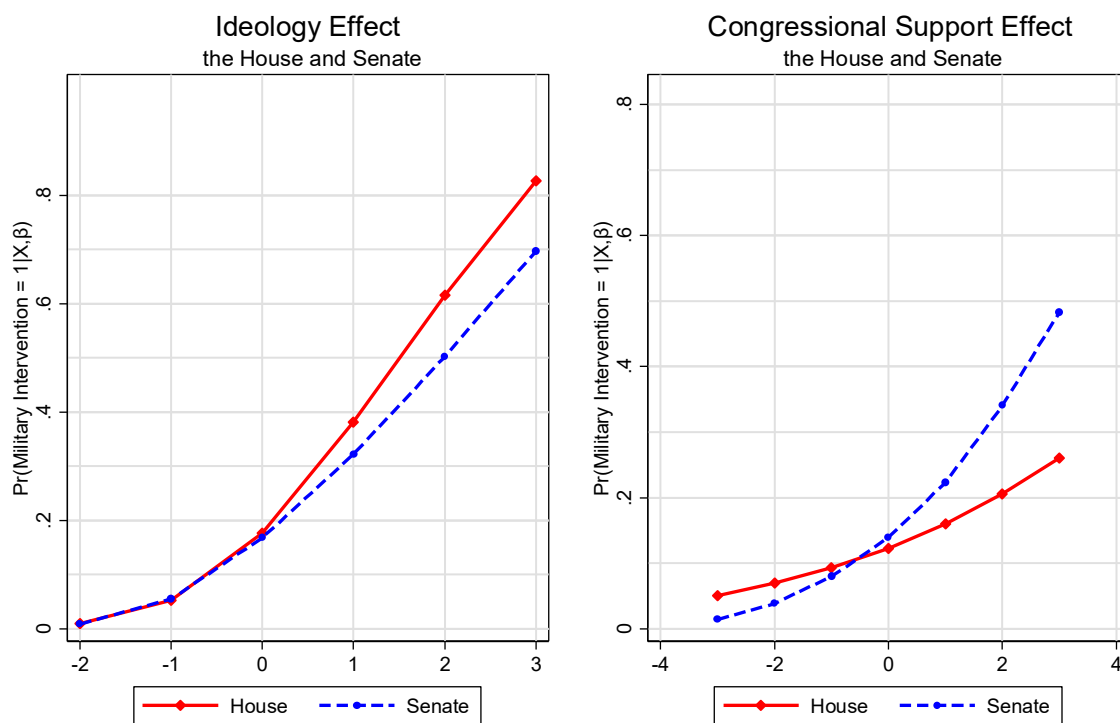

Figure 2-3. Predicted probability of military intervention due to changes in the chamber's ideology and congressional support.

Generally, while the second hypothesis is supported by the empirical data in which the ideology of the congressional members matters for the president when he plans to become involved in a foreign policy crisis elsewhere in the world, the first hypothesis on the role of congressional support is only partially supported. Whereas congressional support in the Senate matters for the president when deciding a military intervention, congressional support in the House is barely significant for the president to get involved in a foreign policy crisis. These results suggest that president takes the Senate more seriously when it comes to the policy of military intervention in a foreign policy crisis.

The importance of the Senate in foreign policy process is not surprising due to the presence of the Foreign Relations Committee widely regarded as the "ranking" committee in both the Senate and the Congress (McCormick 1993). As the premier committee in Congress, it has been deeply involved in foreign policy process and has taken a more activist decision-making role in affecting US foreign policy, especially in the post-World War II. As McCormick (1993, 115) observed, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee can affect policy beyond the normal legislative and oversight functions of most other committees.

Another structural feature of the Senate that makes congressional support in the Senate important is the presence of filibuster. This is one of the defining features of the US Senate. Filibuster allows any senator to delay almost any measure or nomination on the floor of the Senate for strategic gain (Koger 2017, 311). Only when there is enough vote can this filibuster be prevented. Yet, because the requirement of three-fifth of its membership (sixty senators) is difficult to achieve (i.e., require significant majority in the Senate), collective force in the form of bipartisanship is always required to preempt this filibuster. Otherwise, the policy obstruction by a senator can be expected to derail foreign policy decision made by the executive.

Thus, because the institutional features of the Senate enable even a single senator to affect the foreign policy action of the president, congressional support becomes essential for the president. The president needs to make sure that his foreign policy actions, especially those involving the use of force that requires funding from Congress are fully supported by most members. This is especially true in the Senate due to its institutional feature.

Conclusion

This chapter seeks to empirically examine the conditions under which the presidents are more likely to engage in military intervention in a foreign policy crisis. Focusing on congressional influence on the presidential decisions regarding military intervention, this research hypothesizes that the presidents are more likely to get involved in a foreign policy crisis when they anticipate supports from members of Congress. The presidents are also expected to willingly engage in a foreign policy crisis when they knew that legislators adopt more conservative stance on foreign policy issues. Testing these two hypotheses using International Crisis Behavior data from 1945 to 2013, I find support for these hypotheses. Breaking down the empirical analysis into the House and the Senate, I observed that while the presidents take ideological factors in both the House and the Senate into account when making decision to intervene, they only take the Senate support seriously in making this decision. Part of the explanation for why congressional support in the Senate matters more than that in the House is the institutional feature of the Senate that allow even a single senator to derail the foreign policy actions made by the president.

The findings are expected to contribute to wider debate about congressional influence in foreign policy making process. While many scholars doubt the potency of Congress in foreign

policy, some others precisely see Congress as a powerful actor. This is especially true more recently when Congress has been increasingly well-informed about foreign policy thanks to greater access it opens to foreign policy think tanks and epistemic community in addition to wider coverage of media on foreign policy issues.

Despite the fact that president and the executive agencies are still the most important foreign policy actors, the findings suggest that Congress is also a powerful foreign policy actor. The many avenues of influence that its members have allow these members to directly or indirectly influence the policy-making process. This forces the president to take Congress seriously when they make a foreign policy decision.

There are two distinguishing contributions of this research to the wider debate on the role of Congress in foreign policy making process. First, it highlights the importance of congressional ideology in shaping the presidential decisions. While many scholars tend to see the importance of ideology only in direct-legislative process (e.g., roll-calls), I find that congressional ideology in general matters in the president's mind. Because the president always anticipates the reaction from Congress to any policy decision he makes, he needs to make sure that his policy is supported by Congress so that the policy can be successfully executed. The cost of policy failure in security-military realm can be so dire that the congressional support is important. Because president makes a policy in a situation of anticipated reaction, he will adjust any policy he devises in line with the policy mood or ideology in Congress.

Second, this research offers more nuanced interpretation of congressional influence, that is, different chambers affect foreign policy differently. This is especially true regarding congressional support. So far, most American foreign policy scholars treat the House and the Senate as a single entity and examine Congress as a unity actor. This way of analysis suffers

from the lack of attention to the internal dynamic within each of the chambers. This research, in contrast, breaks the analysis down into chambers to see if the variables of interest (ideology and congressional support) affect the presidential decision similarly between the two chambers. I find that especially for the measure of Congressional support, the Senate matters more than the House. Though I suggest the difference in institutional features of the chambers might explain the difference, more intensive explorations are needed to clarify this suggestion. This opens some avenues for future research to investigate this conjecture.

CHAPTER 3

PARTY POLARIZATION AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS

Economic sanction has been one of the most important instruments of American foreign

policy. The non-violent nature of the instrument has made it a cheaper and safer foreign policy

option for achieving US foreign policy objectives in the world (Baldwin 1985). This has

increasingly attracted American foreign policymakers, leading to its increasingly frequent use,

especially in the post-Cold War era (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi 2014). In fact, since the end

of World War II, the US has been the most frequent user of economic sanctions. According to

the *Threat and Imposition of Economic Sanctions* (TIES) data, which covers 1945 to 2005, of

1,412 cases of economic sanctions identified, more than 50 percent of them (739) involved the

US as either the primary sender or a participating sender. Moreover, the use of economic

sanctions by the US has been increasing, especially since the end of the Cold War in the early

1990s. Again, the TIES data show that of 739 economic sanctions imposed by the US since

1945, almost two-thirds of them (430) were launched since 1990 (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi

2014). Based on its frequency, economic sanction can be thought of as the primary tool the

American government uses to influence other states' behavior.

While a wealth of research has been conducted to determine why the US imposes an

economic sanction against a foreign country (Drury 2000; 2001; Drury 2005; Hufbauer et al.

2009; Huffbauer and Oegg 2003; Martin 1992; Whang 2011), rarely do these works examine the

legislated sanctions, that is sanctions enacted by Congress through law. Scholarly ignorance of

legislated sanctions is partly due to their understanding of the nature of legislated sanctions. For instance, Milner and Tingley (2015, 51, 61) argue that because sanction policy has weak ideological bases and small distributive consequences, presidents rather than Congress are expected to have more influence on this foreign policy instrument. Weak ideological bases and small distributive consequences of economic sanctions do not galvanize pressure groups to lobby Congress and fight for this policy. Furthermore, the opt-out clauses authorizing the president to waive, suspend, and even terminate sanctions contained in most of the legislated sanctions increasingly undermine congressional influence over this policy. There are some cases in which the president and executive agencies disregard the congressional mandates on imposing sanctions against some countries (Hufbauer et al. 2009; Martin 1993). This has led some scholars to question the effectiveness of congressional influence in sanction policy (Drezner 1999; Whang 2011).

However, as Jordan Tama (2015, 2016) shows, legislated sanction is a potent foreign policy tool. Despite some weaknesses scholars perceive in the legislated sanctions, he argues that the White House tends to carry out these congressional mandates. The executive acquiesces to this kind of sanctions even when it often disagrees with these sanctions. As Tama (2016, 10) demonstrates, of the 37 bills of sanction opposed by presidents but approved by Congress, presidents only vetoed seven of them and reluctantly signed the other 30 bills. In some of these bills signed by the presidents (14 bills), the presidents expressed dissatisfaction with the provisions.

Tama suggests that congressional dynamics in legislated sanctions matter in shaping presidents' decisions to yield to this congressional mandate. Especially important in these decisions is bipartisan support for the sanctions. Presidents are less likely to challenge Congress

directly when the sanctions are supported by the majority of legislators because challenging (vetoing) these legislated sanctions can carry a political cost (Tama 2016, 5). However, while Tama focuses on the presidential decisions to sign the legislated sanctions, he does not touch on the question of why presidents terminate the sanctions. If most of the legislated sanctions contain the opt-out provisions authorizing the White House to waive, suspend and even terminate the sanctions and the presidents often oppose the sanctions, why do the presidents not end the sanctions quickly? Why do presidents terminate some sanctions quickly while leaving the others longer? In short, what explains the variation in these legislated sanctions? This is the puzzle, untouched by Tama, that I would like to address in this chapter. If congressional dynamics matter in influencing presidential decisions to acquiesce to congressional decisions on the legislated sanctions, as suggested by Tama, one might also conjecture that some congressional dynamics should also matter in the presidential decisions to terminate the legislated sanctions. Thus, in this chapter I examine whether congressional dynamics also are consequential in shaping the termination of the legislated sanctions.

In this chapter, I argue that variations in the duration of legislated sanctions are affected by the degree of party polarization in Congress and the congressional support lent to the presidents by the legislators. Invoking the moderate polarization thesis, I specifically argue that the duration of legislated sanction is shorter when Congress is moderately polarized or presidents can get large and solid support from legislators. I elaborate on some theoretical justifications for these arguments (the impact of polarization and congressional support) and test them using TIES data. Yet, before proceeding to the theory and empirical analysis, I review scholarly works on sanctions and show how these works under-emphasize the role of Congress in the US sanction policy, the lacunae I intend to fill in in this chapter.

Previous Work on Congress and Economic Sanctions

Let me begin by defining what economic sanctions are, or are not. Following the lead of Morgan, Bapat, and Krustev (2009, 95), an economic sanction in this research is defined as any action taken by a state to limit or end some part of its economic relations with a target country in an effort to change the behavior of the target country in line with what the sender country wants. Thus, the key elements of an economic sanction are the presence of one or more senders and one target; the aim of the sanctions is to change the policies of the target; and the actions taken by the sender involve policies that affect economic relations between the sender and the target. Policies such as tariffs, export controls, embargoes, import bans, travel bans, asset freezes, cuts in humanitarian aid, and economic blockades are all forms of economic sanctions.

However, while policies like import tariffs and export controls are also part of ordinary international economic policies, they are regarded as part of economic sanctions if they are aimed at changing the policies of a target country. For example, President Jimmy Carter's ban on grain sales to the Soviet Union following its invasion of Afghanistan can be considered an economic sanction because it involved a political aim of changing the Soviet policy. On the other hand, tariff and export control policies made for domestic political or economic reasons such as helping domestic manufacturers or fulfilling domestic demand for certain foreign products are not considered economic sanctions.

Generally, literature on sanctions revolves around several big themes. First, scholars examine the initiation of economic sanctions. In this theme, scholars investigate why an economic sanction is used as a foreign policy instrument against a particular country (Cox and Drury 2006; Drezner 1999; Drury 2000, 2001; Drury, James, and Peksen 2014; Drury 2005;

Fisk 2000; Hufbauer et al. 2007; Lektzian and Souva 2007; Lenway 1988; Lektzian and Souva 2003). Because sanctions are one of the three main foreign policy instruments[14] aimed at changing the behavior of target states, scholars generally found that use of sanctions is related to the response of the target states to the demand of the senders. For example, Drezner (1999); Drury (2000; 2001; 2005); Lektzian and Souva (2007) all suggest that sanctions are more likely to be initiated when the senders resisted the demands of the senders, which eventually leads to higher tension in the extant political conflicts. In addition, scholars also found the impact of regime type on the sanction initiation. However, they part company on the likelihood of sanction use in conflicts between democracies. While Drury, James and Peksen (2014) found that the likelihood of sanctions increases in conflicts between democracies, Letkzian and Souva (2003; 2007) found otherwise.

The second theme of scholarly works on sanctions investigates variation in the duration of economic sanctions. The representative works in this area include Bolks and Al-Sowayel (2000); Lektzian and Souva (2001); McGillivray and Stam (2004); Hatipoglu (2014) and Allen (2005). Most of these works focus on the effect of domestic political institutions on the duration of economic sanctions. For instance, Lektzian and Souva (2001); Bolks and Al-Sowayel (2000) and Allen (2005) all agree that sanctions imposed on democratic targets tend to be shorter than those imposed on non-democratic targets. This is because the policy-making process with democratic targets is more constraining, thus impeding the target's leaders from developing countermeasure policies. For this reason, the democratic targets are more likely to yield, and this will end the sanction immediately (Bolks and Al-Sowayel 2000). However, scholars are at odds with each other on the effect of leadership change in the sender states. According to Allen

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[14] The other two are diplomacy and military force. See Baldwin (1985)

(2005), a change of leadership in the sender states can shorten the duration of sanction because the sender will concede quickly. However, for McGillivray and Stam (2004), leadership change can only affect the duration of sanction if it occurs in non-democratic states. Thus, regime type is more consequential than the status of the country (sender or target) in moderating the effect of leadership change on the duration of economic sanctions.

The third theme in studies on sanctions concern the effectiveness of sanctions (e.g., Baldwin 1985; Dashti-Gibson, Davis, and Radcliff 1997; Doxey 1980; Lenway 1988; McGillivray and Stam 2004; Rogers 1996; Allen 2008a; Bapat et al. 2013; Eland 1995; Hufbauer et al. 2007; Martin 1992; McLean and Whang 2010; Morgan and Schwebach 1995; Olson 1979). This is the theme on which most debates on economic sanctions revolve. Some findings are that sanctions selectively target against the ruling elite (Eland 1995; Huffbauer, Schoot, and Elliot 1990; Morgan and Schwebach 1995), sanctions that impose higher costs (Bapat et al. 2013; Doxey 1980), sanctions conducted covertly (Olson 1979), and sanctions supported multilaterally (Martin 1992; Allen 2008; Bapat et al. 2013; McLean and Whang 2010) are more likely to be effective. Yet some other scholars indicate that the effect of these variables on the success of sanctions may depend on some other condition. For example, Lektzian and Souva (2007) found that the effect of the cost of a sanction on the success of a sanction is conditional to the target regime. For democratic targets, the cost of sanctions can effectively force the target to change its policy and, thus, can lead to the success of the sanction policy. But this may not apply to autocratic regimes. Despite a wealth of findings on the success of sanctions, other scholars question the effectiveness of sanctions as the foreign policy instrument. To them, sanctions rarely, if ever, work as intended (Morgan and Schwebach 1997; Pape 1997, 1998; Peksen 2009; Preeg 1999).

Notwithstanding the abundance of literature on economic sanctions, few of them focus on the US economic sanction policy. For those examining the US sanction policy, most focus on the debates regarding the effectiveness of sanctions. However, some scholars have begun to study adoption, including an investigation of the role played by Congress in taking up a particular sanction. Considering Congress and sanction adoption, scholars are generally divided. Martin (1992) and Huffbauer and his co-authors (Huffbauer et al. 2009; Huffbauer and Oegg 2003; Huffbauer, Schoot, and Elliot 1990), for example, suggest that Congress has been the main driver of sanction policies since the 1970s. They note that the trend has been increasing, especially since the end of the Cold War when US foreign policy shifted focus from East-West tensions to intrastate wars and ethnic conflicts in the developing world. The activities of some ethnic constituencies and human-rights interest groups who lobby Congress, arguably, have led the legislature to be more assertive in advancing economic sanctions as a foreign policy instrument to shape other countries' policies, especially regarding human right's practices (Martin 1992; Huffbauer and Oegg 2003). Economic sanctions against the nation of Cuba is one examples of how congressional frustration with the perceived lack of executive leadership led the legislature to take a more active role in prolonging sanctions in the 1990s (Fisk 2000).

However, other scholars have considerable reservations about the importance and influence of Congress on sanction policy. Despite their different takes on the role of domestic politics in shaping sanction policy, Drury (2000; 2001; 2005) and Whang (2011), for example, suggest that presidents are the main driver of economic sanctions. Both authors tend to dismiss the congressional effects in their models and consider the president's approval rating as the main domestic political explanation for sanction decisions. Whang (2011) clearly argues that Congress plays a relatively weak role in foreign policy making for two reasons. First, it is the president

rather than Congress who is generally perceived by the public as being accountable for foreign policy making. This framing gives the sense of ownership to a president for a specific foreign policy agenda. In short, foreign policy is widely regarded as the realm of the executive branch. Second, Congress is disadvantaged institutionally in foreign policy making because these policies require fast decision-making and considerable bargaining capabilities. Burdened with large numbers of members, one cannot expect a quickly adapting decision-making process in Congress. For these reasons, Wang argues we cannot expect Congress to play a significant role in foreign policymaking, not the least of which is economic sanctions.

In a seeming contradiction to both Drury and Whang and despite his balanced analysis about the role of Congress in sanction policy, Hatipoglu (2014) argues that Congress often takes the lead in crafting US foreign policy and the broader US foreign agenda. As a crafter of US foreign policy, Congress often challenges the president, and Hatipoglu uses the creation of economic sanctions legislation as an example of legislative involvement. He notes that by putting sanctions into law, Congress ties the hand of the president and makes it difficult for the chief executive to lift the sanction. This is exemplified by the Helms-Burton Act of 1996 and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act that Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT) argued restricts the flexibility of the president to deal with Cuba even when political change might happen there. Empirically legislated sanctions are statutory, and the repeal process involves writing a new law, which is inherently more complicated than simply issuing an executive order. Executive sanctions put in place unilaterally by the president can be undone by the same or next president at any time, assuming they are holding the chief executive office. We also know, empirically legislated sanctions, on average, last longer than presidential sanctions (Hatipoglu 2014).

Hatipoglu's (2014, 432) research on the comparative duration of economic sanctions found the probability that presidential sanctions end after one year is 20 percent and the probability of legislated sanctions ending after the first year is only 10 percent. Although the ratio in the probability of sanction termination between the two kinds of sanctions narrows over time, the difference is still wide. After five years, the probability that legislated sanctions remain in place is around 70 percent, while the chances a presidential sanction will remain in place are about 40 percent.

While Hatipoglu's research provides a strong foundation for my research, the current inquiry is different in two important aspects. First, Hatipoglu's focus was the comparative length or duration of economic sanctions imposed by Congress, the president, and international organizations. Second, although he provides a theoretical basis for his expectation that congressional sanctions will last longer and also provides descriptive analysis that confirms his suspicions, he did not test any causal arguments. For instance, he discussed the impact of pressure groups on congressional sanctions but did not provide an empirical test of their influence versus other possible explanations. In the current research the focus is not on the comparative lengths of sanctions initiated by different actors. Instead I focus, specifically, on variation in the duration of statutory sanctions or sanctions approved by Congress. There is a considerable amount of variation in the length of legislatively authorized sanctions to explain, as noted above. This research uncovers explanations for variation in the length of sanctions imposed by the legislative branch in the United States.

By exploring congressional sanctions through careful empirical testing, I focused more directly on the dynamic nature of congressional-presidential relations while also testing institutional dynamics within Congress itself as possible alternative explanations for sanction

duration. Most specifically, the current research attempted to learn whether congressional party system polarization might be a primary causal mechanism for explaining variation in the duration of legislatively approved economic sanctions. In the following section, I briefly elaborate on the proposed arguments linking congressional polarization, presidential support, and variation in the duration of legislated sanctions.

<p style="text-align:center">Effect Polarization and Presidential Support in Congress on Economic Sanctions</p>

As noted earlier, this research is focused on legislated economic sanctions or sanctions enacted by law. While most legislated sanctions give the president some authority to impose, waive, or even terminate sanctions, the termination process is not as simple as the termination of sanctions based on an executive order. Because legislated sanctions are statutory, they require inter-branch agreement for their termination. These sanctions simply cannot be amended or repealed without congressional approval. However, even if the president is granted authority to terminate a sanction in originating legislation, it is always the case that the president must report to Congress to justify the termination and issue a presidential determination after consulting Congress.[15] Thus, all pathways to terminating a legislated sanction involve Congress in one way or another. Yet the degree of congressional involvement may vary from one sanction to the next.

Because of congressional involvement in terminating a legislated sanction, congressional dynamics and the pattern of the President-Congress relations ought to affect the termination process. Among the most notable congressional dynamics that might shape the termination of a

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[15] As an analyst of Council on Foreign Relations puts it, "fundamentally, the embargo is law, and without Congress's backing, the heart of U.S. economic sanctions will remain in place" (quoted in Schroeder 2014). For the process of terminating legislated sanctions, see for example, Rennack (2016); Rennack and Sullivan (2017); Rennack (2000).

sanction is party system polarization in the legislature and the level of support a president has in Congress (Martin 2000).

Party polarization in this research is defined as the ideological gap between the two major parties in Congress manifest in their different policy preferences and measured by their disparate voting behaviors.[16] To explain the relationship between legislative polarization and the duration of economic sanction, I resorted to the moderate polarization thesis developed by Dodd and Schraufnagel (2009, 2012, 2017). The moderate polarization thesis argues that Congress can maximize its legislative productivity when it is moderately polarized. While high polarization can prevent inter-party efforts to reach a policy consensus, very low polarization can also be problematic because it hinders the internal consolidation of parties, thus making it more difficult for the majority party to push a policy agenda forward. Applied to the case of legislated sanctions, I argue that both low and high degrees of party polarization can complicate the process of ending a sanction because 1) the lack of intraparty support can discourage majority party leaders from proposing a sanction termination scheme and 2) high inter-party differences can prevent legislators from reaching a consensus to end a sanction in a legislative process, which requires supermajority in the form of cloture in the Senate and a veto over-ride in both chambers.

To use the moderate polarization thesis, which has received empirical support, one must assume that ending a sanction is analogous to passing new laws, which is a fairly safe assumption given that lifting a Congress-imposed sanction is normally done using the same exact process as other law-making efforts. That is, because sanction termination will often require a

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[16] Political polarization or party polarization is one of the most frequent terms used in the study of contemporary American politics. Despite its frequent use, scholars rarely define it formally. Most definition or discussion on the term refers to statistical facts that both voters and elites have different positions along the left-right or liberal-conservative ideological spectrum. See for example, Fiorina and Abrams (2008); Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz (2006); McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal (2006); Theriault (2006; 2008) among others.

new law or at least an amendment to some law that is contemporaneously being considered by the bicameral legislative process in the US, the decision to terminate a sanction is perfectly analogous to a new law or statutory policy change. Overall, sanction termination very nicely fits the logic used to elaborate or explain legislative productivity put forth in Dodd and Schraufnagel (2009; 2012; 2017). What I offer is another test of their thesis.

When party polarization is low—characterized by high intraparty differences along with high inter-party similarities, an inter-party coalition is the norm. However, too great an intraparty difference might pose a problem because "political parties can have limited capacity to structure policy conflict and push alternative policy agendas forward" (Dodd and Schraufnagel 2017, 208-09). Although it is easier for legislators to find supporters in the opposition party, low intraparty cohesion complicates coalition building and the formulation of a party's policy position. Only when intraparty cohesion increases to some moderate level can the capacity to build larger coalitions be realized in a legislative environment defined by enduringly high inter-party similarity. Now cross-party cooperation can manifest to address the majority's agenda, born of a reasonable level of intraparty cohesion. This amalgam of moderate conflict ought to ensure the larger majorities to pass a bill or end a sanction required in a super-majoritarian legislature.

However, when polarization increases beyond some median level indicated by ever-increasing inter-party differences along with intra-party cohesiveness, cross-party coalition building becomes more difficult. Under this situation it would, theoretically, be difficult to end a sanction because the super-majoritarian requirements of Senate cloture and overriding a presidential veto (Krehbiel 1993; 1998) create the need for larger bipartisan coalitions to pass a bill or end a sanction. This is especially true when the majority party size is limited in either chamber (Binder 1999; Jones 2001). Cross-party coalitions are necessary so that when

polarization is high in one or the other chamber, the types of super-majoritarian support required will prevent the passage of a bill to end a sanction.

To use the moderate polarization thesis to explain gridlock requires one to assume that the political parties will have different positions on whether a sanction should be terminated or not. For example, the Democratic Party may be more concerned about the issue of human rights. From 1945 to 2005, Congress imposed eleven different sanctions based on human rights concerns. Of these eleven sanctions, nine were imposed when both chambers were controlled by Democrats. Six of these sanctions were lifted when Republicans controlled at least the House of Representative.[17] This suggests the two parties may have different preferences regarding these sorts of sanctions. While Democrats supported sanctions to correct the target's human rights practices, Republicans tended to oppose it.[18]

However, although Democrats may take a harder line on the issue of human rights abuses, this does not suggest that Democrats are necessarily avid supporters of durable economic sanctions. Depending on the issue, Republicans can be the proponent of the tougher sanctions. For example, Republicans were strong critics of President Obama's proposal for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba. When the Obama Administration announced this plan, several Republican senators, including Ted Cruz (R-TX) and Marco Rubio (R-FL), criticized the plan (Bordelon 2014; Siddiqui 2015). The Republican opposition was rooted not only in its dislike of the Castro regime and Communism but also in the constituency pressure put on it (Fisk 2000; Hatipoglu 2014). While the Democrats also disapproved of the Castro regime, their concern about human rights issues associated with long-standing sanctions led them to support the

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[17] The calculation is based on *Threats and Imposition of Economic Sanctions* (TIES) data.
[18] It is interesting to note that during the relatively low polarization of Congress in the 1970s, both Democrats and Republicans cooperated to impose sanctions based on human rights abuses (see Martin 1992, 102-110).

Obama plan. In all, there is considerable anecdotal evidence to suggest major differences in party preference on the issue of sanctions, enough difference to gain utility from the use of the moderate polarization thesis.

Given the previous discussion on the value of the moderate polarization thesis, I proposed the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: There is non-linear relationship between party polarization and the duration of legislated sanction. If polarization stays low, a slight increase in polarization can help legislators to collaborate to end the sanction and the duration of legislated sanction is expected to be shorter. However, when polarization is high, a slight increase in polarization can lead legislated sanctions to last longer.

Additionally, much research suggests the president and Congress are often at odds with each other on the topic of economic sanctions (Tama 2015; 2016). Not only is it possible for the president and Congress to disagree over the duration of a sanction, they often diverge on the punitive level of a given economic restriction. As Tama (2015) observed, presidents, on average, want shorter and less punitive sanctions, while Congress wants longer and more corrective sanctions. The differences in their preferences may originate from the different institutional roles they play. Because presidents are held accountable for foreign policy, the general welfare, and national security, they tend to think of an economic sanction in terms of the broader national interest. This sometimes requires more flexible diplomatic options in international relations. In contrast, legislators are less likely to be held accountable for foreign policy outcomes. Instead they are assessed by their constituents based on their policy positions (whether they support the policies espoused by their constituents). Therefore, legislators tend to support policies favored by

their constituents or pressure groups and, historically, exhibit less concern for national interests.[19]

The potential for the president and Congress to have different preferences can lead to conflict between the two branches of government in the US. Importantly, considering the subset of sanctions this research is focused on, in order for the president to be able to shorten or end a sanction, he will need support from members of Congress. Because support for the president is more likely to come from the president's co-partisans in Congress, a greater number of the president's co-partisans in the legislature is likely to affect the duration of sanctions. This leads to the second hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 2: The duration of a legislated sanction is more likely to be shorter when there is a larger number of members from the president's party in the two legislative chambers.

Importantly, because of differences in their institutional features, I expected the effect of these two variables—polarization and presidential co-partisan in Congress—on the duration of legislated sanctions to be different across chambers. Because of its higher-profile and direct institutional role in foreign policy making, the effects of the Senate dynamic on the duration of legislated sanctions should be stronger than House dynamics. The Senate plays a more important role in foreign policy making because it has advice and consent authority over treaties and its approval is essential for the officers in the foreign services nominated by the president. But moreover, it is the filibuster rule that makes the Upper Chamber more relevant. This rule allows

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[19] Many studies document cases on how pressure groups exert their influence on members of Congress regarding legislated sanctions. See, for example, Fayazmanesh (2003) on US sanctions against Iran, Fisk (2000); and Haney and Vanderbush (1999) on US sanctions on Cuba, among others.

any senator to hold the floor as long as he or she wishes unless cloture is invoked, which requires a supermajority of sixty votes (Sinclair 2006, 186). The filibuster rule necessitates the supermajority support in the Senate for policy change, which, in turn, makes Senate polarization and partisan support for the president more consequential.

In addition, the Senate's amending rules enable senators to offer any and as many amendments as they please to almost any bill, and those amendments need not be germane (Sinclair 2017). The legislated sanction is one of many examples of this issue-linkage strategy used by senators to advance their policy preferences. For example, in early 1970s, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) introduced an amendment to Section 32 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 that called on the president to deny aid to countries that violated human rights. Knowing that the Senate has legislative responsibilities in the policy areas of foreign relations and foreign aid authorization bills, Senator Kennedy seized the opportunity to raise the human right issues pervasive in the developing world, especially in post-coup Chile in 1973. Although this amendment stated only "the sense of the Congress" and thus was not binding for the executive, it prompted a series of laws tightening American economic assistance to developing countries. It is the addition of Section 116 to the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 by Congress that formally tied economic as well as military aid to human-rights concerns. Removing the non-coercive "sense of the Congress" language, the section clearly prohibited development aid to particular classes of government (Martin 1992, 103).

Finally, the Senate foreign relations jurisdiction also extends to international financial institutions.[20] Again, this provides ample opportunity for the Senate to affect economic sanction

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[20] In the House, this jurisdiction has been given to the Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee, see (McCormick 1993).

policy by linking the sanction to the operation of financial institutions. This is exemplified by the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996 championed by then-chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jesse Helm (R-NC). Not only did this sanction legislation impose trade and foreign aid restriction on Cuba, it also banned financial support from international financial institutions such as the World Bank (Fisk 2000; Rennack and Sullivan 2017). Furthermore, legislated sanctions also affect private financial institutions. For example, the Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS) had to pay a fine of US$ 100 million in 2004 for breaching US sanctions by sending funds to Cuba, Iran, Libya, and Yugoslavia. One year later, the Algemene Bank Nederland-Amsterdamsche en Rotterdamsche (ABN-AMRO) bank also was fined US$ 80 million for violating Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctions when the New York and Chicago branches of the bank cleared checks and processed wire transfers that involved Iranian and Libyan parties (Meltzer and Ross 2013; Norton Rose Fulbright 2009).

All this suggests a broader influence for the Senate in designing and promulgating economic sanction policy. The allowance of issue-linkage strategies in its amendment rules and the broader jurisdiction of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (the Senate committee responsible for foreign aid and economic sanctions against foreign nations) make the Senate influence in economic sanctions more obvious and significant, and this is why I expected the Senate dynamics to have greater influence on the duration of economic sanctions.

Research Design

Because the research investigated the relationship between party polarization and the duration of economic sanction, the dependent variable used in this research was the observed length in months since the economic sanction went into effect until it was lifted. The data came

from the Threat and Imposition of Economic Sanction (TIES) Data version 4.0 (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi 2014). The data consisted of 739 cases of economic sanctions imposed by the US from 1945 to 2013. Figure 1 shows the distribution of these cases. As shown in the Venn diagram, of the 739 cases of economic sanctions imposed, there were only 428 cases in which the imposing agency or branch of government could be clearly identified. Congress was regarded as imposing the sanction if it adopted a resolution or passed a law regarding the sanction (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi 2014). Most legislative-imposed sanctions were decided solely by Congress (35 cases or 8%), yet another 29 cases (7%) were jointly imposed by Congress and the bureaucracy. Thirteen cases (3%) were imposed jointly by Congress and the White House, and only six cases, or one percent, were jointly imposed by Congress, the bureaucracy, and the White House. So of the 428 cases, only 83 cases (35 + 29 + 13 + 6), or 19 percent, involved Congress directly.

Venn Diagram

By Actors
N = 428

Figure 3-1. U.S-imposed economic sanctions based on the imposing actors.

As noted, one of my two primary predictor variables is an indicator of the level of party polarization. There are two measures commonly used by scholars to account for polarization. First, is the difference in party means of DW-NOMINATE scores and the second is Party Unity Scores (Ornstein et al. 2017; Poole and Rosenthal 2007). The data on DW-NOMINATE and Party Unity Votes are available at Poole and Rosenthal's voteview webpage. The difference of party DW-NOMINATE means is simply the absolute difference between the average Republican DW-NOMINATE score and the average Democratic DW-NOMINATE score on the liberal-conservative dimension. This calculation was completed for each biennial Congress to obtain Congress-specific values. Party Unity Scores were measured as the percentage of all roll-call votes in a specific Congress in which at least 50 percent of the Democratic Party caucus voted in

opposition to at least 50 percent of the Republican conference (Poole and Rosenthal 2007). Both measures of polarization were calculated using each Congress as the unit of analysis and chamber specific values were readily obtained.

It is important to recognize that the two measures, just discussed, actually accounted for different patterns in party polarization. While the absolute value of the difference in the party mean DW-NOMINATE scores are, generally, thought to measure the ideological distance between the two parties, Party Unity Scores measure the internal cohesion of each of the parties in addition to their divergence from each other.[21] To comprehensively measure polarization in both chambers, we can actually combine these measures so the new measure of polarization can capture both the ideological difference between both parties and their internal cohesion. Polarization can be very extreme if the two parties are not only ideologically distant from each other but also internally cohesive. Thus, I created a chamber polarization measure as:[22]

$$Ch.Polar = abs\big[\big(\mu_{(Rep.DW-NOM)} \; x \; PUS_{(Rep)}\big) - \big(\mu_{(Dem.DW-N)} \; x \; PUS_{(Dem)}\big)\big]$$

Where μ refers to the party's mean of DW-NOMINATE score on the first dimension (liberal-conservative scale) and PUS are Party Unity Scores of the party that measure its internal cohesion level.

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[21] The difference between the two measures is evident in the modest correlation between party difference in DW-NOMINATE averages in the Senate and the Senate Party Unity Scores (r = .29; n = 69). There is a somewhat stronger correlation between party difference in DW-NOMINATE means in the House and the House Party Unity Scores (r = .46; n = 69). The correlations are based on DW-NOMINATE and Party Unity Scores from the 79th to 113th Congresses.

[22] Because both DW-NOMINATE and Party Unity Scores are computed based on all the votes within a congressional session, we cannot see the level of polarization or party cohesion until the session ends. Therefore, to compute the effect of congressional polarization on the duration of sanction for each time span (one year) in my time-varying covariate models, I used one-year lag values of both DW-NOMINATE and Party Unity Scores. See, for example, Box-Steffensmeier and Jones (2004) for a discussion of the data structure of time-varying covariate duration models and Poole's voteview homepage (Poole and Rosenthal 2015) for the calculation of DW-NOMINATE and Party Unity Scores.

Next, to capture congressional support for the president, a unique measure was constructed that was a slight variation of the legislative potential for policy change (LPPC) score developed by Brady et al. (1979). I adjusted the score by substituting the president's party and the opposition party for the majority and the minority party (Howell and Pevehouse 2007a), thus the indicator was calculated as

$$Ch. LPPC = \left[(\%Presidentpartysize) \ x \ \left(PUS_{pres\_party}\right)\right]$$
$$- \left[(\%oppositionpartysize) \ x \ \left(PUS_{opp\_party}\right)\right]$$

The measure tells us that if the president's party is large and unified and is confronting a small and fragmented opposition, the president should be empowered and, in this case, be able to terminate a sanction quickly if he chooses to do so.

To avoid spurious associations, I also included several standard control variables that others have found can affect the duration of an economic sanction. First, some works suggest that democratic dyads are less likely to sanction each other (Cox and Drury 2006; Lektzian and Souva 2003) and that when they impose sanctions, these sanctions will likely be shorter (Bolks and Al-Sowayel 2000) and trade relations will return to pre-sanction levels faster than non-democracies (Lektzian and Souva 2001). To control for this regime effect, I assumed that the US is a democracy for the entire time period of the study and included a dummy variable that considered the regime type of the target nation. When the target's POLITY IV score was 6 or higher, I coded the target as a democracy and assigned the value of 1, indicating that the case is a democratic dyad. With other cases when the target was considered a non-democracy, this variable was assigned the value of "0." The data on POLITY IV measure were obtained from the Center for Systemic Peace (Marshall, Gurr, and Jaggers 2016).

Second, as Olson (1979) argues, the sender is more likely to impose an economic sanction on weaker countries because a sanction policy is more effective when there is a larger difference in the relative military and economic power between the sender and target state. This argument is supported by Huffbauer and Schoot (1983), who also found that sanctions imposed on a weaker target are more effective in forcing the target to capitulate. To control for the US tendency to select weaker targets, I also included the variable of target Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a measure of the target's economic size.[23] My test was not perfectly analogous, but nonetheless it seemed reasonable to test whether the size of the target nation GDP has an effect on sanction duration. The expectation was that the larger the target GDP, the longer the sanctions would last because they would not give in as quickly. The data on GDP were obtained from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (World Bank 2017).

The third control variable included was the total of trade volume between the US and the target state. This variable accounts for the possibility that Congress will be more likely to impose sanctions on countries with which the US has a more significant trade relationship (Drury 2005; Hufbauer and Schott 1983). Because a robust trading partner is particularly vulnerable to sanctions, it may be more likely to yield when it becomes the target of a sanction. To control for this, I included a variable that tapped the trade volume between the US and the target nation and expected that the larger the trade volume the quicker one of the parties would yield and thus the shorter the duration of an economic sanction.

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[23] Although some scholars prefer using the target's GDP per capita as a measure of target's economic power (Drury 2005), I hold that GDP alone is better because it measures the size of an economy, thus more appropriately reflecting the country's economic performance and power in the global economy. GDP per capita better measures the prosperity of a country's society. Importantly, the choice of measurement strategy here does not change overall model results in a significant manner. For a discussion of the correct measure of GDP to use in different circumstances see Krugman and Wells (2013, 201).

Fourth, some research has also found that when two close allies sanction each other, the duration of the sanction tends to be shorter (Dresner 1999; Hatipoglu 2014). This is because the two allies expect minimal conflict in the future. When the chance of future conflict is reduced, the target state is more likely to capitulate to the sender's demand (Dresner 1999). To control for the effect of an alliance on the duration of an economic sanction, I included a variable scored 1 if the target was a US ally and the value of 0 otherwise. The data were obtained from the Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions (ATOP) version 3.0 (Leeds et al. 2002). I expected a negative association between alliance status and the duration of an economic sanction imposed by the US.

Fifth, the cost incurred by the target will strongly affect the likelihood of a target's capitulation to the demand of the sender. When the cost is high, the target is more likely to succumb to the sender's demand, thus shortening the duration of a sanction. Conversely, when the cost is low, the target will be resilient and stand up to the demands of the sender and this will prolong the sanction (Hufbauer and Schott 1983). To control for this cost effect, I incorporated another dichotomous variable scored 1 if there is a major cost incurred by the target and the value of 0 if there is not. The definition of a major cost was determined by the TIES data set (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi 2014). I expected a negative association between this variable and the duration of an economic sanction.

Sixth, interstate interactions are often shaped by the type of issues a dyad is facing or dealing with (Gibler 2007; Hensel 1996). Presumably, different issues will affect the duration of an economic sanction (Hatipoglu, 2014). Generally, conflicts involving security-related issues are more contentious and difficult to settle. As Hatipoglu (2014, 437) speculated, targets less easily succumb to the demands of the sender on issues related to their political influence. Therefore, when a sanction is imposed on a target state on the matters of high politics, the

duration of the sanction is longer. The data were, again, obtained from the TIES data set (Morgan, Bapat, and Kobayashi, 2014). The variable of a high political issue was also coded dichotomously with 1 assigned to high political issues defined as those related to political influence, military behavior, regime destabilization, territorial disputes, strategic materials, alliance politics and weapons of mass destruction. I assigned the value of 0 to issues other than these.

Seventh, I included the US Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth in the year under consideration, as this growth indicator should account for the influence of the US economic health on sanction duration. Because economic sanctions cost the US economy as well, the health of the American economy should be considered by legislators in deciding to end or keep a sanction in place. When the US economy performs well, as indicated by higher GDP growth, the politicians might not care as much about the cost of the sanction to the US economy. Thus, they will let the sanction stay in place. In contrast, when the economy is in trouble, politicians might think of loosening or lifting the sanction in the hope of lessening the economic burden the sanction entails. Thus, I expected a positive association between the US economic growth and the duration of economic sanctions. The data on the U.S economic growth were obtained from the National Income and Product Accounts Tables (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2018b).

Eighth, because the aim of the sanction is to change the policy or the behavior of a country, the sanction should be terminated when the target country acquiesces. Thus, the duration of a sanction will be affected by whether a target country capitulates to the demands of the sender. Sanctions will last longer if the target resists the sender's demands. When the target fulfills the sender's demands, the sanction will be terminated. The TIES data set has a variable called Final Outcome that lists several possible outcomes of the sanction. I recoded this variable

and assigned the value of 1 when the target acquiesced to the sender and the value of 0 otherwise.

Ninth, to account for other congressional dynamics, I also included a variable divided government that was dichotomously coded. The value of 1 indicates that the opposition controls one of the chambers of Congress and the value of 0 otherwise. When the opposition controls either chamber of Congress, the president will be challenged, and his decision to end a sanction is expected to be more difficult to implement. Finally, to capture the effect of presidential activism in their early periods in the office, I also included a variable to capture the presidential honeymoon period. This is the period when the president is usually treated well by members of Congress that eventually enables the president to make major policy changes. The variable was also coded dichotomously. I designated a value of 1 to the first Congress in the presidential term in office and a value of 0 to any subsequent term. This variable helped control for the possibility the president might loosen a sanction imposed in a previous presidential administration.

Model

Because the dependent variable is the observed length of sanction duration imposed by the US Congress, an event history analysis or duration model is the most appropriate technique to use. As Box-Steffensmeier and Jones (2004) argue, the event history analysis is used when "the dependent variable measures the duration of time that units spend in a state before experiencing some event" (2004, 1). Thus, whenever a researcher is interested in modeling the relationship between the length of the observed duration and the covariates of theoretical interest, an event history model is the best choice. Although the nature of the continuous measure of the dependent variable enables it to be modelled using an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) technique,

the use of OLS is very limited due to two distinctive features of the duration data: 1) the strictly positive metric of the dependent variable (because negative or zero length makes no sense) and 2) the possibility some observations are right-censored, that is the condition of a unit does not change even at the time the observation period ends. While the former makes OLS returns negative predicted values due to non-normal error, the latter poses selection issues to the OLS estimates and renders these estimates biased and unreliable (Beck 1998, 193).

Because my main interest in this research was to explain variation in the duration of economic sanctions imposed by the US Congress and whether congressional polarization contributed to this variation, I explicitly inferred the duration dependency of the model. For this reason, parametric models estimated using maximum likelihood methods were most appropriate. The main challenge in the use of maximum likelihood method, however, was the need to specify the distribution of the dependent variable along with its expected value and variance given the covariates (Beck 1998). In the context of an event history analysis, it was necessary to specify the baseline distribution of the hazard function, which is the probability that the event occurs at time t independent of any factors or covariates. Failure to correctly specify this distribution would bias the estimates.[24]

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[24] One can also use a semi-parametric Cox model using partial likelihood estimation that does not require specification of the distribution of the baseline hazard if one is simply interested in the relationship between the covariates and the hazard rate. Yet the main drawback of the Cox model is that it is very limited in the sense that it cannot be extrapolated beyond the last observed failure time in the data set; thus, it cannot be used for making predictions and generalizations in other settings (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004, 89). Secondly, due to its relaxation of the functional form of the baseline hazard, it cannot be used to test the dynamic of duration in the sense that longer sanctions tend to bolster the target to increasingly resist the sender and, thus, further lengthen the sanction. In the jargon of the event history model, Cox does not allow us to test whether the event of interest indicates a positive or negative dependence duration. Third, while specifying the distributional form of the baseline hazard function is challenging, models with correct distributional form are more efficient than the semi-parametric Cox model. Because we can test the appropriateness of the distributional form of the baseline hazard, distributional specification is not a challenge anymore. Furthermore, the Cox model is based on the restrictive proportional hazard assumption due to the relaxation of the distributional assumption of a time-variant but unit-invariant baseline hazard and the unit-specific but time-invariant component. Failure to meet this proportional hazard assumption biases the

To select the best model from a range of parametric models, I used the Akaike

Information Criteria (AIC) as suggested by Box-Steffensmeier and Jones (2004) computed as

$AIC = -2(log L) + 2(c + p + 1)$, where c is the number of covariates in the model and p

denotes the number of structural parameters in the model. From these criteria, I found that the

Weibull parametric model is the best one because most of the Weibull models I specified have

the lowest AICs. Preliminary graphical analysis also suggests that Weibull is an excellent

choice.[25]

In the Weibull model, the hazard is specified as $h(t) = \lambda p(\lambda t)^{p-1}$, where $t > 0, \lambda >$

$0, p > 0$. If $p > 1$, the hazard rate is monotonically increasing with time; when $p < 1$, the

hazard rate is monotonically decreasing with time; when $p = 1$, the hazard is flat, taking a

constant value λ; thus, the model reduces to the exponential one.[26] The survivor function for the

Weibull can be computed as $S(t) = e^{-(\lambda t)^p}$. For the substantive interpretation, we can compute

changes in the mean of survival time when the predictors of interest (polarization and partisan

support) change from some values to others (e.g., from 25th percentile to 75th percentile). The

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estimate. Statistical diagnostics conducted to test this assumption show that the assumption is not met by the data. Although one can specify a non-proportional hazard model by including the interaction term between the covariates and analysis time (Box-Steffensmeier and Zorn 2001), specifying the non-proportional hazard Cox model will fail to converge. Diagnostic tests using residual analysis also show the parametric model, especially using a log-logistic distribution or Weibull, is better than the Cox model.

[25] Graphical analyses suggest that log-logistic and Weibull are the best candidates. However, the martingale-like residual analyses show that the relationship between polarization and sanction duration indicate nonlinear relationships. Although one can fit log-logistic models to the data, log-logistic models are problematic because they fail to identify the appropriate model specification. I turned to the Weibull models because it helped me identify the model specification. When the non-linear Weibull are used, the residual analysis using martingale-like residuals return results that suggest the specifications are correct. Yet because the hazards of polarization are not proportional, I used non-proportional hazard Weibull models by including the interactions between covariates and the $log(time)$.

[26] In fact, the exponential distribution is a special case of the Weibull distribution.

expected mean of survival time can be computed as $E(T) = \frac{\Gamma\left(1+\frac{1}{p}\right)}{\lambda}$, where $\lambda = e^{-(\beta'X)}$ and Γ is

the gamma function.[27]

Finally, because some cases of economic sanctions are decided during the same

congressional session, I expected these cases would be exposed to the same risks. To correct for

the standard errors due to non-independent cases within the same congressional session, I

clustered all the cases within each congressional session.

Results and Discussion

Summarizing the duration of economic sanctions from 1950 to 2013,[28] the estimate

shows a 25 percent chance the sanctions will terminate within 31 years, 50 percent chance the

sanctions will terminate in 44 years, and 75 percent chance that they will terminate in 49 years.[29]

Figure 3-2 shows the Kaplan-Meier survivor function between the two subgroups in the variable

of chamber polarization. These variables are standardized and re-categorized into two subgroups

in which the scores above the mean $(x > \mu)$ indicate high polarization, while the scores below or

equal to the mean $(x \leq \mu)$ denote low polarization. As the graph reveals, the two subgroups

within each of the variables (House and Senate polarization measures) have different shapes of

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[27] Although some scholars reported the median survival time because the duration distribution is often skewed, I reported the mean of survival time in this paper because the median and the mean do not differ much. However, if one is interested, it is possible to also report the median duration for the Weibull model, computed as $t(50) = \lambda^{-1} log(2)^{\frac{1}{p}}$.

[28] Although the TIES data only observed the sanction instances from 1945 to 2005, 2013 is the last period of sanction episode observed in the TIES data.

[29] This is not surprising given that sanction on Cuba has endured more than fifty years. To compute the summary statistics for the duration model in Stata see Hamilton (2013, 288).

survivor function. This indicates that the proportional hazard assumption was not met.[30] Thus, I

needed to specify the non-proportional hazard Weibull model by including the interaction terms
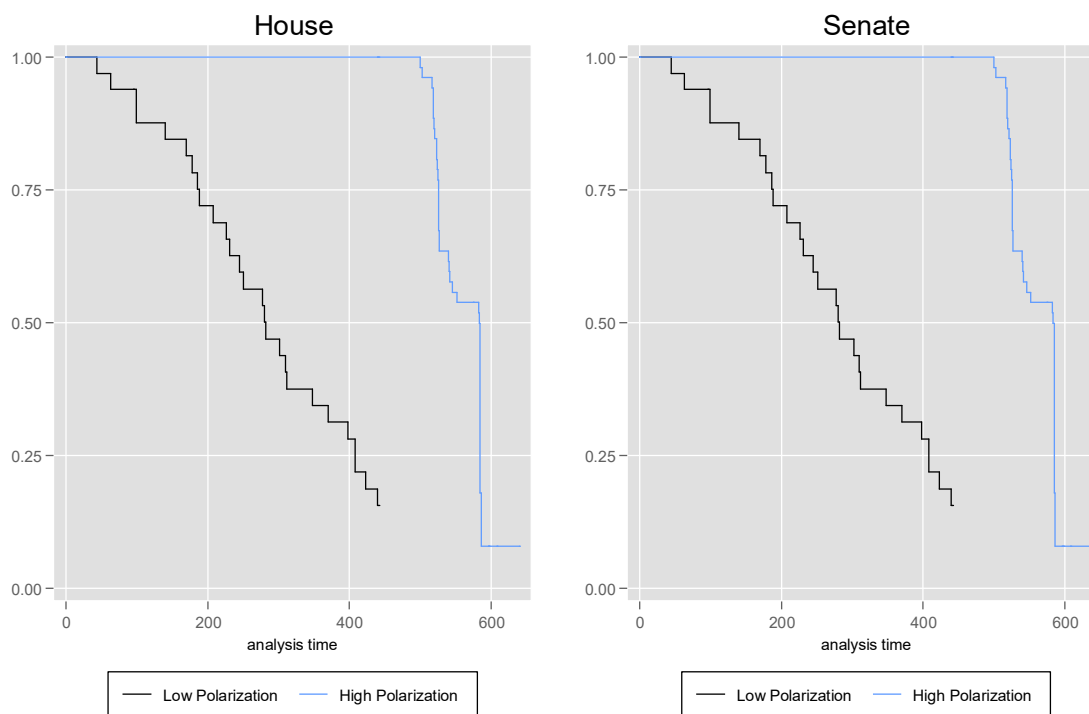
of the predictors and the analysis time.

Figure 3-2. Kaplan-Meier survival functions for low and high polarization in the House and the Senate.

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[30] Another way to test the proportional hazard assumption for the Weibull distribution is to run log-rank test comparing subsets of the predictors of interest. Comparing low polarization and high polarization suggests that we should reject the null of hypothesis of equality of survivor functions between the two subsets of polarization categories. Furthermore, we can also check the appropriateness of the non-proportional hazard Weibull test using the likelihood ratio tests comparing the proportional hazard and non-proportional hazard models. In this research the LR tests returned very small p-values, suggesting that non-proportional hazard models improve accounts of the duration dependency.

Focusing on the main results, Figure 3-3 shows the coefficient estimates of the effects of polarization measures on the duration of economic sanctions. Specifying non-linear non-proportional hazard Weibull models using the Accelerated Failure Time (AFT) parameterization reveals that low levels of polarization can help shorten the sanction duration.[31] Yet at the medium to high levels of polarization, the increasing level of polarization lengthens the duration of sanction. This is demonstrated by negative coefficients of first-order polarization followed by positive coefficients of second-order polarization. The interaction terms, which are positive significant, between first-order polarization measure and the $log(time)$, as shown in Appendix A, suggest that the shortening effect of polarization on sanction duration weakens over time. This means that the probability of sanctions termination declines as time goes on.

On the other hand, the negative significant coefficients of the interaction terms between second-order polarization measures and the $log(time)$, indicate that the probability of sanction termination increases over time. This means that as time goes on, the lengthening effect of polarization on the sanction duration declines, thus sanction termination is increasingly closer. This is further supported by the large positive coefficients of $log(p)$. As suggested above, a large value of p ($p > 1$) indicates that the hazard rate increases monotonically with time. This means that as time elapses, the probability of the event occurs at time t increases. Thus, the end of the sanction becomes closer as time goes on.

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[31] Accelerated Failure Time (AFT) parameterization expresses the Weibull model in terms of the linear relationship between the log of survival time, $log(T)$, and the covariates. This allows us to directly interpret the model in terms of expected failure time or duration time. In contrast, the proportional hazard parameterization expresses the model in terms of linear relationship between the log of hazard rate and log of baseline hazard plus the covariates. In this kind of parameterization, we interpret the model in terms of hazard rate.
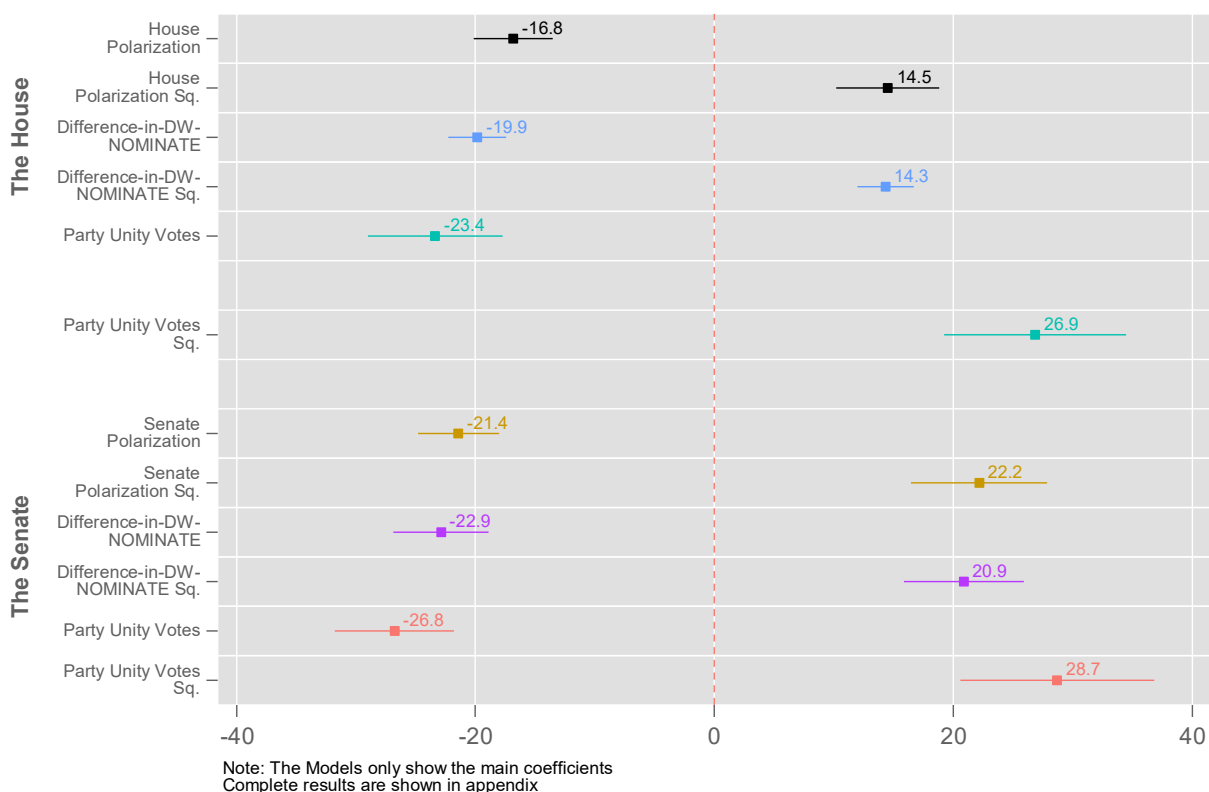
Figure 3-3. Coefficient estimates of the impacts of various measures of party polarization on the duration of legislated sanctions in the House and the Senate.

Figure 3-4 shows the substantive results of the models, which is the changes in the expected means of sanction duration when the polarization measures change from low to medium to high levels.[32] As the level of the House polarization increased from its minimum value to its 25th percentile, the expected mean of sanction duration reduced less than one month. However, when the House polarization increased from its 25th percentile to its maximum value, the expected mean of sanction duration increased to 2.3 months. For the Senate, the impact was

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[32] All the substantive effects are computed by holding all continuous controls to their means and dichotomous controls to 0. The analysis time is held constant at $\_t = 1$ (Licht 2011).

stronger. Increases in the Senate polarization from its minimum to its 25th percentile were predicted to shorten the duration of legislated sanction by less than three months. Yet when polarization changed from its 25th percentile to its maximum, the duration of legislated sanction was predicted to be more than five months longer.

If we decompose the measures of both the House and the Senate polarization, we can see that the curvilinear impact of chamber polarization on the duration of sanction applies in all components of polarization (ideological difference and party cohesion). Similarly, the impacts were stronger in the Senate than in the House. For example, while an increase in the party DW-NOMINATE mean-difference from its minimum value to its 25th percentile in the House was expected to reduce the duration of legislated sanction by less than one month, in the Senate, an increase of the same rate was predicted to reduce the duration of legislated sanction by more than three months. By the same token, an increase in the House party DW-NOMINATE mean difference from its 25th percentile to its maximum value was predicted to increase the duration of legislated sanction by slightly more than one month. Meanwhile, the same amount of increase in the Senate DW-NOMINATE mean difference was predicted to increase the duration of legislated sanctions by almost six months.

The same curvilinear trend also was observed in the indicator of party cohesion in both chambers. Again, the impact of party cohesion on the duration of sanction was also stronger in the Senate than in the House. This was especially true for the lengthening effect of moderate-to-high Party Unity Scores. In the House, an increase in the Party Unity Score from its 25th percentile to its maximum value was expected to lengthen the duration of sanction by slightly more than four months. In the Senate, however, an increase of the same range was predicted to lengthen the duration of sanction by more than eight months.
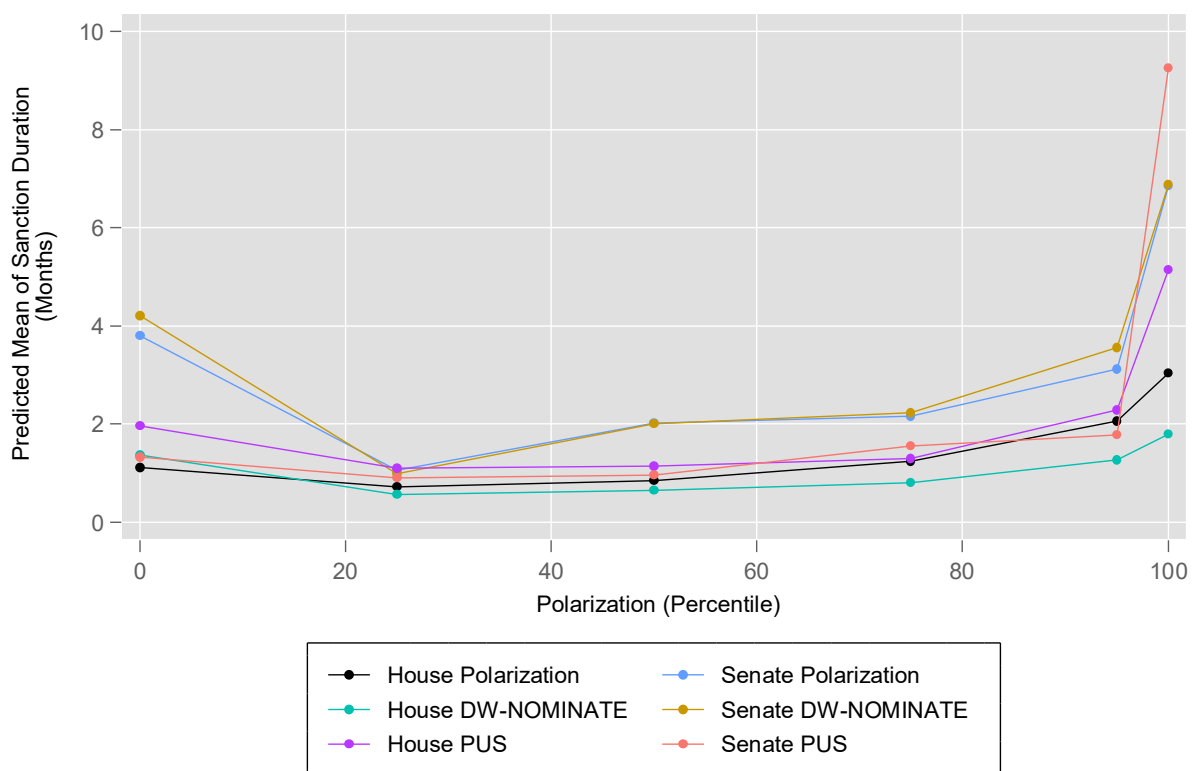
Figure 3-4. Impact of polarization on the duration of legislated sanctions.

The results support Hypothesis 1 in that as long as the polarization is still low, a slight increase in the polarization can facilitate a cooperative effort between parties to negotiate sanction termination. However, when polarization begins to rise, legislators of different parties are more difficult to cooperate and negotiate the sanction termination. All three measures of chamber polarization (combined measure of chamber polarization, parties' ideological difference and party cohesion) also reveal that the impact of polarization is stronger in the Senate than in the House. While the paper does not mean to theorize the different impacts of chamber polarization on the duration of sanction, the empirical pattern emerging in the data points to the

importance of the Senate in the foreign policy arena. The results are generally compatible with research showing the more influential role of the Senate in presidential foreign policy making.

<center>Explaining Chamber Support on the Duration of Sanctions</center>

Turning to the influence of congressional support for the president on the duration of legislated sanction, the evidence indicates that only the Senate support significantly affects the duration of legislated sanctions. As seen in Figure 3-5, the coefficient of Senate support is negative significant, which implies that an increase in the potential support obtained by the president in the Senate can help him to negotiate the termination of sanctions. The interaction term of the Senate support and $log(time)$ is positive and also significant, suggesting that the shortening effect of Senate support on the duration of sanction weakens over time. As the sanction endures, the support obtained from the Senate offers little help for the chief executive to end the sanction.

Figure 3-6 visualizes the impact of congressional support in both chambers on the duration of legislated sanctions. As seen in the figure, a significant reducing effect of Senate support is substantially higher when the support increases from its minimum to the 25th percentile. Although further increase in Senate support helps keep the duration of the sanction shorter, its reducing effect is relatively slow. In general, the full effect of the Senate support only helps the president reduce the duration of a sanction by less than one month. On the contrary, House support does not seem to help the president to negotiate the end of the sanction. An increase in House support lengthens the sanctions. However, the increasing trend in the impact of House support on the sanction duration observed in the data is likely to be produced by random

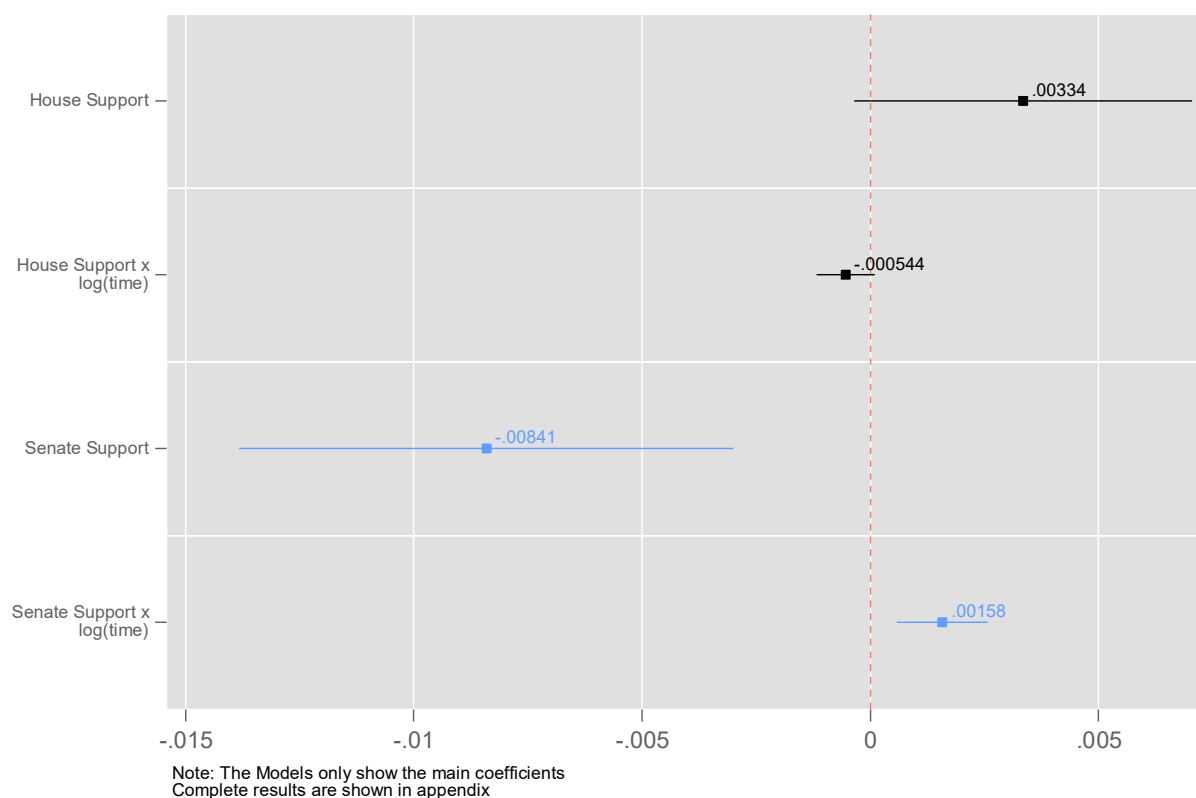errors, as indicated by the large p-value for both the main effect and the interaction term with $log(time)$. [33]

Figure 3-5. Models of congressional support on the duration of legislated sanctions.

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[33] However, as seen in the Appendix B, in the House party cohesion model (using the House Party Unity Scores), the House support seems to matter in reducing the duration of sanctions. Yet, like the Senate Polarization model, its reducing effect also weakens over time. This might indicate that only controlling party cohesiveness in the House can reveal the true effect of the party support in the House on the duration of economic sanctions.
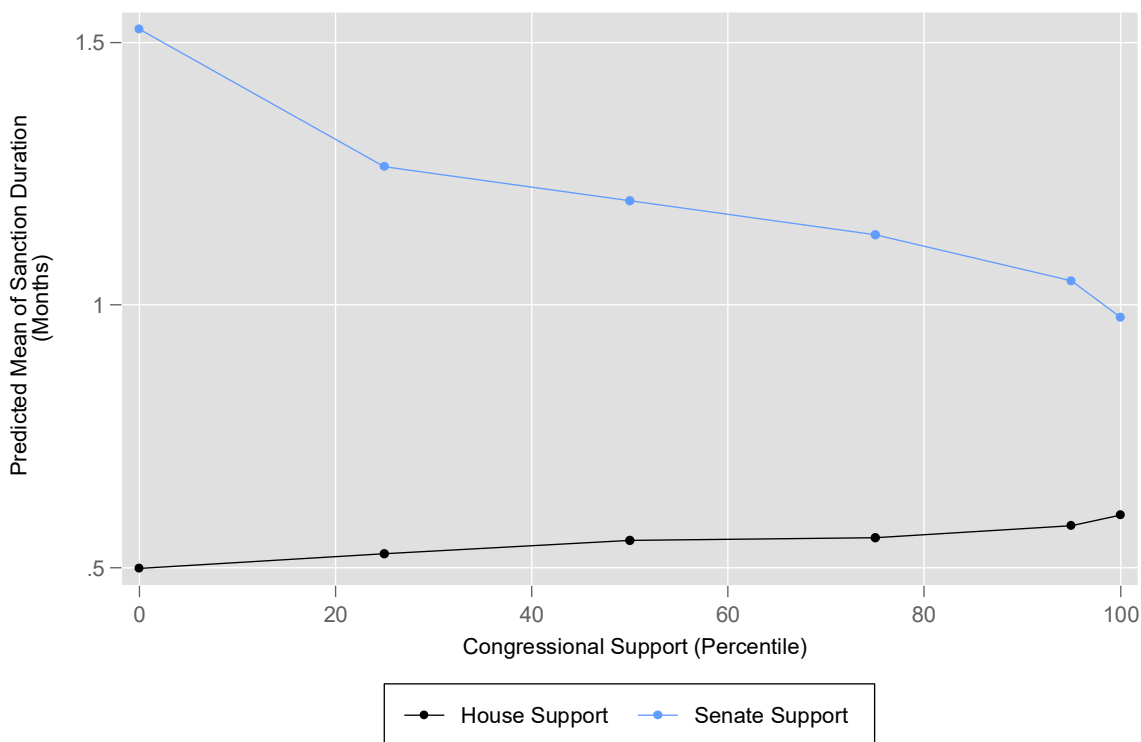
Figure 3-6. Impact of congressional support on the duration of legislated sanctions.

Generally, like the polarization effect, chamber support effects show that the Senate plays a more significant role in congressional foreign policy making. Again, the institutional features of the Senate might offer some explanation for the significant impact of the Senate dynamics on the duration of legislated sanctions. The results are consistent with the expectation that the Senate institutional dynamic exerts a stronger impact on the duration of legislated sanctions.

However, another interesting result revealed in the statistical analysis is the impact of divided control between the president's party and the opposition in each of the chambers. As Appendix B shows, the coefficient of divided control for the House Polarization model is in line with the expectation (positive significant). When the House is controlled by the opposition, the

president finds it difficult to negotiate termination of the sanction; thus, the sanction will keep going. Nonetheless, the effect of this divided control weakens over time. In the Senate, however, the effect of the divided control runs contrary to the expectation. When the Senate is controlled by the opposition, the duration of sanction reduces significantly. Speculatively, we can argue that when the Senate is under the control of the opposition, the president is more likely to exploit the opt-out provisions and capitalize on the discretion provided by the legislated sanctions. This means that it is very likely that the president will bypass Congress when he anticipates difficulty in the process of sanction termination. For example, rather than allowing the termination process to be in the hands of Congress, the president can issue a presidential determination, albeit in consultation with Congress, which can precipitate the process of sanction termination.

Conclusion

The chapter starts with a question about why some legislated sanctions take longer to end, while others last for only a short period of time. Because the focus is on legislated sanctions, that is the sanctions enacted by law, attention to Congress was necessary. Although the president is often authorized to waive, suspend, or terminate the legislated sanctions, terminating legislated sanctions involves Congress in one way or another. Due to the congressional role in the termination process of legislated sanctions, congressional dynamics should contribute to the terminating process. In this research I expected that chamber polarization and the members' support lent to the president would affect the duration of legislated sanctions.

Generally, party polarization can complicate the process of sanction termination. When parties are highly polarized, they tend to obstruct the other's policy proposals. Thus, status quo is likely to persist under a highly polarized Congress. Because sanction termination is another form

of policy change, we should expect that sanction termination will be onerous if Congress is highly polarized. Under a highly polarized Congress, the opposition will tend to reject the presidential reports or disapprove of the presidential decision to end a sanction. However, when polarization in Congress is very low, the sanction termination might be problematic because intra-party competition inhibits congressional support for the presidential action.

Congressional support obtained by the White House was expected to help the termination of sanction to occur sooner. When the president expects potential support from Congress, he is more confident about bringing the process of sanction termination to Congress (consultation with Congress) and termination of the sanction will be more likely to happen. However, when congressional support is low, the consultation process will be tough, and the duration of sanction will be longer.

The statistical analyses conducted to test the hypotheses on the congressional influence on sanction duration returned supportive results. As expected, there was a non-linear relationship between congressional polarization and the duration of legislated sanctions. Sanction duration is longer when Congress is at either of the two extreme ends of the polarization continuum. The results were robust using all variants of congressional polarization measures. The pattern also applied across chambers. However, the effect of congressional polarization was stronger in the Senate than in the House. The institutional features of the Senate helped explain this pattern.

Nevertheless, analysis of the effect of congressional support for the president returned mixed results. Congressional support seemed to matter only in the Senate. As expected, a higher level of potential support obtained by the president helped shorten the sanction duration. Although the effect was not very large and diminished over time, the effect did not seem to be driven by random errors. The presidential proposal to terminate the sanction was easier in the

Senate if the president had potential support. In the House, the same pattern was revealed only when controlling for party cohesion. When the president's party was cohesive and was the majority, could the president easily negotiate sanction termination.

Theoretically, the analysis presented in this chapter lends support to some work on the importance of Congress in foreign policy domain (Lindsay and Ripley 1993; Howell and Pevehouse 2008; Carter and Scott 2009; Johnson 2006). This research also supports the moderate polarization hypothesis (Dodd and Schraufnagel 2009; 2012; 2017) and congressional support literature (Howell and Pevehouse 2005, 2007a). However, the research still has some unexpected results. For example, while the researcher expected that an opposition-controlled Senate would lengthen the duration of legislated sanction, the analysis returned a contrary result. While a speculative answer is offered to account for this, a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis is required to provide a more robust answer. This surely opens an avenue for future research with regard to President-Congress relations.

CHAPTER 4

PARTISANSHIP AND FOREIGN AID ALLOCATION: CONGRESSIONAL INFLUENCE
ON U.S. FOREIGN AID POLICY

Foreign aid has been an instrument of US foreign policy since the end of World War II
(Hook 1995; Lancaster 2007). As it involves public money, Congress plays a significant role in
the business of allocating the amount of foreign aid to the recipient countries. While some
research has been conducted to investigate what congressional factors can affect the allocation of
bilateral aid, most of them focus on one type of aid only, like the Official Development
Assistance (ODA), or treat aid as one package.[34] Few scholars have examined different types of
aid to see whether different types of aid are explained by different congressional dynamics.[35]
This is unfortunate since foreign aid consists of different types, often serving different purposes.
Therefore, treating foreign aid as a single policy outcome is problematic. In this chapter, I revisit
the foreign aid debate and investigate under what conditions Congress can influence bilateral
allocation of three kinds of foreign aid: development, political, and military.

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[34] One example is Fleck and Kilby (2006). They use Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
(OECD) Development Assistance Committee's data on US aid flows and test whether the ideology of Congress
affects the particular type of aid. However, rather than disentangling the aid components to examine those types of
aid, they used proxies to approximate the different types of aid. For example, to approximate the development type
of aid, they used bilateral aid allocation by a group of small donors such as Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands,
Norway, and Sweden. They argued that these donors are renowned for their consistency in allocating aid in a more
development-oriented and humanitarian manner ((Fleck and Kilby 2006,212). The, to test whether liberal or
conservative Congresses are more inclined to provide this kind of aid, they just interact the small donor variable and
an aggregate measure of congressional ideology. While the interaction term can indeed represent the effect of the
small donor variable, the use of proxy as the independent variable is problematic because it can lead to a biased
estimate. Because the proxy contains error term, the estimate will tend to be downwardly biased. This discussion is
ubiquitous in any standard econometrics texts such as Bailey (2015); Greene (2012); Gujarati and Porter (2009);
Wooldridge (2013).
[35] See for example, Milner and Tingley (2010)

By breaking down foreign aid into three distinct types, I would like to test whether different types of aid have different correlates, with some congressional dynamics such as partisan behavior of Congress members and party control having unique effects on different types of aid. This chapter first lays out the literature on US foreign aid policy and focuses especially on domestic political explanations for foreign aid allocation. It is followed by the main theoretical arguments and the expectations that can be derived from those arguments. In the methods section, I describe the data and estimation strategy. This is followed by a results section. In the conclusion, I summarize the main findings and their implications for future research.

<center>Three Models of US Foreign Aid Policy</center>

The politics of US foreign aids is complex and has generated a wealth of related research. In general, there are three primary theories for explaining why the US gives foreign aid to other countries. The first theory can be called interest-driven aid. This theory generally argues that foreign aid is one of foreign policy intruments used to advance the interest of aid providers (the US) in the targetted countries (Hook 1995; McKinlay and Little 1977; McKinley and Little 1979; Palmer, Wohlander, and Morgan 2002). Some scholars such as McKinlay and Little (1977; 1979), who investigated US official bilateral economic aid from 1960-1970, found that US foreign aid policy was consistent with what they called a donor interest model. From 1960 to 1970, the US distributed aid based on political and security interests. For example, the US used foreign aid as a tool to drive communist states away from the communist bloc. The US also used aid as a reward to countries willing to build strategic relations with the US. The pattern continued into the 1980s, even when the East-West tension diminished. As Hook (1995) observed, "The mid- to late 1980s witnessed rapidly diminishing tensions between the Cold War

superpowers and, ultimately, the end of the conflict itself. Yet the structure and content of most U.S. aid programs remained largely intact" (139).

A comparative analysis of foreign aid policy of some industrial countries supports McKinlay and Little's findings. Schraeder, Hook, and Taylor (1998) found that US foreign aid was more likely to go to its allies as well as countries with whom the US had trade relations and ideological affinity (i.e., capitalist countries). Similarly, examining the US foreign aid during and after the Cold War, Meernik, Krueger, and Poe (1998) found that the US foreign aid policy was driven by systemic security, societal, and statist goals. Among the systemic-security goals, the containment of communism was the main goal of the foreign aid policy. The US was more likely to send aid to Communist-bordered countries and allies. Among the societal goals, adoption of a free market ideology was the main consideration for the US government to give aid to a foreign country. Finally, for the statist goal, democracy and the level of economic development of the recipients were the factors that shaped the US foreign policy. Yet these factors were found to affect the US foreign policy only during the Cold War era (1977-1990). Scholars have failed to find significant impacts of all these variables in the post-Cold War era.

More contemporaneously, scholars have found that political-strategic interests influence not only the US development and military aid, but also humanitarian aid (Drury, Olson, and Van Belle 2005; Fink and Redaelli 2011; Kevlihan, Derouen, and Biglaiser 2014). As Drury, Olson, and Van Belle (2005) report, factors such as alliances and the promotion of democracy are benchmarks for a target nation to receive US humanitarian aid. For example, the probability of a US ally receiving humanitarian aid was 67% higher than a non-ally. Although the difference in the probability of receiving aid between a democracy and non-democracy is not large, democratic countries are still more likely to receive humanitarian aid (the probability is 5%

higher than non-democracies). Similarly, examining the data on US humanitarian aid from 1989 to 2009, Kevlihan, DeRouen, and Biglaiser (2014) found the importance of some political factors such as the democracy status of a country and its foreign policy affinity with the US. These foreign policy factors are especially obvious in the post-9/11 era.

The second theory used to explain the provision of aid is based on humanitarian grounds. This theory explains foreign aid policy from the perspective of recipients' needs. The theory argues that the US gives foreign aid due to humanitarian factors such as humanitarian crises or poverty. While most scholars agree that political, strategic and security factors dominate the US foreign aid decision-making process, recipient need is also an important factor affecting foreign aid decisions. In almost all foreign aid models, income per capita—an indicator of the level of development of a country—is always negative and statistically significantly linked to aid (Fleck and Kilby 2006; 2010; Lai 2003; McCormick and Mitchell 1988; Meernik, Krueger, and Poe 1998). In addition, factors such as life expectancy play a significant role in shaping US foreign aid decisions (Blanton 1994). Even when it comes to military aid, Poe and Meernik (1995) found that economic development still factors significantly in the aid provision decision. They reported that for every thousand dollar increase in a country's Gross Domestic Product per capita, the probability of receiving military aid declined approximately eight percent.

The third theory explaining foreign aid has been called domestic political theory. This theory sees the important role played by domestic political actors in shaping the aid decision (Fleck and Kilby 2001; Kim 2017; Milner and Tingley 2010). Among the active players in the politics of foreign aid, Congress might be regarded as the most important one. This is because Congress, rather than the executive branch, controls public spending, including the allocation of foreign aid. Thus, it is Congress that makes the decision on how much money to be appropriated

for countries. Because Congress is the decision-maker on foreign aid, its policy preferences (and all the other factors that constitute these preferences) are expected to determine the appropriation of foreign aid. Some research provides empirical support for this conjecture. For example, Milner and Tingley's (2010) research suggests that political and economic interests of member districts strongly affect whether the member votes for or against economic aid. Members coming from districts endowed with high human capital tend to be pro-economic aid because the aid will greatly benefit their districts. They also found that the ideology of a district matters in shaping the vote of the district's representative. Members from liberal districts are more likely to support economic aid, while those coming from conservative districts are inclined to support military aid.

The importance of congressional ideology in shaping US foreign aid policy was also found by Fleck and Kilby (2006; 2010). Examining the annual US bilateral aid budget from 1955 to 2006, they found that bilateral aid appropriations are higher under liberal Congresses than conservative ones. They estimated that the 1994 "Republican Revolution" lowered appropriation of aid by $ 1.7 billion (2010, 188). This decline, however, is just a half of that when the presidency changed from Democrat Jimmy Carter to the more conservative Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. In other research, these same authors found that liberal Congresses are more concerned about development issues, while conservative Congresses gave more weight to commercial interests (2006).

These studies show that Congress can exert some influence on foreign aid decisions. While most of these researchers have documented the influence of congressional ideology on foreign aid allocation, rarely do scholars pay attention to the impact of the aggregate partisan make up of Congress on foreign aid policy. It is this element I am focusing on in this chapter. I tested whether the partisan behavior of Congress and party preferences regarding foreign aid can

influence the amount of foreign aid given to the recipient countries. Yet, before proceeding with the statistical procedure, I lay out some of my own theoretical arguments and the expectations that can be derived. This is the topic of the next section.

Partisanship, Party Control and US Foreign Aid: A Theoretical Framework

A body of research has found that Democrats and Republicans take different positions on several important issues (see e.g., Carmines and Wagner 2006; Layman and Carsey 2002; Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz 2006; Leege et al. 2002; Lindaman and Haider-Markel 2002; Shafer 2003;Hibbs 1987). However, while these different positions are more obvious when it comes to domestic issues, it is less clear with regard to foreign policy. When it comes to foreign policy, some scholars are divided about whether party and ideology matter in determining legislators' decisions. For example, some research has found that at both the mass and elite levels, ideology and party do not seem to be good predictors of respondents' positions on foreign and defense policy issues (see, e.g., Cronin and Fordham 1999; Fordham 2002; Gowa 1998; Modigliani 1972; Russett 1990). This is especially true in highly salient political issues like the use of force (Fordham 2002: 574). However, others find that partisanship and ideology still shape legislators' vote choices on some foreign policy issues (Bernstein and Anthony 1974; Fleisher 1985; Mccormick 1985; McCormick and Black 1983; McCormick and Wittkopf 1992). A classic study by McCormick and Wittkopf (1992), for example, shows that members of Congress tend to be divided when they vote for low-politics foreign policy issues such as foreign aid and trade. It is argued that foreign aid and trade are the two low-politics issues in which bipartisanship is the least likely to happen, and lower level executive branch officials,

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congressional committees, and subcommittees as well as non-governmental actors have greater access to the decision-making process.

Notwithstanding inconclusive empirical evidence, tracing the basic ideological underpinnings of the two parties tempts us to suspect there might be differences between parties. This conjecture is further bolstered by the fact that the two parties are increasingly more polarized over time on whole host of issues (Dueck 2010). Some scholars even coined a term "conflict extensions" to describe this widespread ideological divide between parties (Layman and Carsey 2002). In addition, compared with the mass public, the elites influencing a party's policies are known to be more ideologically oriented (Rosati 2007). Because foreign policy is formulated by elites, it seems plausible to suspect that parties will have different foreign policy profiles (Gries 2014)

Although the earlier years of the Cold War saw the emergence of a liberal-conservative consensus in US foreign policy, the post-Vietnam era shows that the ideological divide between liberals and conservatives on foreign policy has increasingly become wider. Consequently, scholars theorized that the two political parties will divide into two camps along a liberal-conservative dimension (Destler, Gelb, and Lake 1985; Rosati 2007). As Wiarda (2009, 164-7) notes, the dramatic change actually occurred during the height of the Vietnam War. During this time, the more radical antiwar faction successfully captured the Democratic Party machinery and the majority of the delegates at their 1972 national party conventions. This group nominated the senator from South Dakota, George McGovern, who supported the antiwar position, nuclear non-proliferation, and detente with the Soviet Union. Although McGovern lost the election, his candidacy permanently changed the Democratic Party (Wiarda 2009, 164). Control of the McGovernites in the Democratic Party was increasingly firm by 1976, such that not only did

they successfully maintain the idealistic agenda of peace, detente, weapon control, and human rights, they also were able to nominate Jimmy Carter, a champion of human rights as their presidential candidate that year.

At the same time, however, the Republican Party was becoming increasingly more realist in its foreign policy position-taking. While an anti-war turn occurred within the Democratic Party, the Republican Party maintained its hawkish-realist position as exemplified in the candidacy of Gerard Ford in 1976. The realist influence became entrenched further in the 1980s with the rise of Ronald Reagan as the party nominee. The better prospect for realism within the Republican Party attracted many realist Democrats like Jeane Kirkpatrick, a member of the Committee on the Present Danger. Although Reagan agreed with the Democratic agenda of promoting democracy overseas, he saw this from the realist lens, that is, as a way to win allies and contain the Soviet Union. Reagan's hawkish-realist stand on foreign policy was continued by his successor, George H.W. Bush. The hawkish-realist foreign policy approach culminated in the George W. Bush era when he launched a war on terror that deepened conflict in the Middle-East. Although the US also engaged in armed conflicts abroad during the Clinton and Obama administrations, their approaches to foreign policy are not seen by some scholars as realist (e.g., Joffe 2016; Walt 2016).

In sum, as Wiarda observes, since the 1970s the Democrats are still reluctant to use force in international affairs. Democrats are much more inclined toward an international liberal approach such as diplomacy, the use of international organizations, and support for humanitarian interventions. In contrast, Republicans are more prone to realism in foreign policy. They are more willing to accept the use of military force and stand for a hardline defense of the national interest (Wiarda 2009, 166). Nevertheless, Wiarda does not provide firm empirical support for

his observations beyond some historical examples. Nor does he make systematic comparison using detail case studies to support his general argument.

Having said that, Wiarda's conclusion is not very different from some elite level observations conducted by foreign policy scholars (Busby and Monten 2008, 2012; Holsti and Rosenau 1996; Rathbun 2016; Rathbun 2008). For example, Holsti and Rosenau's (1996) national survey from 1984 to 1992 shows that Democrats were more likely to take accommodationist (supporting international cooperation while opposing military internationalism) stands on foreign policy topics. In contrast, Republicans were more likely to take internationalist and hard-liner positions (support military internationalism and to some extent support cooperative internationalism). Similarly, using the Chicago Council on Global Affairs surveys from 1982-2004 and tracking the party elites' foreign policy attitudes, Busby and Monten (2012) find that Republican leaders were overwhelmingly more supportive of internationalism on defense spending and military power than Democratic elites were. Finally, the more recent survey of Chicago Council on Global Affairs also found that in most cases, Republicans are more supportive of the use of force, while Democrats are more likely to favor peacekeeping missions (Smeltz, Daalder, and Kafura 2014, 14).

What causes Republicans and Democrats to be quite different on many issues, including foreign policy? Some scholars suggest that the attitudinal differences between Democrats and Republicans can be traced to their preferred moral values, which over time constitute party traits (Hayes 2005). Gries's (2014) survey conducted in 2011 shows that Democrats are more likely to embrace values such as compassion and empathy. Conversely, Republicans tend to glorify strength and moralism (Carney et al. 2008; Gries 2014; Hayes 2005). These traits manifest in the parties' ideological values. For example, comparing the foreign policy profiles of Democrats and

Republicans, Gries (2014) found that Republicans generally score higher on nationalism, support of military force and isolationism. On the other hand, Democrats score higher on humanitarianism and multilateralism. These findings support Rathbun's contention that liberal Democrats tend to support values such as humanitarianism, antimilitarism, and multilateralism, while conservative Republicans support patriotism, nationalism, and unilateralism (Rathbun 2008). These traits and values held by both liberals and conservatives are consistent with those embraced by center-left and center-right voters in other democracies (Caprara et al. 2006).

Besides the personality differences between Democrats and Republicans, the two parties also differ in their ideological positions along the left-right continuum. As the party of the left, the Democratic Party tends to support government interventions in the economy and supports international engagement with the international community to champion the cause of economic justice. Because economic inequality is the main concern of the American left (typically identified with the Democrats), they are more inclined to support the redistribution of the wealth from the rich to the poor (Milner and Tingley 2010). On the contrary, the Republican Party, as the party of the right, tends to oppose government intervention in the economy, even to correct for market failures. For the conservative Republicans, the market is essentially efficient, and it can correct itself even though it takes time and can be costly. Yet the cost of government intervention is judged as greater than the cost of the self-correcting adjustment of the market. Furthermore, because conservative Republicans are more concerned with stability than inequality, they tend to oppose redistributive policies such as progressive tax policies (Greene and Licht 2017).

The different left-right ideological positions of Democrats and the Republicans can have direct consequences for each party's position on foreign aid. Because foreign aid entails the

taxation and direct transfer of wealth from the US to other countries, ideologies supporting redistributive policies to correct inequality, theoretically, will be more likely to support foreign aid policy options. By contrast, the ideology in favor of market freedom will be more likely to oppose it (Milner and Tingley 2010). However, support or opposition to foreign aid will depend on the type of foreign aid. For aid aimed at humanitarian and development purposes, liberals are more likely to support aid because they are concerned about inequality and humanitarian issues. In contrast, conservatives will oppose it because of their aversion to the government intervention to redistribute wealth.

However, when it comes to military aid, we would expect that conservative would be inclined to support it because they are concerned about strategic power relationships in the world. Despite their dislike of government intervention and the transfer of wealth, their concern about security, theoretically, will lead them to tolerate the government intervention and the transfer of wealth provided the aid is channeled to programs ensuring US security. On the other side, the Democrats are more likely to oppose military aid because they do not value security more than justice and equality. Unlike development or humanitarian aid, military aid does not help to correct inequalities and improve the living condition of the poor in developing countries. The transfer of wealth is simply aimed for strategic-military interest that preserves the status-quo in the recipient countries (Greene and Licht 2017).

Party divergence on the development and military aid notwithstanding, political aid is where the two parties are expected to converge. Compared to development or military aid, political aid covers issues of common concern to many Americans, such as democracy, human rights, and civil liberties. For example, some portion of political aid is channeled to promote democracy and improve civil freedoms in the recipient country (e.g., Democracy, Human Rights

and Labor Program in Angola in 2001 amounted to US$ 395,228.00). Some other portion is channeled to support combat against weapon proliferation (e.g., Stabilization Operation and Security Sector Reform programs in a number of countries). Thus, political aid addresses issues of concern for both Democrats and Republicans. Accordingly, I expected that there would not be significant differences in the preferences of both parties regarding this type of aid.

To recap the arguments presented above, I derived the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: The amount of development aid given to recipient countries will be, on average, higher when the Democratic Party controls more seats in Congress.

- Hypothesis 2: The amount of military aid given to recipient countries will be, on average, lower when the Democratic Party controls more seats in Congress.

- Hypothesis 3: There will be no difference in the amount of political aid given to recipient countries when the Democratic Party controls more seats in Congress.

Yet owing to partisan differences on foreign aid policy, both parties need to bargain hard to win their policy position, and under this condition, the level of partisanship present in Congress will influence policy outcomes. When the level of partisanship is low, both parties might easily agree the final level of foreign aid should be appropriated. Yet, when partisanship is high, the negotiation will be tough and both parties may be forced to compromise. The level of foreign aid might reflect this compromise.

- Hypothesis 4: The impact of party control of Congress is moderated by the level of partisanship. The higher the level of partisanship, the lower the impact the Democratic Party control of Congress will have on the level of foreign aid.

As observed by many scholars, the institutional features of the House and the Senate are different. Therefore, we might also expect there will be different chamber influences for

partisanship and party seats on foreign aid levels. As argued by Souva and Rohde (2007, 116), the institutional features of the House are more majoritarian. There is less institutional power for the minority to contain the preferences of the majority. Therefore, the majority can impose its preference and the final outcome may reflect the policy positions of the majority. The institutional feature of the Senate, on the contrary, is more individualistic. Filibuster, for example, allows a single senator to block a legislative proposal favored by the majority. The absence of germaneness rules also enables a senator to propose legislation on whatever issue is raised on the floor. These Senate rules weaken the majority's power, thus complicating majority party efforts to dictate policy outcomes.

At the constituency level, the House members are closer to their constituents than Senate members. The biennial election for the House members provides a stronger incentive for the members to keep in touch with their constituents and this, theoretically, affects their effort to satisfy constituent demands. Due to their closeness to constituents, House members may be more concerned about the domestic impact of foreign policy decisions (McCormick and Wittkopf 1992). Senators, by contrast, typically have larger and more diverse constituents who eventually encourage them to take more moderate positions. In addition, because the Senate has more constitutionally delegated responsibilities in foreign policy than the House, senators may pay more attention to the White House than the sub-population of their constituents. Finally, the longer terms in office also free senators from some of the pressure of interest group (Souva and Rohde 2007). All these institutional differences allow the senators to be less partisan in foreign policy decisions than the House members. For all these reasons, I expected the effects of party seats (Democratic Party seats) and partisanship in the House to be more consequential on the

levels of foreign aid given to foreign countries than those same considerations in the Senate, which leads me to hypothesize:

- Hypothesis 5: The influence of Democratic Party seats and the level of partisanship with have larger effects in the House of Representatives than the Senate.

In the following section, I elaborate on the research design and the statistical procedures to test the hypotheses laid out above.

Research Design

To test the hypotheses, I used the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) data obtained from USAID's Foreign Aid Explorer.[36] The data set consists of all the programs financed by U.S foreign aid in foreign countries from 1946 to 2017. But for the current research, I used the subset of foreign aid data from 1960 to 2013. The time dimension of the research is limited by the availability of most of the economic data available in the World Bank database, which supplies most of the predictors in the models I tested. The foreign aid data are broken into three categories of aid: development, political, and military. Categorization of the aid is loosely based on Tarnoff and Lawson's (2016) aid categorization. The development aid consists of programs such as the Child Survival & Health program, Development Assistance, Trade and Development, Millennium Challenge program and Peace Corps program. Political aid is composed of programs such as Economic Support Funds, Democracy Promotion, the War on Terror, economic and political reform, combat against drugs, crime, and weapons proliferation. Finally, military aid consists of Foreign Military Financing (FMF), International Military

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[36] The data can be accessed at https://explorer.usaid.gov/data.html

Education and Training program (IMET), and Peacekeeping funds. I selected these programs and aggregated their amounts to the annual country-level commitments.

I excluded humanitarian aid such as Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA), Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance (ERMA), International Disaster Assistance, International Assistance Program (Transition Initiative), funds channeled through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Red Cross, the Food Aid/Food for Peace program, and the McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition program. I also excluded multilateral assistance channeled through international organizations such as UNICEF, UNDP, MDBs and World Bank. While these types of aid (Humanitarian Assistance and Multilateral Assistance) are interesting, they were not the focus of the current research.
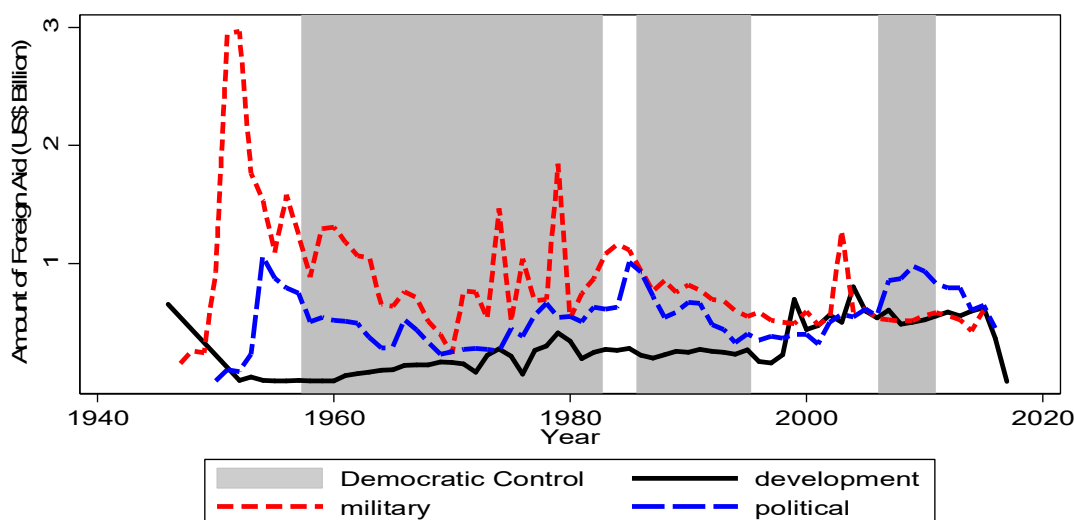

Figure 4-1. U.S. foreign aid by category.

The dependent variables are the proportion of each type of aid to the US Gross National Income (GNI). It is measured in percentage. This way of measuring aid has been used as the standard to gauge the levels of foreign aid of donors and their commitment to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In this research, the unit of analysis was the country-year amount of the three types of aid (as the percentage of US GNI). In total, 183 countries were examined for the period from 1960 to 2013.

The main independent variables were the proportion of Democratic Party seats in both chambers of Congress and the Party Unity Scores. The variable of Democratic Party Seats was measured as the percentage of seats controlled by the Democrats in each of the chambers. This variable was calculated using each Congress as the unit of analysis and chamber specific values were obtained. The data were obtained from the Vital Statistics of Congress (Ornstein et al. 2017). Meanwhile, the Party Unity Scores measured the internal cohesion of each of the parties in the roll-call votes. Party Unity Scores were measured as the proportion of all roll-call votes in a specific Congress where at least 50 percent of the Democrat caucus voted in opposition to at least 50 percent of the Republican conference (Hare and Poole 2014; Poole and Rosenthal 2007). Like the party seat variable, Party Unity Scores are also calculated using each Congress as the unit of analysis and chamber specific values were obtained. The data were obtained from Poole and Rosenthal's voteview webpage (Poole and Rosenthal 2015).

To avoid spurious relations in the model, I controlled for several factors that others have found can affect the variation in the amount of foreign aid given to the recipients. Because each type of aid has its own purpose, I also used some control variables specific to each type of aid. For the development aid, I controlled for the recipient's income per capita, infant mortality ratio,

population, trade volume with the US, economic openness, human right scores (physical integrity index), president ideology, US misery index, and US GDP growth rates.

Income per capita measures the average wealth of the recipient's population. It also measures the development need of a country for foreign aid. Some scholars observed that the needs of recipient countries are one of the reasons a donor gave foreign aid to the recipients (Alesina and Dollar 2000; Meernik, Krueger, and Poe 1998). It was expected that the US would give more development aid to the countries with low income per capita. This variable was measured as constant 2010 US$. Due to its skewness, I used logged income per capita to avoid statistical distortion in the estimation. The variable of income per capita was obtained from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (World Bank 2018).

Infant mortality ratio variable measures the general level of health of a country's population. It is defined as the number of deaths of infants under one year old per 1,000 live births. Like income per capita, this variable can also reflect the need of a country for foreign assistance. The expectation is that the higher a country's infant mortality rate, the higher the amount of development aid to be received by the country. The data were obtained from World Bank's World Development Indicator (World Bank 2018).

Following Kim (2017), I included the population to control for different impact of aid due to different population size. It is obvious that the impact of US$ 10 million aid on a country of 10 million population will be different from that of a country of 100 million population. I used logged population to avoid statistical distortion due to extreme variation. The expectation was that the larger a country's population is, the more aid the US will send to the country. The data on country population were obtained from World Bank's World Development Indicator (World Bank 2018).

Since the 1970s, the US Congress decided to tie foreign aid commitment to the recipient's human right practices (Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985; Martin 1992). Congress enacted that the amount of foreign aid sent to a country is conditional to the country's human practices. Therefore, I expected that countries with bad human right practices would receive less foreign aid by the US government. To capture the human right practices of a country, I included variable PHYSICAL INTEGRITY INDEX. This is an additive index constructed from the torture, extra-judicial killing, political imprisonment, and disappearance indicators. The final index ranges from 0 (no government respect for these four rights) to 8 (full government respect for these rights). The data were obtained from the CIRI Human Rights Index (Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay 2014).

While trade volume may represent a pragmatic reason for the US decision to give a country development aid, some scholars have found that this pragmatic reason exists. For example, Milner and Tingley (2010) found that legislators' support for development aid depended on whether the aid economically benefits the district the legislators represent. This economic motive is openly admitted by former USAID director James Atwood in a Hearings before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations on March 20, 1996, that the "USAID has particular importance in expanding new markets for the US economy…Developing countries are particularly good costumers for our high-value exports" (cited in Milner and Tingley 2010, 204) This implies that aid is a strategic tool to open up a recipient's market for US export. Therefore, I included the variable of trade volume between the US and the recipient country, and I expected that more aid would be channeled to countries with which US trade in the previous period was still low. Thus, there would be negative association between the amount of development aid to a recipient and the

trade volume between the recipient and the US. The data on trade volume between the US and the recipients were obtained from the Correlates of War (COW) Trade data – Version 4.0 (Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins 2009)

Related to the US effort to open up a recipient's market through foreign aid, economic openness should be one of the important criteria in the US's decision to give money to a foreign country. Liberalization of the recipient's economy enables the US to penetrate the market of the recipient more freely not only through the trade but also through investment. In addition, because liberalization is one of the 10 pillars of the Washington Consensus espoused by the US in developing economies (Williamson 1993), liberalization of recipient markets should be an important factor to give development aid. This is empirically supported by some research. For example, Alesina and Dollar (2000, 39) found that economic openness was a significant determinant for shaping the bilateral aid. For this reason, I expected that the US would increase its development aid to countries showing good performance in their liberalization policy. I used the Economic Globalization Index as a measure for the economic openness (Gygli, Haelg, and Sturm 2018)

To account for the domestic political and economic factors related to variations in the amount of foreign aid given to the recipients, I controlled for presidential policy preferences and the economic health. Presidential policy preference is simply measured using Poole and Rosenthal's presidential DW-NOMINATE mean scores. These scores, however, are constant over the entire period of each of the presidents' administration. It was expected that liberal presidents would be inclined to support higher development aid to recipient countries.

For the economic impact of foreign aid decision, I controlled for two common economic measures: GDP growth and the misery index. The former reflects the general health of the

economy (Krugman and Wells 2013). Higher GDP growth indicates strong performance of the economy. It was expected that when the economy is in good shape, the US government will increase its foreign assistance to the recipients, *ceteris paribus*. Meanwhile, the misery index, an additive index composed of inflation and unemployment, reflects the economic problems encountered by the US. It was expected that when the economy is in trouble, the amount of foreign aid given to recipient countries will diminish. Both data on US economic growth and misery index (unemployment and inflation) were obtained from the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Economic data (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2018a).

Finally, I also controlled for region. Control for regions was aimed at taking unobserved heterogeneity among regions. Some regions are dominated by poor countries or suffer protected conflicts and famine issues (e.g., Sub-Saharan Africa) that eventually shape the decision to allocate foreign aid. Some other regions might traditionally be the focus of US foreign aid for strategic reasons. I included six regional dummies (East Asia and Oceania, Middle East and North Africa, South and Central Asia, Sub-Sahara Africa, Europe and Eurasia, and Western Hemisphere). Western Hemisphere was the referent category.

For the military aid model, I used several control variables. First, I used the physical integrity index to account for human rights practices of the recipients. Again, because the US Congress adopted resolutions that tied US foreign aid to the human rights performance of the recipients, I expected positive association between the measure of human right practice (physical integrity index) of the recipient and the amount of military aid provided by the US to the recipient. Second, to control for American political preference for democratic governance, I controlled for recipient's democracy status. The recipient's democracy status was measured based on its polity scores ranging from -10 (absolute authoritarianism) to 10 (full democracy).

The data used here were from Polity IV (Marshall, Gurr, and Jaggers 2014), which scores a country's level of democracy according to indicators such as government composition, elections, political participation, and so on. Because one of the agenda in foreign aid policy is to promote democracy (Meernik, Krueger and Poe 1998; Alesina and Dollar 2000; Peterson and Scott 2017; Scott and Carter 2017; Scott and Steele 2011), I expected a positive correlation between foreign aid and the democratic status of the recipient country (more democratic countries received more money). However, due to the possibility of endogeneous relations between the democracy index and foreign aid (Knack 2004), I lagged a country's democracy status by one year. Thus, it should have been clear that it was democracy that affected the amount of foreign aid rather than the other way round.

Third, because military aid is mostly aimed at strengthening allies, the amount of military aid should be related to the alliance commitment between the US and the recipients (Poe and Meernik 1995). To capture for this alliance effect, I also controlled the alliance status of the recipients. The data came from the Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions (ATOP). These data categorized alliance status into five groups based on the treaty obligations agreed by states joining the alliance: defense pact, offence pact, neutrality pact, non-aggression pact, and consultation pact (Leeds 2005). Defense pact refers to a formal commitment of members to help each other in case one of them is attacked by outsiders. NATO is an example of this kind of pact (Gibler 2009; Leeds 2005; Leeds et al. 2002). Offense pact is a formal commitment of members to help each other in attacking a target. This type of alliance typically existed before World War I. In neutrality pact, countries are formally committed to doing nothing in case a member of the pact goes to war against another country (be it outsider or another member of the pact). The main purpose of this pact is to prevent a country (usually a powerful country) from helping another

country (usually a weaker country) in case there is a conflict or war with a member of the pact.
Non-aggression pact is a formal commitment between countries in which the countries will not
attack each other. An example of this pact is Soviet-Germany Non-Aggression Pact of 1939.
Finally, the consultation pact generally refers to an informal alliance between the US and another
country. This informal alliance generally comes in the form of mutual understanding on some
international issues. But, there is no obligation of one country to do something to other country
under certain situations. Because I was interested in seeing the effect of being American defense
ally only, I dummy-coded the variable where I assigned the value of 1 if the recipient was a
member of US defense ally and the value of 0 otherwise. As the strategic aid argument suggests
(McKinley and Little 1977; 1979), I expected a positive association between the variable of
alliance and the amount of US military aids received by the country.

Fourth, since military aid is also aimed at achieving political and diplomatic interests,
that is, to strengthen US political position in the UN, I also controlled for the political affinity of
the recipients and the US. For this, I used the Affinity of Nations index, which provides a metric
that reflects the similarity of state preferences based on voting positions of pairs of countries
(dyads) in the United Nations General Assembly. The data range from -1 (least similar interest
between the US and the recipient) to +1 (most similar interest between the US and the recipient).
The data were obtained from Bailey, Strezhnev, and Voeten (2017). The expectation was that the
US would give more military aid to the countries supporting the US in UN voting. Because there
is an endogeneity concern about the relationship between the two variables (aid and voting
alignment with the US in the UN), I lagged the variable of the Affinity of Nations index one
year, indicating that aid decision was based on the recipient's voting record in the UN.

Fifth, as military aid is often related to conflict situation, I also controlled for the level of global conflict intensity and the conflict situation of the recipients. The global conflict intensity measures the level of conflict intensity in every conflict in the world annually. This conflict intensity is categorized into five levels: dispute, non-violent crisis, violent crisis, limited war, and war and is assigned the scale of 1-5. I then averaged the intensity level of all conflicts identified in the data set for each year. The data were obtained from the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (Schwank et al. 2017). I expected a positive relationship between conflict intensity levels and the general level of US foreign military assistance.

Sixth, because military aid consists of peacekeeping aid, the conflict situation in a country determines the amount of military aid sent to the foreign country. The conflict situation takes a dichotomous value of 0/1. The value of 0 represents the absence of conflict in a country, while the value of 1 indicates the presence of conflict in a country. The data were obtained from the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) Data on Armed Conflicts.[37]

Seventh, some research has found that aid was also an instrument of US Cold War containment (Meernik, Krueger and Poe 1998; McKinley and Little 1977; 1979). The US tended to give aid to countries bordering the communist states during the Cold War era to support the countries in their effort to prevent the spread of communism (Meernik, Krueger and Poe 1998). To control for this Cold War containment policy, I included the variable Communist Border that was coded dichotomously. The value of 1 was assigned to the countries bordering with former communist states and the value of 0 was assigned to countries not bordering the former communist states.

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[37] The data on the country's conflict situation can be accessed from https://www.prio.org/Data/Armed-Conflict/

To account for the US economic capacity to give military assistance, I controlled for the US economic health represented by the US GDP growth and the US economic problem represented by the misery index. I also controlled for the period of global conflicts: The Cold War Era and the Global War on Terror. The Cold War Era was a binary category. The value of 1 indicated the period from 1947 to 1991 and 0 was from 1992 onward. The Global War on Terror period also was given a binary category. I assigned the value of 1 to the period of post 9/11 event. I assigned the value of 0 to the period before the event. Finally, to account for unobserved factors related to regions of the world, I included six regions in the model: East Asia and Oceania, Europe and Eurasia, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Central Asia, and the Western Hemisphere (as the referent category).

Since political aid contains elements of strategic, economic and security issues, I used all control variables present in both the development and military aid models. In general, the political aid model is a baseline model to show the null effect of party on foreign aid.

Model

Because I was interested in examining the impact of party preference and partisan behavior on the amount of foreign aid given to the recipient countries on average, population average panel model was more appropriate here.[38] And because foreign aid sent to a recipient in

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[38] Although some scholars used Heckman Selection model to estimate the effect of covariates on the aid levels (e.g., Blanton 2005, Drury et al., 2005; Meernik et al., 2005; Scott and Carter 2017), I used a population-average panel model because the substantive question I was asking is more appropriately addressed using this model. Rather than focusing the effect of country-specific attributes on the aid levels provided by the US over time, I wanted to see if the common attributes shared by all the cases (that is, the partisanship and party control in the US) affected the levels of particular aid in general. I was not interested in seeing, for example, how being a US ally affected the amount of aid given to, say, Egypt or Israel. Rather, I am interested in seeing how the change in party control affects the level of aid across all countries over the years. The population-average panel model can be seen as an alternative to the time series model, which mostly suffer from the problem of small observations (e.g., for the US case, we have only 53 year-observations).

a particular year has an effect on the amount the US gave in the following year, there is a problem of correlated data. For these reasons, I used a Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE). Not only is a GEE method appropriate for the question I was asking, it also has an advantage for longitudinal/panel data in that it can model the covariance structure of the correlated responses within a cluster.

The GEE model uses the marginal approach to correlated data.[39] This approach is different from the subject-specific method in that subject-specific, sometimes called a conditional method, models the probability distribution of the dependent variable as a function of covariates and a cluster-specific parameter. In marginal models, in contrast, we simply model the marginal (or population-average) expectation of the dependent variable as a function of the covariates. Thus, the two methods have different logics about the effect of covariates on the response variable and the nature of within-cluster correlations.[40]

According to Diggle, Liang and Zegger (as cited in Zorn 2001, 474), a marginal model, like GEE, tries to "model … the average response over sub-population that shares a common value of X." Consequently, we do not need to include the individual (cluster-specific) effects in the model like we do in conditional (cluster-specific) models.[41] Nevertheless, intra-cluster correlation is taken into account by adjusting the covariance matrix of the parameter based on assumptions about the nature of the relationships among observations within a cluster.

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[39] The discussion in this section is based primarily on Hardin and Hilbe (2013), and Zorn (2001).

[40] GEE is actually the generalized version of what is known as *Pooled Feasible Least Squares* (PFGLS) estimator in econometric literature. PFGLS is a special case of GEE because it applies only to normal Gaussian family. In Stata, it can be estimated using *xtreg* with *pa* option. See Cameron and Trivedi (2010).

[41] In conditional model, individual effects are estimated in the model either directly by including the fixed effects of clusters in the model, like what we do in fixed effect (FE) panel models, or indirectly by assuming that the unobserved individual effects follow some distribution (typically normal distribution) and estimate its variance along with other parameters in the model, like we do in a random effect (RE) panel model.

Because marginal models and conditional models take a different approach to estimate the impact of the covariates on the response variable, the interpretation of the parameter estimates is also different. In a conditional model, for example, we interpret the coefficient β_C as the effect of a change in X_{it} on the amount of Y_{it} (or probability of Y_{it} for the categorical response) for the same individual i (i.e., for each observation T within the same individual i). In contrast, in a marginal model, we interpret the population-average coefficient β_M as the average effect of a change in X_{it} on the amount of Y_{it} across the entire population. Based on this difference, it is clear that for the question in the current research, a GEE model is more appropriate because this research examined the effects of party control and partisanship on the level of particular aid in general or across entire population. In other words, it assessed the general propensity of Democrats and Republicans toward particular forms of foreign aid. It did not investigate the effect of partisanship on the amount of foreign aid given to a particular nation.

A GEE model is part of the quasi-likelihood methods. Different from full maximum likelihood methods that require specification of full conditional distribution of the dependent variable, a quasi-likelihood method only requires the functional forms of the relationship between the expected value of the dependent variable and the covariates and between the conditional mean and the variance of the outcome variable. Generally, the formal logic is borrowed from Generalized Linear Models (GLMs). In fact, GEE is an extension of GLMs (commonly used for cross sectional data) to the correlated data (Liang and Zeger 1986; Zorn 2001).

Assume that our dependent variable is Y_{it} and K number of predictors is X_{it} where i indexes the N units of analysis (the recipient countries) i = {1, 2, ... N}, and t indexes the T time points (year) t = {1, 2, ... T}. Written in the form of a column vector of observations on the

outcome variable for country i, $Y_i = [Y_{i1}, Y_{i2}, \dots Y_{iT}]$, and denoting the expected value of the dependent variable for country i, $E(Y_i)$, as μ_i, then the general relationship between the mean of the response variable and the predictors can be written as

$$g(\mu_i) = X_i'\beta \qquad (1)$$

Where β is the $K \times 1$ vector of parameters; g is known as the link function, that is the function that relates the expected value of the response variable to the linear term, $X_i\beta$; and X_i is the $T \times K$ matrix of the predictors. Notice we do not need to use the likelihood function to specify the joint distribution of the response variable, the covariates, and the parameters as we do in the class of maximum likelihood methods. Instead we simply use the link function. The use of link function is determined by the distribution of the response variable. Because the foreign aid variable is a continuous measure, I used the identity link function so that

$$\mu_i = X_i'\beta \qquad (2)$$

The variance V_i of the outcome variable, Y_i, is specified as a function g of the mean. In simple cross-sectional data, we can specify the variance V_i as

$$V_i = \frac{g(\mu_i)}{\phi} \qquad (3)$$

Where ϕ is the scale parameter. Because GEE is aimed at analyzing correlated data within a group/unit/panel where $T > 1$, we need to account for the dependence across T. The solution provided by Liang and Zeger (1986) is to specify $T \times T$ matrix $R_i(\alpha)$ of the correlation across T for a given Y_i. While the unknown parameter α will determine the form of the matrix $R_i(\alpha)$, the structure of α is determined by the investigator. The matrix $R_i(\alpha)$ varies across T but is constant across clusters. This correlation matrix then changes the variance in (3) into:

$$V_i = \frac{(A_i)^{\frac{1}{2}} R_i(\alpha) (A_i)^{\frac{1}{2}}}{\phi} \tag{4}$$

Where A_i are the $T \times T$ diagonal matrix with $g(\mu_{it})$ as the tth diagonal element. This new variance equation enters into a set of k "quasi-scores"[42] differential equation, which is the solution offered by Liang and Zeger (1986) to find the quasi-likelihood estimate of β:

$$U_k(\beta) = \sum_{i=1}^{N} D_i' V_i^{-1} (Y_i - \mu_i) = 0 \tag{5}$$

Where $D_i = \frac{\mu_i}{\beta}$ and V_i as in (4). A properly specified model will asymptotically return $E[U_k(\beta)] = 0$ and $Cov[U_k(\beta)] = D_i' V^{-1} D_i$. Thus, the function $U(\beta)$ behaves like the first derivative of the log-likelihood or score function. The estimates of β are obtained by satisfying the condition that $U(\beta) = 0$. As noted by Zeger, Liang, and Albert (1988, as cited in Zorn 2001, 472), I chose β that makes $\mu(\beta)$ as close as possible to the average expectation of Y_i and optimally weight each residual $Y_i - \mu_i$ by the inverse of $Cov(Y_i)$.

The main advantage of GEE is that it offers a range of options to specify the within-cluster correlation structure. We can define the within-cluster correlation structure based on our assumption about the data generating process (DGP). Even though we incorrectly specified the correlation structure, the estimate $\hat{\beta}$ is still consistent and asymptotically unbiased. However, the variance of $\hat{\beta}$ is larger when we incorrectly specify the working correlation structure. Thus, the estimate of $\hat{\beta}$ is not accurate if the within-cluster correlation structure is wrong. Nonetheless, we can correct the standard error by using a robust estimate of variance-covariance matrix of $\hat{\beta}$:

$$Var\left(\widehat{\beta_{GEE}}\right) = N\left(\sum_{i=1}^{N} \widehat{D_i'} \widehat{V_i^{-1}} \widehat{D_i}\right)^{-1} \left[\sum_{i=1}^{N} \widehat{D_i'} \widehat{V_i^{-1}} S_i \widehat{V_i^{-1}} \widehat{D_i}\right] \left(\sum_{i=1}^{N} \widehat{D_i'} \widehat{V_i^{-1}} \widehat{D_i}\right)^{-1} \tag{6}$$

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[42] The quasi-score function is essentially the score function (the first derivative of log-likelihood) applied to quasi-likelihood models.

Where $S_i = (Y_i - \hat{\mu}_i)(Y_i - \hat{\mu}_i)'$ is an empirical covariance estimate. For this research, I specified the autoregressive of order 1 (AR1) of the within-cluster correlation structure defined as $R_i(\alpha) = \rho^{|t-s|}$. I assumed that $|\rho| < 1.0$ and that the resulting vector $[1, \rho, \rho^2, ...]$ are the same across observations (T). For safety, I also used robust standard error as specified above for the model.

Missing Data

Generally, there are three categories of missing data (Little and Rubin 2002). The first category of data is missing completely at random (MCAR). In this case, the probability of data being missing does not depend on the observed and unobserved data. This kind of missing data does not pose a serious threat to our inference because our estimates will be unbiased if we run analysis with listwise deletion. The second type is missing at random (MAR). Here, the probability of data being missing depends on the observed data. For example, data on economic or development indicators for the developing countries typically are incomplete. If we can include the income category of a country in the model, we can examine if the probability of several variables being missing depends on the income status of a country. If it is so, then we have a problem of MAR because the probability of some data being missing depends on the income status of a country, an observed variable. Finally, there is the so-called missing data not at random (MNAR). In MNAR, the probability of data being missing depends on the unobserved data. For example, if the probability of several indicators being missing for a particular country depends on the country itself, then the data are MNAR.

While the first type of missing data is not problematic, the second and third types of missing data problem are perilous to the inference because they can bias the estimate. However, the MNAR cannot be detected because the cause is unobserved factors. But, they can be made

MAR if more data are collected and tested to determine if the probability of their missingness depends on the observed data we collected. MAR data can be examined by running a simple t-test comparing the mean of the observed variables between the non-missing and missing groups. If the difference is statistically significant, there is a problem of MAR.

While in many models, missing data are not very problematic, they have serious consequences for the GEE. This is because GEEs do not specify full conditional likelihood, so the specification of a working correlation matrix is very much reliant on the arrangement of the values in the dependent variables. Consequently, missing the past values of the dependent variable will make the GEE estimates less robust to the misspecification of the working correlation structure. Under this situation, we have to make sure that the working correlation structures are correct to maintain the consistency of estimate of β (Zeger and Liang 1986 as cited in Zorn 2001, 477). The threat of missing data worsens when the extent of the missing data is high.

Because time-series cross-sectional data on countries are prone to a missing data problem, we cannot ignore this issue when using GEE. In this research, I found that approximately 60 percent of data in all three foreign aid models are missing. Because the extent of missing data is high, I had to deal with it to avoid biased and inconsistent estimates of the parameters. For this reason, I used a multiple imputation (MI) technique. The main idea of MI is to estimate a set of plausible values for the missing cells in the vectors of the data using the distribution of the observed data (White, Royston, and Wood 2011, 377). Thus, rather than putting a single value into a missing data point in a variable, MI estimates some values using the distribution of the observed data. In generating these estimated values, random components are included to reflect uncertainty around the true value. Because there are multiple values for each

of the missing observations, MI generates multiple data sets. Subsequently, each of the multiple data sets is analyzed to obtain a set of parameter estimates. Finally, each of the parameter estimates from every data set are averaged to obtain the overall coefficient estimate as well as their variances and confidence intervals.

Multiple imputation is based on the assumption the data are MAR. Running a series of t-tests comparing the means of observed data for the missing and non-missing groups in the data, I found a significant difference between the two groups. The intuition also supports the assumption of MAR. For example, the US tends to give development assistance to lower income countries. Because most of the missing data belong to developing countries,[43] development assistance can be a predictor for the probability of data being missing. A series of t-tests comparing the mean of development aid between missing and non-missing data for some variables show significant differences in the mean of development aid between missing and non-missing data. Therefore, the assumption that data are MAR is met.

When data are MAR, multiple imputation should definitely be used because running model analysis using standard listwise deletion will bias the estimate (see Buuren 2012; Enders 2010). As suggested before, doing multiple imputation entails a three-step procedure.[44] First, we generate multiply imputed data sets. In this phase, we replace the unknown missing data by m independent simulated sets of values drawn from the posterior predictive distribution of the missing data conditional on the observed data. Suppose we have some missing data for a

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[43] This is not surprising given the lack of knowledge, technology, and infrastructure in developing countries often impede the collection of reliable data. See (Runde 2017; Wubetie 2017)

[44] The description of the MI procedure here is heavily drawn from White, Royston, and Wood (2011)

variable, Y_i. The estimated values replacing the missing data in Y_i are obtained by the following algorithm[45]:

1. Regress the variable Y_i on all other variables in our model and yield an estimate $\hat{\beta}$ and covariance matrix V. Suppose we obtain the regression model as $Y_i^* = X\hat{\beta} + \epsilon$, where ϵ is the residuals from normal distribution.

2. Fill the missing values in Y_i with the predicted scores ($\hat{Y}_1$) generated from the regression models but add the error components. Adding residual components is important to restore the variability of the imputed values.

3. Estimate the mean and variance of the missing variable, Y_i. Assume that the posterior distribution of the mean is normal with the standard deviation $\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{\sqrt{N}}$, we generate the new estimate of the mean of Y_i (for the next N of the same Y_i) by adding to the previously obtained mean of Y_i the residual value randomly drawn from the normal distribution (with mean zero and the standard deviation as obtained above) using Monte Carlo simulation. Adding this residual to the existing mean of Y_i will generate a new unique mean of Y_i which is different from the previous mean. Adding a residual term to the new covariance matrix element will also produce a new covariance matrix but with a different residual distribution (usually inverse Wishart distribution due to the multivariate covariance matrix).

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[45] The step to generate multiply imputed data sets uses the Bayesian method because it assumes that the parameter estimate is a random variable following a particular distribution. The logic of generating a sequence of parameter values to be used in generating the coefficient estimates and the predicted values to fill the missing cells in the data set uses a Gibbs sampling method commonly used in Bayesian frameworks. See for example Enders (2010). For Gibbs sampling method, see Gelman et al. (2013)

4. Using the new mean and variance of Y_i, estimate a new set of regression coefficients and fill in the missing data with new predicted scores plus the residual.

5. Repeat the procedure 3 and 4 m-times to obtain m multiply imputed data sets.

Second, we analyzed separate multiply imputed data sets to generate the estimate we want, i.e., the regression coefficients and their variances. Because we used multiple data sets (with different values filled into the missing cells in the variable) to fit the regression models, we had m coefficients of $\hat{\beta}$ and their standard errors. In the third phase, we combined the coefficients and their variances to produce the final estimate and its variance-covariance matrix. We combined the coefficient estimates from these m MI models using Rubin's rule:

$$\bar{\theta} = \frac{1}{m}\sum_{j=1}^{m}\hat{\theta}_J \tag{7}$$

Where $\hat{\theta}_J$ is the coefficient estimate from the multiply imputed data j and $\bar{\theta}$ is the mean of all these estimates, which is the final estimate of the regression coefficient. To construct the final variance-covariance matrix from these m-imputed data sets, we needed to take into account not only the within-imputation variability but also the between-imputation variability. Thus, we constructed a final variance-covariance matrix as

$$Var(\bar{\theta}) = \mathbf{W} + \left(1 + \frac{1}{m}\right)\mathbf{B} \tag{8}$$

Where $\mathbf{W} = \left(\frac{1}{m}\right)\sum_{j=1}^{m}Var(\hat{\theta}_J)$ is the within-imputation variance. $\mathbf{B} = \sum_{j=1}^{m}(\hat{\theta}_J - \bar{\theta})^2/(m-1)$ is the between-imputation variance. In the current research, the imputation procedure was implemented in R using the Amelia II package (Honaker, King, and Blackwell 2011). Amelia assumes that all the variables in the imputation model have a joint multivariate normal distribution. It runs the procedure using a combination of an EM (Expectation-Maximization) algorithm and the bootstrapping approach called Expectation-Maximization with Bootstrap

(EMB). The bootstrap approach is used in generating multiple bootstrapped samples of the

original incomplete data from which an estimated value is randomly drawn to fill in the missing
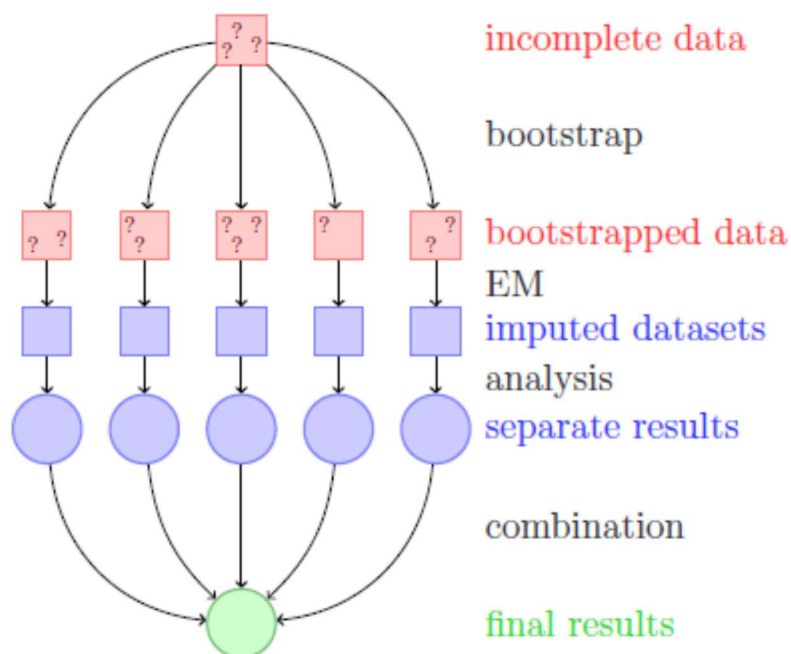
data.

Figure 4-2. Scheme of MI procedure in Amelia II.

To see the appropriateness of our multiple imputation model, we ran some diagnostics,

the most important of which was to test the convergence of multiple initial values to see whether

the imputation models were affected by the initial values. This test was important because the

imputation models relied on the EM algorithm, which in turn also depended on the likelihood of

the data. Poor likelihood of the data will complicate the ability of the EM algorithm in finding

the global maximum of the likelihood surface and the starting values can begin to affect the

imputations (Honaker, King and Blackwell 2011, 29-30).[46] Thus, it was important to make sure the different starting values converged to the same single value in the EM chains. I display the diagnostic test for each of imputation data (development aid, military aid and political aid data) in Appendix C. As shown in Appendix C, all starting values converged to the single value in all EM chains.

Another diagnostic test that we can do to make sure the imputations are appropriate is to compare the distribution (density) between the observed data and the complete data created by a multiple imputation process. Appropriate imputation models return an approximately similar shape of the distribution. However, we needed to remember that multiple imputation is not intended to make up the data. What we did in the multiple imputation was reproduce the variance-covariance matrix we would have observed had our data not been missing (Multiple Imputation in Stata n.d.). Thus, we did not need to have an exactly similar shape of the distribution between the observed data and the complete data produced by multiple imputation. I present the results of the density comparison for all variables having missing values in Appendix C. As seen from the graphs, the distributions of observed and complete data in the variables are approximately similar.

<center>Results and Analysis</center>

Table 4-1 presents the GEE model for the development aid. As seen in Table 4-1, the impact of partisanship and Democratic Party seats on development aid only applies to the House.

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[46] Suppose the starting values are close to the local maximum, the EM algorithm can falsely claim this local maximum as the global one even though there might be a real global maximum farther away. The question is how do we know that the maximum surface found by the EM algorithm is the real global maximum? The answer is by running an EM algorithm from multiple starting values and checking for their convergence, that is the diagnosis we have to do to check our multiple imputation models. See Honaker, King and Blackwell (2011).

In the House, a percentage point increase in the Democratic party seats was expected to increase the proportion of development aid as the percentage of GNI, on average, by 0.000005 percentage point. Although the proportion of an increase is very small, converted into an absolute value, this yields an increase of around US$ 309,500.00. The impact of partisan behavior in the House is also quite large. One unit increase in Party Unity Scores is expected to push the proportion of development aid as the percentage of GNI by 0.000301 percentage point, or translated into the absolute amount, by around US$ 18.6 million.[47]

However, the unconditional marginal effect interpretation of the impact of partisanship and the Democratic Party seats on the proportion of development aid to GNI does not make sense because it does not include the conditioning variable. For example, because we have never seen the absence of partisanship since 1960, assuming the partisanship is zero does not make statistical interpretation realistic. Therefore, it was important to interpret the impact of Democratic Party seats in the House by considering the level of partisanship. In other words, we needed to include the interaction effect between partisanship and the Democratic party seats in the House. As the Figure 4-3 displays, when we hold Party Unity Scores at their mean value (.49), the positive impact of Democratic Party seats on the proportion of development aid to GNI provided to recipient countries drops to 0.000001773 percentage point or around US$ 109,797.64.[48]

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[47] These are the unconditional marginal effect rather than the conditional marginal effect, that is the effect of a unit change in Democratic seats (or Chamber Party Unity Scores) on the proportion of development aid to the GNI, assuming that the conditioning variable (i.e., the Chamber Party Unity Scores in the case of measuring the marginal effect of Democratic seats) is zero. Thus, for example, assuming both parties do not behave partisan at all, then one percentage point increase in the Democratic party in the House is expected to increase the proportion of development aid to GNI by around 0.000005 percentage point or more than US$ 309.500.00. The percentage point is measured as the proportion of aid to the mean of GNI (US$ 6,190 billion).

[48] The conditional marginal effect of Democratic Party seats in the House, holding the level of partisanship at its mean (.49), is computed as

Table 4-1

Partisanship, Democratic Control and Development Aid: House and Senate

	(1) House Model	(2) Senate Model
Main Predictors:		
Chamber Party Unity Scores	.000301[***] (.000102)	.0000711 (.000202)
Democratic Seats (%)	.00000488[***] (.00000143)	.00000310 (.00000211)
Chamber PUS x Dem. Seats (%)	-.00000634[***] (.00000207)	-.000000980 (.00000402)
Controls:		
Recipient Population	.0000148[***] (.00000366)	.0000149[***] (.00000356)
Infant Mortality Index[t-1]	.000000208[**] (.000000106)	.000000207[**] (.000000105)
Logged GDP per Capita [t-1]	-.00000511[*] (.00000275)	-.00000483[*] (.00000267)
U.S. Misery Index [t-1]	-.00000237[***] (.000000681)	-.00000209[***] (.000000690)
U.S. Growth [t-1]	.000268[***] (.0000877)	.000154[***] (.0000590)
President Ideology	.00000694[**] (.00000327)	.0000111[***] (.00000354)

Table continued on next page

$\%Development_a id/GNI = 0.00000488 + (-0.00000634 \times 0.49) = 0.000001773$. Converted into the absolute value, it amounts to US\$ 109,797.64. Computed for the low level of partisanship (when Party Unity Scores is at .29), the impact of one percentage point increase in Democratic Party seats in the House is about US\$ 188,321.84. When the Party Unity Scores is at its highest level (.67), the percentage point impact of Democratic Party seats in the House drops significantly to around US\$ 39,150.63.

Table cont. from previous page

Human Rights Scores	-6.03e-08 (.000000851)	9.58e-09 (.000000833)
Economic Openness [t-1]	.000000855*** (.000000323)	.000000848*** (.000000322)
Trade Relations with US	-.00000187* (.00000102)	-.00000173* (.00000100)
East Asia and Oceania	-.0000467 (.0000333)	-.0000464 (.0000334)
Europe and Eurasia	-.000118*** (.0000212)	-.000118*** (.0000213)
Middle East and N. Africa	-.0000978*** (.0000236)	-.0000981*** (.0000237)
South and C. Asia	-.0000288 (.0000555)	-.0000282 (.0000557)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-.00000567 (.0000291)	-.00000507 (.0000291)
Constant	-.000339*** (.000120)	-.000275** (.000119)
Observations	8428	8428
# of Countries	157	157
# of Imputation	150	150
F-statistics	4.846***	4.786***

Reference Category: Western Hemisphere
Robust-clustered standard error in parentheses
* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Despite the moderation effect of partisanship on the impact of Democratic Party seats on

the development aid in the House, it is precisely at the higher level of partisanship that party

seats begin to take effect on the proportion of development to GNI provided to the recipient countries. As the Figure 4-3 reveals, for the House, the effect of Democratic Party seats on the development aid when partisanship is low is indifferent than zero. The 95% confidence interval for the parameter estimate of Democratic Party seats when Party Unity Scores are at the one percentile includes zero. Yet when the Party Unity Scores are at the 50th percentile or above, the effect of Democratic Party seats on the development aid is significantly different from zero. This result might not be surprising given the House is the majoritarian institution. When partisanship is lower, both parties are more likely to collaborate to set the level of development aid to be provided to foreign countries. Thus, party seats do not have an impact on the level of aid because both parties tend to agree each other.

Yet when partisanship is higher, both parties have difficulty cooperating to set the level of foreign aid. Under this situation, both parties tend to be persistent in their own interest and policy position (on the foreign aid level). As the majoritarian institution, the majority party will always prevail and the policy outcomes (the level of development aid) will reflect the dominant party preference (the Democrats). Thus, the party seats will have a more obvious effect on the level of development aid. Even so, the rate of change in the proportion of development aid to GNI predicted from the change in Democratic Party seats slows down as the partisanship becomes stronger. This should not surprise us because foreign aid is part of the appropriation bills that have to be decided annually. Because the bills have to be decided, both parties have to compromise their policy positions regarding the level of foreign aid. Although the policy

outcome will still reflect the preference of the dominant party, the impact of party seats weakens
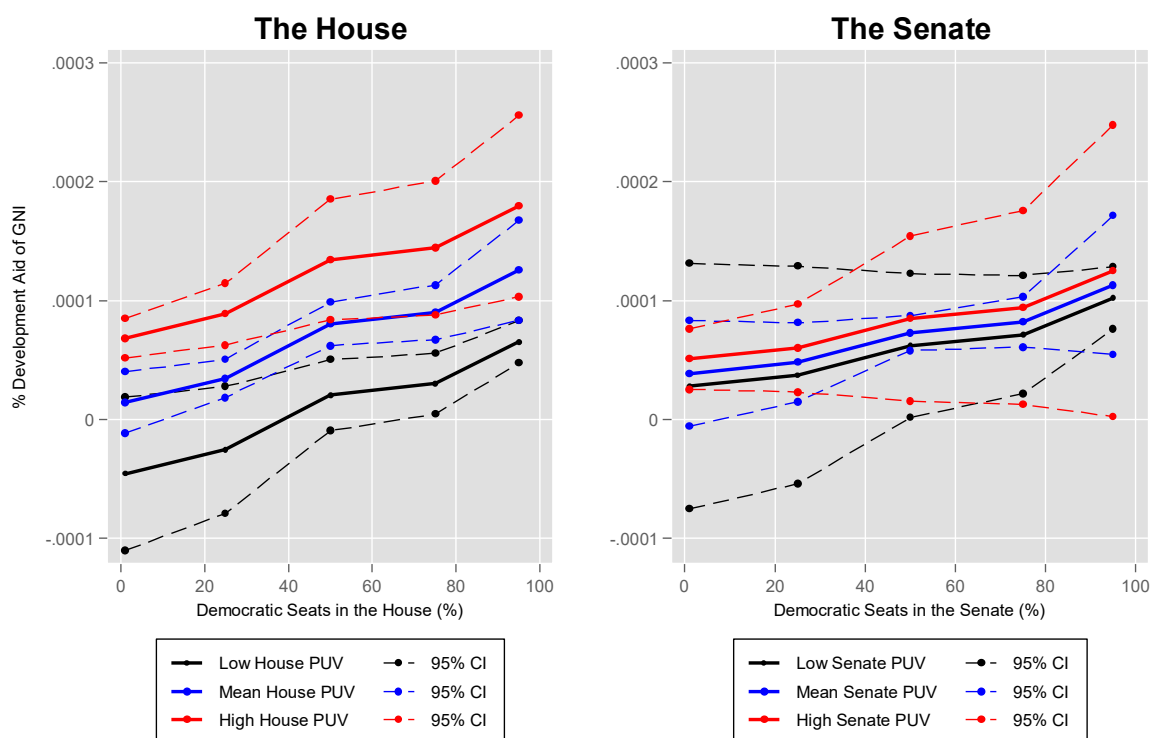
due to this compromise.[49]

Figure 4-3. Partisanship, Democratic seats in Congress and U.S. development aid.

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[49] The weakening effect is measured from the point at which the level of partisanship begins to affect the relationship between party seat and the proportion of development aid to the GNI. So, for example, because the level of partisanship begins to affect the impact of party seat at its 50th percentile, we can compare the effect of Democratic Party seats on the proportion of development aid to GNI when the Party Unity Scores are at the 50th percentile and when Party Unity Scores are at the 75th percentile and with that when Party Unity Scores are at the 95th percentile. Thus, the impact of Democratic Party seats weakens when partisanship is at the 95th percentile compared to when partisanship is at, say, the 75th percentile and even more, compared to when the partisanship is at the 50th percentile.

Unsurprisingly, the same expectation is not met in the Senate where the 95% confidence bounds of high-level partisanship overlaps with the 95% confidence bounds of low-level partisanship. Because the 95% confidence interval of the low-level partisanship includes zero, this means that the Democratic Party seats have no effect on the development aid at both levels of partisanship. However, this result should be anticipated given that partisan behavior is stronger in the House than the Senate. As some scholars suggest, the institutional features of both chambers are different. The individual nature of the institution of the Senate cancels out the effect of party seats on foreign aid policy. Furthermore, the diverse constituency represented by a senator enables the senator to take more moderate position, thus partisanship is less extreme in the Senate than in the House (McCormick and Wittkopf 1992).

The impact of Party Unity Scores on military aid seems to be significant in both the House and the Senate as exhibited in Table 4-2. Unconditionally, a one unit increase in the House Party Unity Scores can be expected to lower the proportion of military aid to the GNI by 0.03 percentage point or around US$ 1.86 billion. In the Senate, the same rate of increase in the Party Unity Scores lowers the proportion of military aid to the GNI by 0.04 percentage point or around US$ 2.5 billion. However, the impact of Democratic Party seats is statistically significant only in the House chamber. Here, a one percentage point increase in the Democratic seat is predicted to decrease the proportion of military aid to the GNI by 0.0003 percentage point or US$ 18.6 million. Although the drop in the proportion of military aid to the GNI as a result of a one percentage point change in the Democratic seat in the Senate is higher, the imprecise measure (indicated by higher standard error and wider confidence interval) leads it to be indistinguishable from zero.

Table 4-2

Partisanship, Democratic Control and Military Aid: House and Senate

	(1) House Model	(2) Senate Model
Main Predictors:		
Chamber Party Unity Scores	-.0294[**] (.0128)	-.0404[**] (.0196)
Democratic Seats (%)	-.000268[**] (.000131)	-.000349 (.000212)
Chamber PUS x Dem.Seats (%)	.000574[**] (.000228)	.000776[**] (.000362)
Controls:		
Human Rights Scores	-.000551[**] (.000278)	-.000549[**] (.000276)
Recipient Democracy Status	.0000528 (.0000649)	.0000551 (.0000638)
Voting Affinity of Recipient[t-1]	.00304[***] (.00115)	.00288[**] (.00118)
Cold War	.00277[***] (.000819)	.00258[***] (.000831)
Recipient is US Ally	.00517[***] (.00149)	.00520[***] (.00150)
U.S. Misery Index [t-1]	-.000123[*] (.0000652)	-.000157[***] (.0000442)
President Ideology	.000326 (.000225)	.000581[**] (.000227)
U.S. Growth [t-1]	.00834 (.00709)	.0124 (.00760)

Table cont. on previous page

Post 9/11 period	.000956[*]	.000804
	(.000512)	(.000527)
Global Conflict Intensity	.00107[*]	.00121[**]
	(.000563)	(.000583)
Communist-bordered State	.00193	.00193
	(.00120)	(.00119)
Recipient in Conflict	.000167	.000199
	(.000818)	(.000812)
East Asia and Oceania	.00545[***]	.00547[***]
	(.00211)	(.00212)
Europe and Eurasia	.00253[**]	.00257[**]
	(.00101)	(.00102)
Middle East and N. Africa	.00876[**]	.00877[**]
	(.00363)	(.00363)
South and C. Asia	.00218[**]	.00217[**]
	(.000850)	(.000850)
Sub-Saharan Africa	.00230[**]	.00230[**]
	(.000957)	(.000957)
Constant	.0111	.0155
	(.00676)	(.0112)
Observations	9972	9972
# of Countries	185	185
# of Imputation	150	150
F-statistics	2.100[***]	2.033[***]

Reference Category: Western Hemisphere
Robust-clustered standard error in parentheses
[*] $p < .1$, [**] $p < .05$, [***] $p < .01$
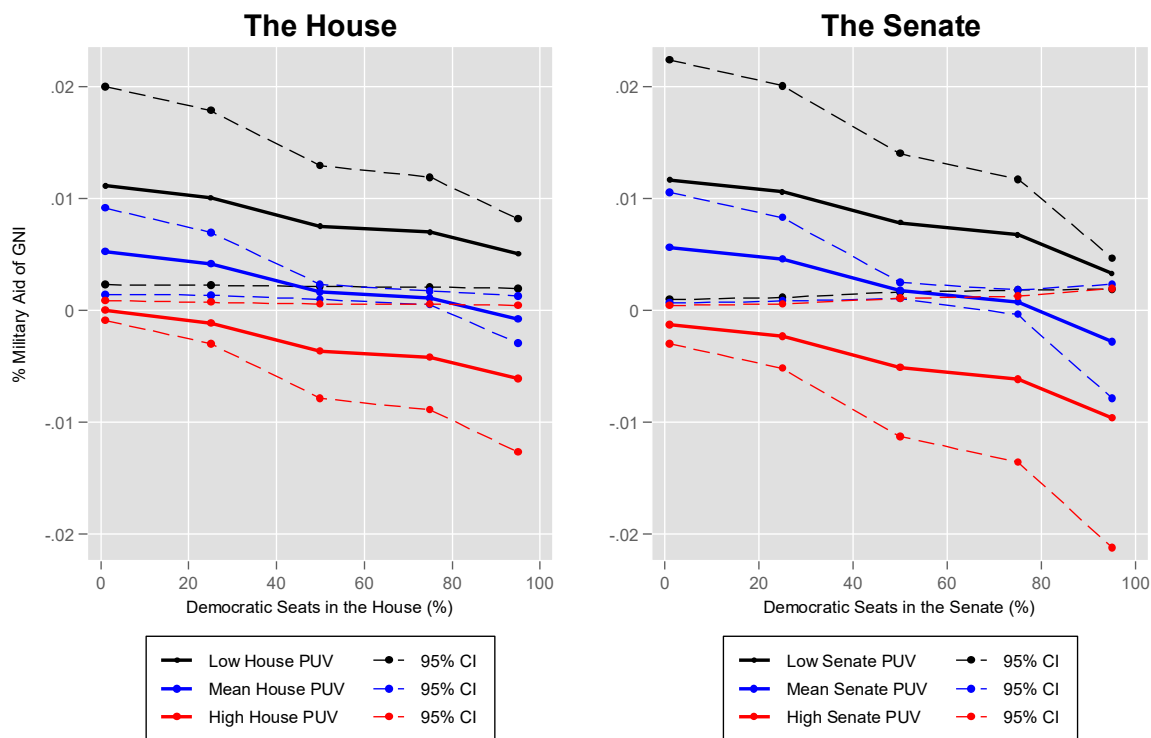
Figure 4-4. Partisanship, Democratic seats in Congress and U.S. military aid.

However, when we interpret the results in terms of their conditional marginal effect, the declining impact of Democratic seats in the House diminishes as the partisanship becomes stronger. The sign of the effect is even reversed when partisanship grows. For example, holding the House Party Unity Scores at their lowest level (.29), the impact of a percentage point increase in the Democratic Party seats decreases the proportion of military aid to GNI by 0.000102 percentage point (or more than six million dollars). But, when the Party Unity Scores is set at its mean (.49), the percentage point impact of Democratic Party seats in the House becomes 0.00001326 (an increase of US$ 821,160.02). Notwithstanding the reverse sign, statistical

calculation shows that the impact of Democratic Party seats on the military aid vanishes when partisanship is at its mean level or above as shown in Figure 4-4.

The same trend is also observed in the Senate. The impact of Democratic Party seats in the Senate on the level of military aid is also statistically significant when partisanship is low. Holding Party Unity Scores at their lowest level (0.35), a percentage point increase in the Democratic seats in the Senate is expected to reduce the proportion of military aid to the GNI by 0.0000774 percentage point or around US$ 4.8 million. However, when we hold the Senate Party Unity Scores at its mean (.5), a percentage point increase in the Democratic Party seats predicts 0.00004 percentage point increase in the proportion of military aid to the GNI or around US$ 2.4 million. Despite its substantial increase in the absolute value, the greater standard errors in the estimate renders the calculation imprecise. Like the House model, the 95% confidence interval for the Senate model includes the value of zero when level of partisanship is higher. Thus, the effect of party seats on the military aid also disappears when partisanship grows.

How can we explain the null effect of this higher level of partisanship on the impact of Democratic Party seats on the level of military aid? Recall that basically, conservative Republicans are actually averse to the government intervention in the economy through taxation and the transfer of wealth. Although they might be concerned about the security and seem to be willing to spend more money to ensure the stability and security of the nation, their market-oriented ideology does not fit very well with the need for giving aid to foreign nations. But interestingly, their preference for reduced foreign aid fits well with the Democratic preference that also supports reduced military assistance. Thus, when partisanship is low, both Democrats

and Republicans can collaborate to reduce foreign military assistance.[50] However, when partisanship is getting higher, both parties will persist with their policy positions. A higher level of partisanship can lead to stalemate. Under this situation, the amount of military aid might be shaped by the factors outside of the congressional dynamics such as conflict intensity in the world or the economic situation of the nation.

Table 4-3

Partisanship, Democratic Control and Political Aid: House and Senate

	(1) House Model	(2) Senate Model
Main Predictors:		
Chamber Party Unity Scores	-.00126 (.00389)	-.00207 (.00458)
Democratic Seats (%)	.00000962 (.0000467)	-.00000263 (.0000535)
Chamber PUS x Dem.Seats (%)	.0000363 (.0000844)	.0000454 (.0000953)
Controls:		
Recipient is US Ally	.00243*** (.000891)	.00245*** (.000897)
Recipient Democracy Status	-.00000173 (.00000842)	-.00000200 (.00000830)

Table continued on next page

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[50] Similar logics applies to the case of sanction. As Martin (1992) explains, Democrats and Republicans sometimes find areas of agreement in sanction policy. Both parties, for example, agreed to impose sanctions on Chile for the country's human rights violation. While violation issue was the main concern of Democrats, the cut in assistance to Chile could help reduce government spending, thus satisfying the Republican interest. Although the Pinochet regime was liked by the anti-communist Republicans in Congress, compared to the socialist Allende, the Republicans still supported the sanction for reasons arguably related to their market-oriented preference.

Table cont. from previous page

Human Rights Scores	.0000338	.0000337
	(.0000287)	(.0000287)
Logged Population	-.000102	-.000109
	(.0000948)	(.0000952)
Logged GDP/Capita	-.000307***	-.000300***
	(.000103)	(.000101)
Economic Openness	.00000137	.000000897
	(.00000512)	(.00000504)
Voting Affinity of Recipient[t-1]	.000679**	.000629**
	(.000326)	(.000302)
Cold War	.000465**	.000496***
	(.000188)	(.000134)
Post 9/11 period	.000193*	.0000991
	(.0000986)	(.0000758)
U.S. Growth [t-1]	.00179	.000839
	(.00251)	(.00144)
U.S. Misery Index [t-1]	.0000176	.0000174
	(.0000384)	(.0000365)
Trade Volume with US	.0000409	.0000437*
	(.0000255)	(.0000259)
President Ideology	-.000106	-.0000903
	(.000112)	(.000151)
Communist-bordered State	.00128	.00128
	(.000833)	(.000832)
Recipient in Conflict	.000220	.000226
	(.000232)	(.000233)

Table cont. from previous page

East Asia and Oceania	.00252* (.00129)	.00254** (.00129)
Europe and Eurasia	.000904* (.000502)	.000927* (.000505)
Middle East and N. Africa	.00473** (.00200)	.00473** (.00201)
South and C. Asia	.00237* (.00125)	.00238* (.00125)
Sub-Saharan Africa	.000896 (.000648)	.000912 (.000650)
Constant	.000582 (.00319)	.00154 (.00269)
Observations	8428	8428
# of Countries	157	157
# of Imputation	150	150
F-statistics	1.453	1.504

Reference Category: Western Hemisphere
Robust-clustered standard error in parentheses
* p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Finally, as expected, we do not find a significant impact of both Democratic Party seats and partisanship on the change in the proportion of political aid to the GNI provided to foreign countries. As Table 4-3 demonstrates and confirmed by Figure 4-5, the impact of Democratic Party seats in both the House and the Senate is so small that it is indistinguishable from zero. This applies to both low and high levels of partisanship. In addition, the very wide confidence

bounds for the Democratic seats point estimates at varying levels of partisanship, which also

shows our parameter estimates are not precise.
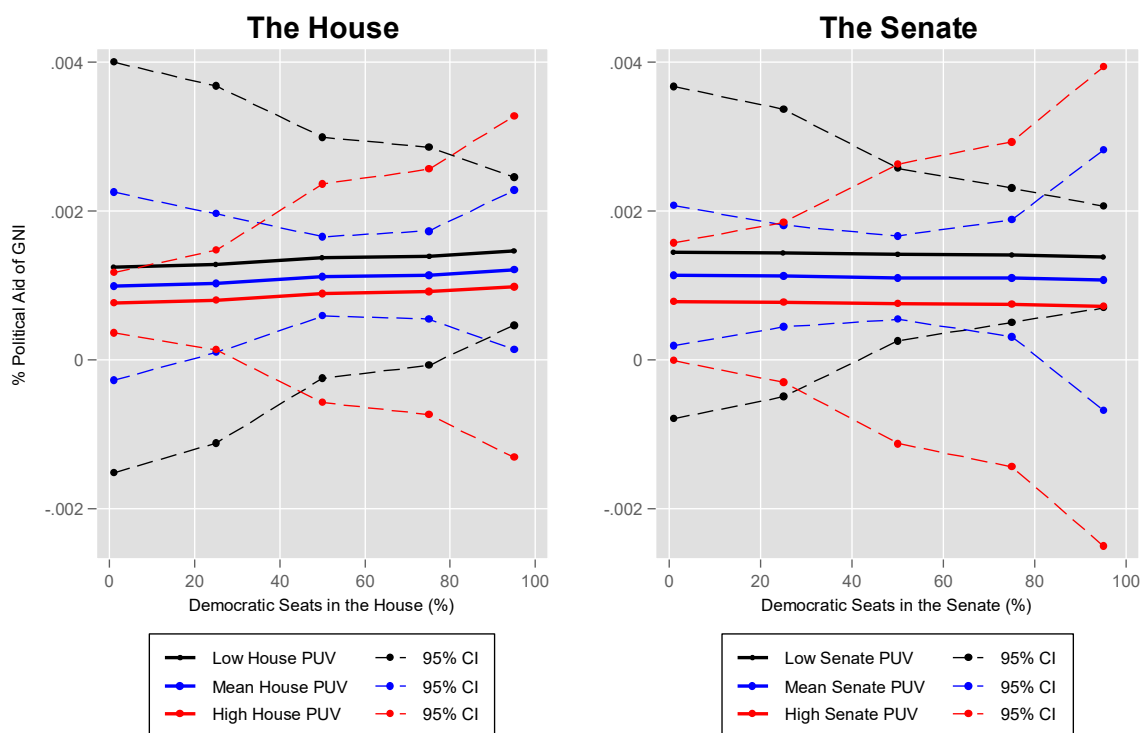
Figure 4-5. Partisanship, Democratic seats in Congress, and U.S. political aid.

Nonetheless, our failure to find the significant impact of Democratic Party seats and the

level of partisanship in both chambers on the political aid is in line with my prediction. This the

type of aid in which the preferences and interests of both parties tend to converge. While

Democrats are more supportive of a higher level of spending to help foreign countries,

Republicans also endorse this spending on foreign countries as long as it is directed to issues

directly related to the US strategic and political interests such as combatting terrorism and

supporting non-proliferation weapons programs. Furthermore, both Democrats and Republicans tend to support the economic and political stability of the countries (financed through the Economic Support Fund program) in which the US has strategic interests. In short, political aid is the type of aid over which both parties are less likely to oppose each other.

Turning to control variable analysis, we can see that most of the control variables we include in the models reveal the pattern in line with my expectation. For example, a US ally is more likely to get political and/or military aid on average at US\$ 150 million and US\$ 320 million, respectively. Development and political aid also tend to be provided to low-income countries. Yet the impact is quite small for the development aid. On average, for every one percent drop in income per capita, there will be about a three thousand dollar increase in development aid. For the political aid, by contrast, the effect is quite large. Every one percent drop in income per capita helps to boost around US\$ 185,782.81 additional aid to the recipient. As we might expect, the income effect for the political aid is statistically significant, while for development aid, it is not.

Furthermore, infant mortality rate, economic liberalization of the recipient countries and the US economic health all shape the decision to give development aid to the foreign countries. Generally, poor countries indicated by high infant mortality rate will receive higher development aid. More liberalized economies will also receive more development aid from the US. However, the aid giving also depends on the US economic situation. When the US economy is in good shape, more aid can be expected to be given to foreign countries.

Among the politico-strategic factors that shape the decision regarding the military and political aid, recipient's voting affinity with the US, along with its alliance relationship with the US determine the Uncle Sam's decision to give these types of aid to the country. Countries with

a record of supporting the US in UN forums will receive more military and political aid. This evidence supports some work finding that aid has been used as a political tool to buy support for the US position in the UN (e.g., Dreher, Nunnenkamp, and Thiele 2008; Wang 1999). Finally, the structure of the international system also shapes foreign aid decision. This is especially true for both military and political aid. During the Cold War, the US gave, on average, more than US$ 150 million more military aid to foreign countries. During the same period, it also increased its political aid by more than US$ 28 million. These facts indicate that foreign aid is indeed a tool to win the super-power rivalry.

Conclusion

This chapter starts with the question of whether there is partisan behavior in foreign aid decisions. Drawing on some works on partisan politics and ideology, I tested whether Democrats are more supportive of development aid and averse to military aid. I found some evidence that they are. Generally, when Democrats control the seats in the House, the amount of development aid increases, while the amount of military aid tends to diminish. Expectedly, the effects are stronger in the House than in the Senate because the institutional features of the Senate do not provide incentives for the senators to behave in a partisan manner in foreign aid policy.

The empirical investigation in this chapter also found that both Democrats and Republicans are less likely to part company in political aid policy. This is because political aid contains programs that become the main concern of both parties. While Democrats care about helping others as well as values such as freedom and justice, the Republicans also care about security and stability. Because they find all these values in the political aid, they are less likely to oppose each other.

This, however, does not apply in both development and military aid. These types of aid are distinct and serve different purposes. Development aid is especially intended to help the recipient increase its welfare. The purpose of this aid is in accord with the ideological values embraced by Democrats. Thus, Democrats are more likely to support this kind of aid. Military aid, on the other hand, is intended to help the recipient countries maintain their security. The values inherent in this type of aid fit well with the ideology of Republicans. Accordingly, the Republicans are more likely to support this aid.

Because both parties have different policy preferences for types of aid, they tend to challenge each other in the business of setting up the level of aid. Under this situation, we might expect that the dominant parties will see their preference realized in the final outcome. However, the ability of the majority party to shape the policy outcome can only be expected in the House because of its majoritarian nature. The empirical evidence supports this expectation.

Put in the broader literature of congressional foreign policy, this research again supports previous findings that Congress does matter in shaping the US foreign policy (Carter, Scott, and Rowling 2004; Carter and Scott 2009; Howell and Pevehouse 2007a; 2007b; Lindsay 1999; Lindsay and Ripley 1993; Scott and Carter 2002). The partisan behavior shown by the members of the two parties does shape what the US foreign policy will look like. The current research also confirms previous works in that the ideology and partisanship do influence foreign aid policy (Kupchan and Trubowitz 2007; Trubowitz 1998; Trubowitz and Mellow 2005, 2011). While the empirical findings shown in this chapter lend some support for the importance of domestic political factors in explaining American foreign policy, it also has theoretical implications for the theory of congressional lawmaking in the literature of American politics , that is a compromise

between the conditional party government theory (Aldrich and Rohde 1998, 2000; Rohde 1991) and pivotal politics theory (Krehbiel 1998).

As the findings suggest, the development aid model seems to support the conditional party government theory. The majoritarian nature of the House enables the majority party to shape policy outcome when partisanship grows. This is what is revealed in the development aid model. The impact of Democratic party seats on the level of development aid is obvious only when the level of partisanship is high. On the other side, we also find that the extent of this party control impact on the level of development and military aid declines as partisanship becomes stronger. This, in turn, also indicates that too high a partisanship might force the two parties to compromise to avoid a policy deadlock. Theoretically, this also supports the argument of pivotal politics.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This dissertation discusses how congressional dynamics, such as party system polarization, congressional support for the president, the size of partisan majorities, congressional ideology, and divided party control of the government affect US foreign policy decision-making. In this dissertation, I show that many of these legislative dynamics substantively influence the use of foreign policy instruments. However, when I delved into chamber dynamics, I found that the effects of these unique conditions on foreign policy decision-making are not uniform. Some conditions, for instance, exert a strong influence on foreign policymaking in only the House models, while others have substantial effects on foreign policymaking in only the Senate models.

Chapter 2 specifically tested the influence of the legislative branch on US military intervention policy during a foreign policy crisis. We learned that congressional ideology and support for the president influence the president's decision to commit troops or command a military operation. When Congress has been more conservative, the White House is emboldened to engage in the risky business of military intervention. The impact of ideology on the president's decision is systematic and substantive in both chambers of Congress. Meanwhile, regarding the influence of presidential support in Congress, the findings show that more support has a statistically significant and substantive influence on the decision to go to war only in the Senate model. Arguably, the prominent role of the Senate in foreign affairs along with its

egalitarian institutional features make its support essential and consequential for presidential decision-making. Given that any single senator can derail policymaking, the more support the president receives in the Upper Chamber, the more likely a president is willing to commit forces in the period studied. In the parlance of Keith Krehbiel's (1998) pivotal theory of lawmaking, the president needs to assure that he controls the filibuster pivot to ensure there will be no challenge to his foreign policy decision-making.

In Chapter 3, I show that party system polarization in Congress is consequential for the duration of legislated sanctions. However, the effect of party polarization on the duration of economic sanctions is not linear. When the level of party polarization in both chambers is either very low or very high, the duration of legislated sanctions is longer. This is because cooperation is fragile when polarization is at its extremes. Too low a polarization complicates the internal consolidation process that subsequently inhibits the advancement of the policy agenda. Yet too high a polarization is also problematic because, unless one of the party has a super-majority, the polarization will impede the inter-party cooperation required to pass legislation ending a sanction or approve the president's decision to terminate the sanction.

Like the military intervention models in Chapter 2, I also found the level of support the president receives from Congress is essential for ending economic sanctions. And just like the military intervention models, the findings also demonstrate that the effect of congressional support on the duration of sanctions is only statistically significant in the Senate model, offering further support for the contention that the Senate plays a more critical role in the president's foreign policy decision-making.

In Chapter 4, I found a partisan bias in foreign aid policy and that the level of party polarization can moderate the influence of this partisan bias on foreign aid policy. Drawing on

some literature on public opinion and political psychology, I found that the Democratic Party is more predisposed to support development aid at the expense of military aid. However, the impact of this partisan bias is only apparent in the House. When the Democratic Party has more members in the House, the general level of development aid increases, but at the same time, the level of military aid declines. Nonetheless, the influence of Democratic control in the House on the level of these types of aid diminishes as the level of partisanship—defined as partisan voting behavior—increases.

All these findings have several theoretical, methodological, and practical implications for the study of American foreign policy, in particular, and International Relations more generally. First, congressional ideology has substantial implications for both foreign security and economic policies. While Milner and Tingley (2015) claim that conservatives and liberals have less disagreement on military policy (the use of force) and military aid, giving the president maximum influence over these policies, this is not always the case. My research suggests that liberal and conservative policy preferences, even in military policy, will diverge from one another. Thus, whatever ideology is more dominant in Congress shapes Congress's policymaking and affects the president's foreign policymaking.

Although the finding does not sound surprising, to date, foreign policy scholars have been remiss in investigating the influence of congressional ideology on the foreign policies that are ultimately adopted. Most scholarly work on the role of ideology in foreign policymaking tends to investigate the influence of ideology on direct legislative actions such as congressional foreign policy roll-call votes (McCormick and Wittkopf 1992; McCormick and Wittkopf 1990; Milner and Tingley 2010, 2011) or treaty ratification (Auerswald and Maltzman 2003; DeLaet

and Scott 2006; Peake 2016). The results presented in this dissertation suggest that congressional ideology also affects the presidents' decision to use force.

It is also important to note the contribution this dissertation is making regarding chamber-specific findings. This is another area that heretofore has been understudied. It turns out that the Senate often plays a more significant role in shaping the president's foreign policy decisions. The findings in this dissertation confirm the prominent role of the Senate in foreign affairs, as dictated by the US Constitution. Although McCormick's (1993) analysis more than two decades ago indicated that the House Foreign Affairs Committee plays a more active role in shaping American foreign policy, the empirical findings in the current study suggest that the Senate still maintains its status as a formidable check on the president in foreign affairs. While the institutional rules of the Senate play a critical role in forcing the president to take the chamber seriously, the constitutional roles of the Senate in foreign affairs also greatly enhance its image as the prominent challenger to the president in foreign policy. In two of the three empirical cases examined here, Senate support was found to be critical for presidents to achieve their foreign policy objectives.

A third contribution this dissertation is in regard to the House and the distribution politics. Specifically, the findings suggest the House plays more active role than the Senate in policy areas involving distributive politics, such as foreign aid. This is, arguably, because distributive policies affect constituents directly and this can mobilize them to shape the policy outcome in their favor. Because the relationship between the House members and their constituents is closer than that between senators and their constituents, the House members face more pressure to act on the policy than the Senators. This can make the House dynamics more influential regarding distributive-related policy.

Fourth, to some extent, partisanship can have a moderating effect on the influence of ideology on foreign policy. While ideology can impact the direction of a foreign policy action, partisanship can moderate the extent to which ideology shapes this foreign policy. This is what is apparent in Chapter 4 on foreign aid policy. Theoretically, this finding can reconcile two great congressional party theories in the American politics literature: Conditional Party Government (Aldrich and Rohde 1998, 2000) and Pivotal Theory (Krehbiel 1998). It is true that higher partisanship can empower party leaders in Congress and, thus, enables them to manipulate the policy agenda. And for the majority leaders, this means a chance to skew the policy outcome in favor of their party's preference. However, the ability of the majority party to shape this policy outcome is constrained by the super-majoritarian rules. Thus, unless the majority party controls more than two-third of the seats in both chambers, the compromise should be the norm for passing a bill. Otherwise, gridlock will ensue.

Fifth, the results also provide empirical support for the so-called moderate-polarization thesis (Dodd and Schraufnagel 2009; 2012; 2017). The research argues that the legislative productivity of Congress can be maximized when it is under moderately polarized conditions. While this argument has usually been applied to domestic political legislations, the argument also turns out to apply to foreign policy legislations. Accordingly, as the results suggest, it is important for Congress to maintain a balance between the internal cohesion within each of the party while at the same time pursuing inter-party collaboration to keep them productive.

Finally, methodologically, the current research also contributes to a more clarified difference between party effect and partisan behavior. In most foreign policy research, scholars tend to confuse the party effect and partisanship. The current research suggests that partisanship consists of two parts: partisan differences in policy position that can be informed by the party's

ideology and partisan behavior, which is whether the two parties really behave differently in their voting behavior. The latter measure is typically used in the American politics literature to examine the partisan behavior of legislators or the degree of partisanship in general.

The findings in this dissertation also have some implications for future research on American foreign policy. First, it is important for scholars to examine the impact of Congress on American foreign policy by analyzing the chambers of Congress separately. This is because each of the chambers has its own internal rules and constitutional roles in the foreign policy-making process that can have different consequences on how each produces foreign policy legislation and affects the US foreign policy in general. Failure to do this can lead to an oversimplified analysis of the role of Congress in the US foreign policy process.

Second, while foreign policy scholars have become used to examining the effect of partisanship on congressional foreign policy behavior, they tend to operationalize partisanship in terms of partisan differences or party effect. In a more technical language, scholars tend to explore the impact of partisanship by dichotomously coding the party and regressing their dependent variables on a dummy-coded party variable. This way of analyzing partisanship can give a clue about the party's policy position but not its partisan behavior or the general condition of partisanship. Using the more common measure of partisanship like Party Unity Scores typically employed in the American politics literature can help us understand the nature of partisanship in both chambers and better understand its impact on congressional foreign policy behavior.

Finally, as the findings suggest, the nature of the policy issues can affect the way each of the chambers responds to the issues. That is, different chambers can act differently based on the nature of the issues they are dealing with. This dissertation suggests that distributive policy can

activate the House but not the Senate. However, to be able to confidently generalize the claim that the nature of policy issues determines the responses of either of the chambers, we need to expand our investigation to new cases. Thus, future research can compare the behavior of each of the chambers for different categories of issues based on the degree of distributive aspects inherent in the issues.

Nevertheless, this research has some weaknesses. Like typical quantitative analysis, all the analyses conducted in each of the empirical chapters measure the aggregate effect of congressional dynamics on the variables of interest (i.e., military intervention during a foreign policy crisis, the duration of legislated sanctions, and foreign aid). Because all the relationships are measured aggregately, the analyses might not be sensitive to particular contexts. For example, the analysis of foreign aid does not capture the context of the turbulent era of the 1960s-70s when both parties had a serious problem of internal cohesion. Although I touch on the history of the Democratic Party's leftward movement in the 1970s, leading to the departure of some conservative Democrats from the party, this context does not manifest in the empirical analysis of foreign aid. The use of a population average panel model, while being valid for my research, does not take this historical context into account because the model only measures the effect of party control and partisanship on the level of foreign aid on average for the whole period of observation.

In the same vein, in the aggregate model, party tends to be treated monolithically. Again, historical context is ignored here. As suggested above, both parties are not historically monolithic due to their internal cohesion, especially the Democratic Party. While disentangling each of the parties to examine its effect on the outcome of interest is not typically done in the literature of American politics and American foreign policy, a thought on how to approach this

issue and bring it into empirical analysis should be invented. One possible solution to overcome this context-ignorance is disaggregating the analysis into some historical epochs based on the temporal dimension of interest. Doing analysis this way will allow one to see and measure the effects of some historical contexts on the relationship between the predictor of interest and the outcome.

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APPENDIX A

COMPLETE RESULTS FOR CHAPTER 2

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Military Intervention	772	.1204663	.3257171	0	1
House Ideology	544	-.254978	.8900216	-1.478555	2.475312
House Support	544	.0292711	1.041635	-1.445903	2.109287
Senate Ideology	544	-.1750759	1.012054	-1.776067	1.574519
Senate Support	544	.0767509	.9712588	-2.146393	2.000097
Democratic Majority	772	.611399	.4877483	0	1
Misery Index[t-1]	727	10.15203	3.976737	3.356667	21.84
Approval Ratings[t-1]	760	54.24768	12.57333	22.5	91
US Hegemony	749	.1844829	.0614627	.1293058	.3783714
World Dispute	752	43.1875	15.39548	7	90
Cold War	772	.7629534	.4255468	0	1
Election	772	.3471503	.4763727	0	1
Republican President	772	.5220207	.4998387	0	1
Violent Trigger	772	.373057	.4839306	0	1
Non-Democratic Actor	772	.6139896	.4871486	0	1
US Ally	772	.1994819	.3998699	0	1
Russia/Soviet Involvement	772	.6126943	.4874503	0	1
Power Disparity	740	4.45	26.09002	-179	179
Total Obs	772				

Congressional Dynamic and the US Military Intervention: The House and Senate Models

	Dependent Variable: Pr(Military Intervention = 1)	
	House Model	Senate Model
Main Predictors:		
Chamber Ideology	1.284***	1.150***
	(0.346)	(0.368)
Chamber Support	0.358	0.842**
	(0.316)	(0.377)
Controls:		
Democratic Majority	0.0199	-0.277
	(0.555)	(0.743)
Misery Index[t-1]	-0.0354	-0.0539
	(0.0701)	(0.0768)
Approval Ratings[t-1]	0.0267*	0.0242
	(0.0146)	(0.0156)
US Hegemony	-5.420	-15.98
	(16.14)	(13.35)
World Dispute	0.0267*	0.0422*
	(0.0158)	(0.0243)
Cold War	-0.112	0.248
	(0.660)	(0.695)
Election	0.293	0.406
	(0.288)	(0.333)
Republican President	-0.761	-0.0929
	(1.822)	(1.487)
Violent Trigger	-0.0894	-0.0981
	(0.401)	(0.405)
Non-Democratic Actor	1.007***	0.956***
	(0.305)	(0.306)
US Ally	0.0513	-0.0227

	(0.328)	(0.325)
Russia/Soviet Involvement	2.388***	2.404***
	(0.490)	(0.514)
Power Disparity	0.00623***	0.00666***
	(0.00180)	(0.00190)
Constant	-5.530**	-4.384**
	(2.774)	(2.165)
President FE	Yes	Yes
Deviance	166.7	164.0
AIC	210.7	208.0
BIC	301.5	298.8
N	458	458

Robust-clustered standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Models with Chamber Polarization and Divided Government

	House Model		Senate Model	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Main Predictors:				
Chamber Ideology	2.460***	2.611***	1.148***	1.161***
	(0.705)	(0.816)	(0.366)	(0.376)
Chamber Support	0.171	0.0643	0.843**	0.907**
	(0.325)	(0.434)	(0.409)	(0.461)
Controls:				
Chamber Polarization	-17.76**	-18.73*	0.0491	-0.791
	(8.936)	(9.785)	(5.471)	(5.545)
Democratic Majority	0.366	0.356	-0.279	-0.201
	(0.535)	(0.552)	(0.728)	(0.724)
Misery Index[t-1]	-0.0751	-0.0771	-0.0539	-0.0515
	(0.0777)	(0.0765)	(0.0765)	(0.0757)
Approval Ratings[t-1]	0.0310**	0.0361*	0.0242	0.0216
	(0.0143)	(0.0216)	(0.0155)	(0.0175)
US Hegemony	-12.50	-18.33	-15.95	-12.40
	(16.91)	(23.00)	(13.65)	(17.35)
World Dispute	0.0258*	0.0265	0.0422*	0.0417*
	(0.0156)	(0.0163)	(0.0242)	(0.0232)
Cold War	-0.645	-0.671	0.250	0.208
	(0.691)	(0.693)	(0.677)	(0.670)
Election	0.358	0.404	0.406	0.379
	(0.316)	(0.362)	(0.333)	(0.343)
Republican President	-5.879*	-5.482*	-0.0824	-0.791
	(3.081)	(2.993)	(1.982)	(2.532)
Violent Trigger	-0.0376	-0.0390	-0.0979	-0.0909
	(0.393)	(0.396)	(0.406)	(0.404)

Non-Democratic Actor	1.014*** (0.309)	1.030*** (0.315)	0.956*** (0.304)	0.943*** (0.307)
US Ally	0.0423 (0.333)	0.0237 (0.346)	-0.0227 (0.325)	-0.00806 (0.323)
Russia/Soviet Involvement	2.460*** (0.497)	2.516*** (0.508)	2.404*** (0.512)	2.380*** (0.508)
Power Disparity	0.00647*** (0.00174)	0.00653*** (0.00172)	0.00666*** (0.00190)	0.00660*** (0.00189)
divided		-0.517 (1.049)		0.350 (0.842)
Constant	9.329 (8.084)	10.90 (9.544)	-4.421 (4.777)	-4.404 (4.941)
President FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Deviance	163.3	163.0	164.0	163.8
AIC	209.3	211.0	210.0	211.8
BIC	304.2	310.0	304.9	310.8
N	458	458	458	458

Robust-clustered standard errors in parentheses
* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

APPENDIX B

COMPLETE RESULTS FOR CHAPTER 3 AND SOME STATISTICAL DIAGNOSIS

Congressional Polarization and Economic Sanction Duration: NPH Weibull Models

	HOUSE POLARIZATION MODEL			SENATE POLARIZATION MODEL		
	House Polarization	DW-NOMINATE	Party Unity Votes	Senate Polarization	DW-NOMINATE	Party Unity Votes
Main Predictors:						
Chamber Polarization	-16.82*** (2.005)	-19.85*** (1.474)	-23.38*** (3.424)	-21.42*** (2.065)	-22.88*** (2.422)	-26.78*** (3.045)
Chamber Polarization x log(time)	2.672*** (0.317)	3.121*** (0.184)	3.834*** (0.551)	3.482*** (0.285)	3.515*** (0.359)	4.115*** (0.416)
Chamber Polarization-sq	14.52*** (2.620)	14.32*** (1.434)	26.87*** (4.632)	22.17*** (3.469)	20.88*** (3.053)	28.71*** (4.923)
Chamber Polarization-sq x log(time)	-2.319*** (0.403)	-2.266*** (0.197)	-4.399*** (0.748)	-3.589*** (0.485)	-3.224*** (0.455)	-4.435*** (0.704)
Chamber Support	0.00334* (0.00189)	0.000698 (0.00114)	-0.00731** (0.00325)	-0.00841*** (0.00277)	-0.00270 (0.00235)	0.00194 (0.00936)
Chamber Support x log(time)	-0.000544* (0.000324)	-0.000112 (0.000224)	0.00126** (0.000563)	0.00158*** (0.000509)	0.000588 (0.000407)	-0.000332 (0.00151)

Controls:

US Ally	-0.120*	0.00424	-0.0245	-0.0192	0.0111	0.0822
	(0.0662)	(0.0352)	(0.0781)	(0.0550)	(0.0480)	(0.0538)
High-Politics Issues	0.0375	0.0673	-0.0765*	0.0734*	0.0526	0.0533
	(0.0560)	(0.0421)	(0.0439)	(0.0426)	(0.0515)	(0.0601)
Target Major Cost	-0.0707	-0.0785**	-0.0301	-0.156**	-0.0864*	-0.104
	(0.0688)	(0.0341)	(0.0471)	(0.0627)	(0.0519)	(0.0687)
Target is Democratic	-0.0644	-0.0265	-0.0405	-0.0308	-0.0272	-0.0326
	(0.0401)	(0.0280)	(0.0274)	(0.0279)	(0.0350)	(0.0228)
US GDP Growth[t-1]	1.069	0.146	-0.309	1.194	0.347	-0.637
	(1.180)	(1.344)	(0.684)	(0.957)	(0.948)	(1.510)
US-Target Trade[t-1]	0.0646***	0.0166**	0.0198	0.0356***	0.0111	-0.00718
	(0.0139)	(0.00693)	(0.0212)	(0.0138)	(0.0144)	(0.0129)
Target GDP[t-1]	-0.107***	-0.0233**	-0.0434	-0.0485***	-0.0141	-0.0138
	(0.0208)	(0.0117)	(0.0294)	(0.0180)	(0.0214)	(0.0179)
Target Acquiescence	-0.102*	-0.0391*	-0.0872	-0.00285	0.0103	-0.0600
	(0.0619)	(0.0224)	(0.0547)	(0.0329)	(0.0386)	(0.0452)
Honeymoon Period	-0.00800	-0.0275	0.0799**	0.0990*	0.0825**	0.00307
	(0.0715)	(0.146)	(0.0391)	(0.0510)	(0.0418)	(0.0694)

US Ally x log(time)	0.0191* (0.0106)	-0.000602 (0.00555)	0.00397 (0.0124)	0.00310 (0.00866)	-0.00177 (0.00755)	-0.0132 (0.00875)
High Politics Issue x log(time)	-0.00657 (0.00943)	-0.0111 (0.00693)	0.0121* (0.00712)	-0.0122* (0.00735)	-0.00869 (0.00853)	-0.00905 (0.00988)
Target Major Cost x log(time)	0.0150 (0.0126)	0.0151** (0.00627)	0.00645 (0.00779)	0.0314*** (0.0116)	0.0169* (0.00876)	0.0191 (0.0121)
Democratic Target x log(time)	0.0103 (0.00651)	0.00417 (0.00453)	0.00633 (0.00439)	0.00481 (0.00452)	0.00433 (0.00566)	0.00509 (0.00372)
US GDP Growth[t-1] x log(time)	-0.140 (0.203)	-0.000311 (0.232)	0.0613 (0.111)	-0.215 (0.168)	-0.0629 (0.160)	0.116 (0.253)
US-Target Trade[t-1] x log(time)	-0.0103*** (0.00218)	-0.00264** (0.00108)	-0.00315 (0.00338)	-0.00566*** (0.00215)	-0.00175 (0.00228)	0.00116 (0.00207)
Target GDP[t-1] x log(time)	0.0171*** (0.00318)	0.00373** (0.00185)	0.00693 (0.00470)	0.00777*** (0.00279)	0.00227 (0.00335)	0.00225 (0.00286)
Target Acquiescence x log(time)	0.0143 (0.0106)	0.00558 (0.00372)	0.0129 (0.00880)	-0.000579 (0.00555)	-0.00224 (0.00631)	0.00917 (0.00735)

Honeymoon x log(time)	0.00254 (0.0118)	0.00553 (0.0235)	-0.0119** (0.00608)	-0.0176** (0.00889)	-0.0146** (0.00727)	0.00000406 (0.0114)
Divided	0.229** (0.103)	0.131 (0.109)	-0.187* (0.112)	-0.190*** (0.0736)	-0.0174 (0.0348)	-0.0536 (0.241)
Divided x log(time)	-0.0356** (0.0165)	-0.0199 (0.0174)	0.0308* (0.0186)	0.0335*** (0.0121)	0.00480 (0.00555)	0.00836 (0.0384)
Constant	6.337*** (0.164)	6.440*** (0.164)	6.122*** (0.0387)	6.144*** (0.223)	6.528*** (0.125)	6.528*** (0.204)
Log(p)	5.183*** (0.416)	5.948*** (0.399)	5.576*** (0.474)	5.600*** (0.454)	6.217*** (0.356)	5.897*** (0.413)
Deviance	-337.8	-442.4	-349.3	-401.0	-502.4	-401.0
AIC	-285.8	-392.4	-303.3	-349.0	-452.4	-359.0
BIC	-180.2	-290.9	-209.9	-243.4	-350.9	-273.7
OBS	429	429	429	429	429	429

Robust-cluster standard errors in parentheses
$^* p < .1$, $^{**} p < .05$, $^{***} p < .01$

Test for Hazard Distribution

For the robustness, I first checked the appropriate functional form of the hazard distribution. This is important because incorrectly specifying the functional form of hazard distribution can produce incorrect estimates. Although semi-parametric model like Cox proportional hazard model can be used for safety reason (because we do not need to worry about the hazard distribution), the results produced by correctly specified distribution of hazard/survival function were more efficient. This is especially true for a small sample. To test which distributional form of hazard rate is appropriate, we did some graphical tests (Hamilton 2013, 299).

Test 1: because the exponential model has a flat baseline hazard rate (the risk of an event occurrence conditional on covariates is the same at all points), the exponential hazard is

$$h(t) = \lambda \qquad t > 0, \lambda > 0$$

then $S(t) = e^{-\lambda(t)}$. This implies there is a linear relationship between $ln(S(t))$ and t.[51] We can test this graphically in Stata. The graph shows that the relationship between $ln(S(t))$ and t is not linear. Thus, we could not use the exponential distribution.

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[51] This is because $ln(S(t)) = -\lambda(t)$, where λ is constant.

Test 2: because the exponential distribution cannot characterize the hazard rates of the data very well, I resorted to Weibull distribution. In the Weibull distribution, the survivor function is:

$$S(t) = e^{-(\lambda t)^p}.$$
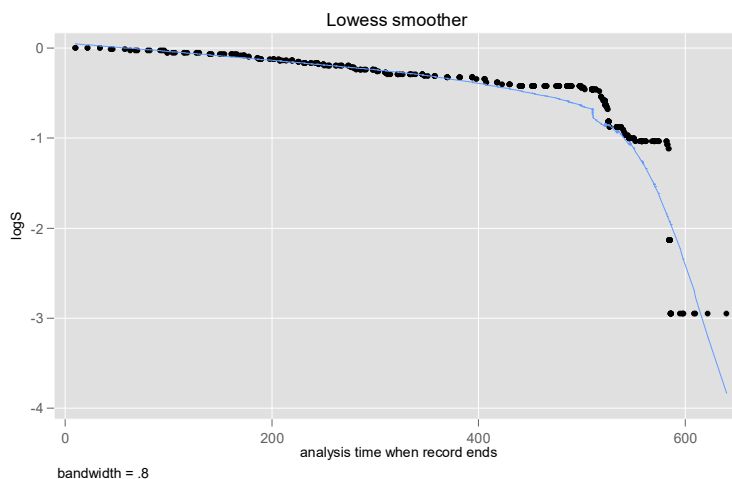
Testing the Exponential Distribution

If we convert the relationship between survivor function and time into logarithmic form, then: $ln(-ln(S(t))) = pln(\lambda) + pln(t)$. This means that the relationship between $ln(-ln(S(t)))$ and $ln(t)$ is linear. When $p = 1$ shows exponential distribution, $p \neq 1$ indicates Weibull ($p > 1$ indicates monotonically increasing hazard rates while $p < 1$ indicates monotonically decreasing hazard rates). We tested the relationship between $ln(-ln(S(t)))$ and $ln(t)$ graphically. I also compared the visual display of the Weibull candidate graph and the log-logistic candidate graph. To test the appropriateness of the log-logistic model, we can also plot $ln\left(\frac{1-S}{S}\right)$ against $ln(t)$.

Comparisons of Weibull and Log-Logistics
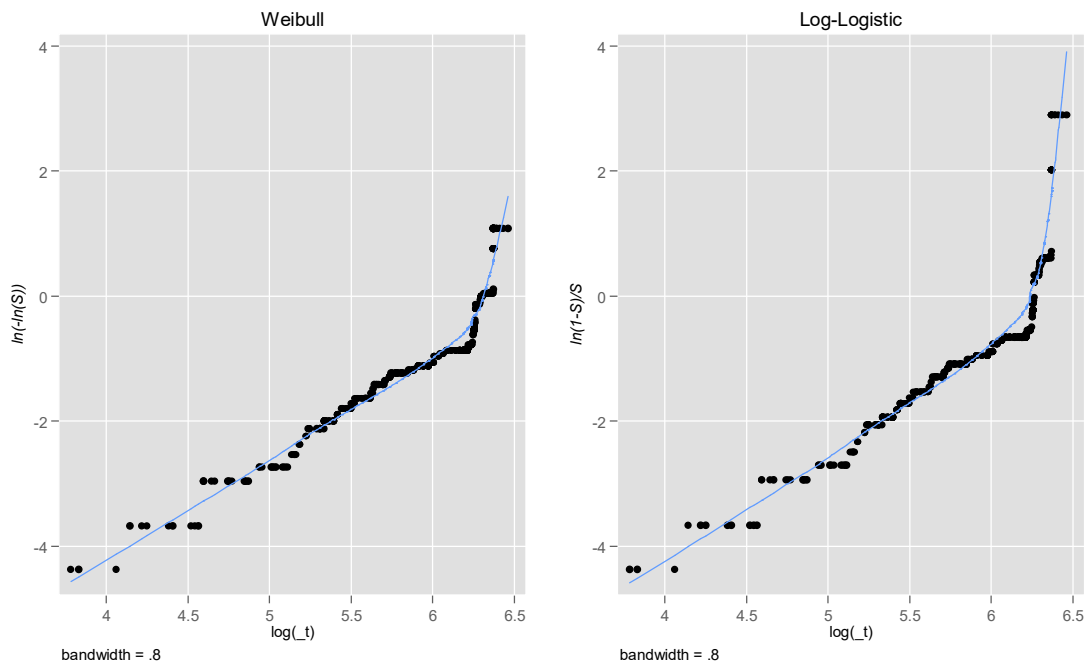
Comparing the Appropriateness of Weibull v. Log-Logistic Distribution

Although the two graphs are identical and both of them seem to show a linear relationship $ln(t)$, the Weibull graph shows a smoother linear trend. Thus, Weibull distribution is more appropriate to characterize the hazard rates of our data. Because the Kaplan-Meier survival graph shows non-proportional hazard, we should use non-proportional hazard Weibull model.

Specification Analysis

To see if the specifications of the models (linearity of the models) are appropriate or not, I ran residual analysis using the martingale-like residuals and plotted them against the main predictors (measures of polarization). If the plot overlay the straight line at the residuals = 0, then the specifications of our models are correct. All the plots in the non-linear models shown below indicate that we have the correct specifications.

Non-Linearity Test
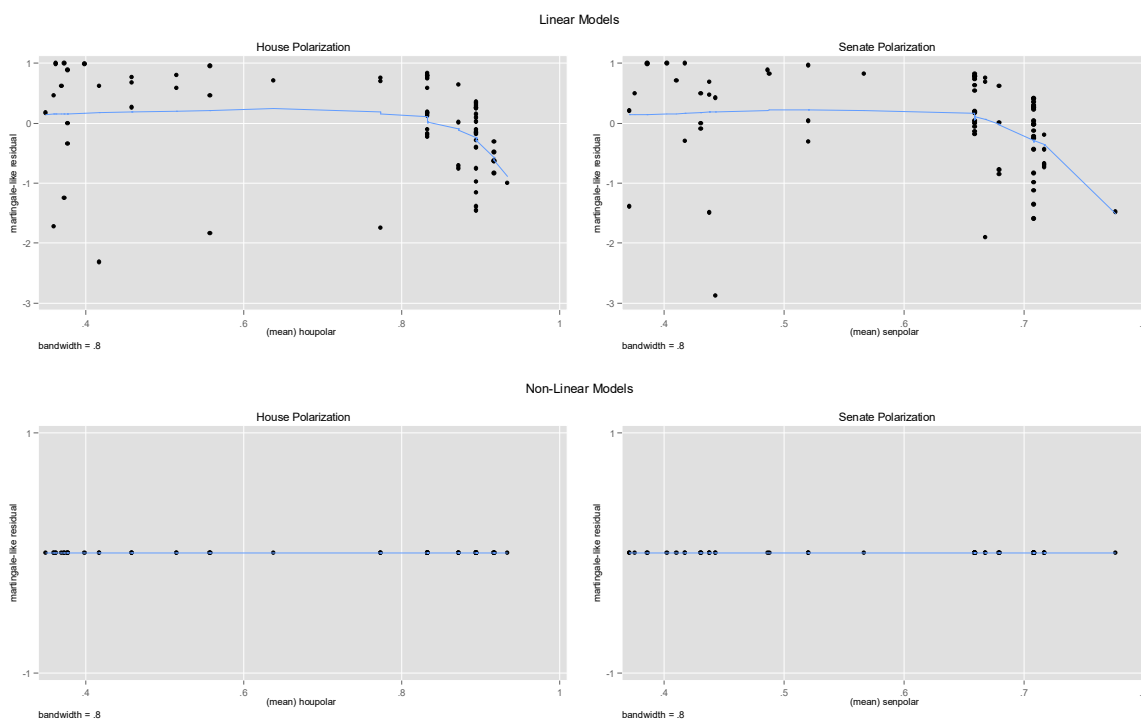
Non-linearity test.

The straight horizontal line indicates appropriate specification. The left graph is the House polarization, while the right graph shows the Senate polarization. The upper panels are linear models, while the lower panels are the non-linear models. Only in the non-linear models that we find the straight-line requirement for the correct specification.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICAL DIAGOSIS FOR MULTIPLE IMPUTATION MODELS

Testing Missing at Random Assumption

	(1) Polity2	(2) GDPPC	(3) Population	(4) Trade	(5) Economic Openness	(6) Physical Integrity	(7) Vote Affinity	(8) IMR
Development Aid	-3622998.3*** (-12.17)	-4380468.8*** (-14.66)	-1982597.3** (-2.83)	-4713671.8*** (-14.81)	-4535897.7*** (-16.94)	-5096911.7*** (-19.52)	-4525547.4*** (-14.88)	-4198912.6*** (-12.15)
Political Aid	-18817585.2*** (-5.15)	-24356809.1*** (-6.63)	-5442107.8 (-0.64)	-29158968.8*** (-7.45)	-23277319.4*** (-7.04)	-22117160.5*** (-6.83)	-25123433.7*** (-6.71)	-18454656.5*** (-4.35)
Military Aid	-50860135.4*** (-7.87)	-38840857.4*** (-5.96)	13038790.4 (0.86)	-47914678.0*** (-6.91)	-32758943.1*** (-5.59)	-14994858.2** (-2.61)	-30427829.6*** (-4.59)	-11814818.2 (-1.57)
N	9972	9972	9972	9972	9972	9972	9972	9972

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The table above shows that missing at random (MAR) assumption is met. In this test, I create dummy variable for each of the variables having missing values and assign the value of 1 for the complete cell and the value of 0 when the cell in the variable is empty. I then run t-test to compare the means of observed non-missing variables used in all the models (in this research, they are the three types of aid) between non-missing and missing groups of each of the variable of missing values. If the difference in the means of observed non-missing values between the missing and non-missing groups are statistically significant, then the missing data in the variables of missing values is missing at random (MAR). As the table above reveals, the mean differences between missing and non-missing groups in at least one type of aid are statistically significant, thus suggesting that there is MAR in my data. This MAR assumption provides justification for the use of multiple imputation for the missing values.

Diagnostic tests for the Multiple Imputation Models.

Overdispersed Start Values
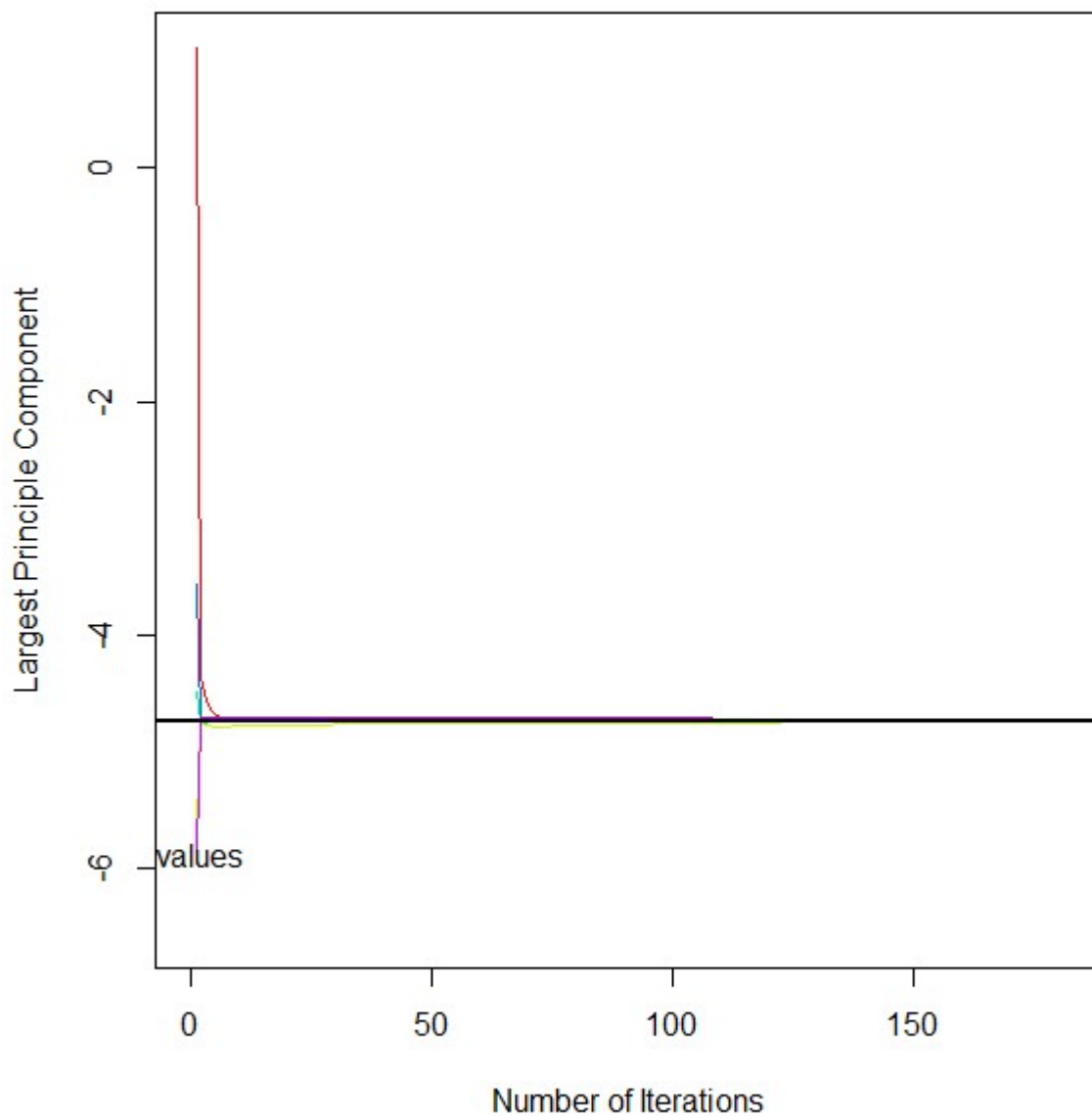
Development Aid Diagnostics

Overdispersed Start Values

values

Largest Principle Component

Number of Iterations

Political Aid Diagnostics
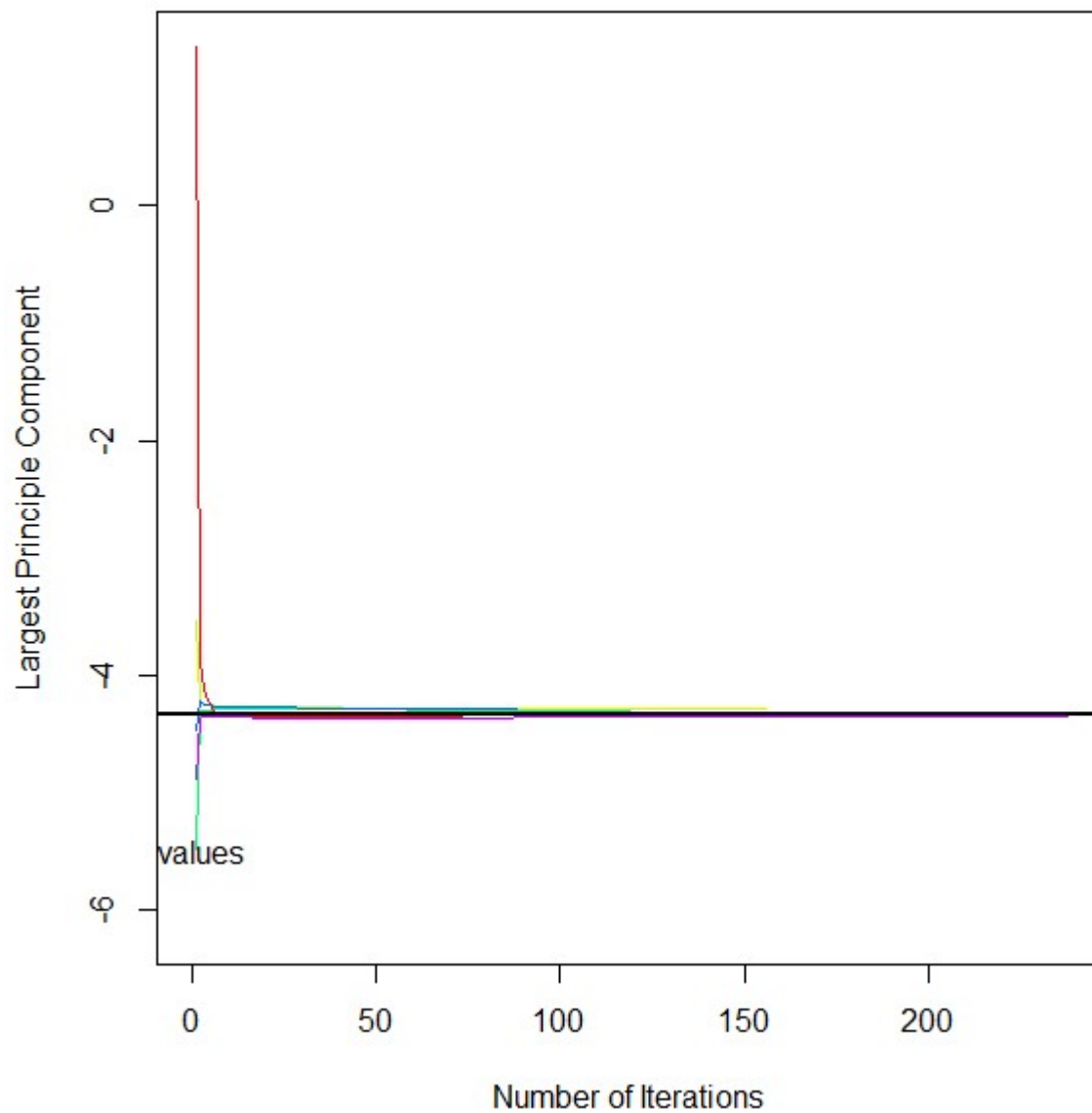
Overdispersed Start Values
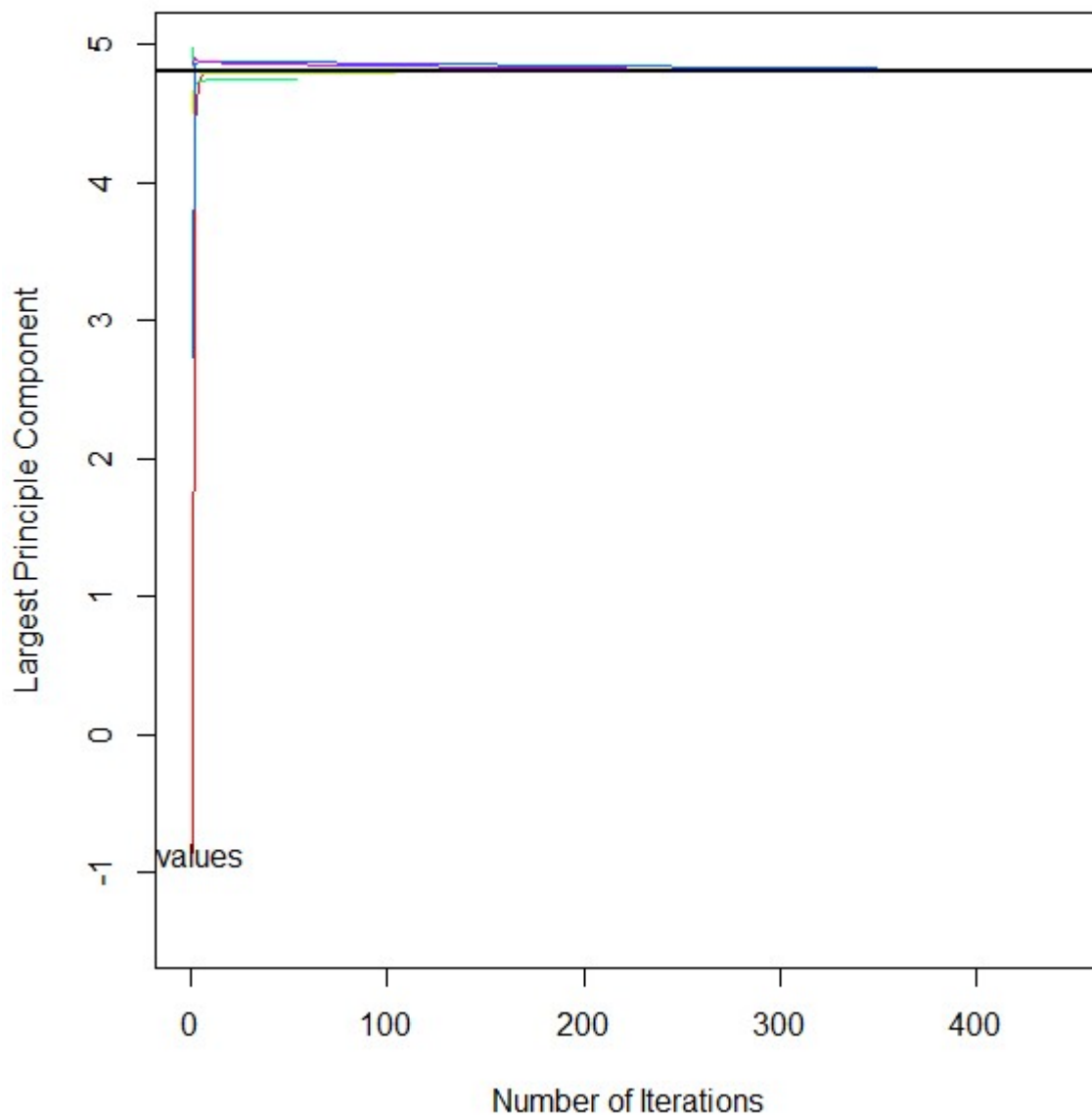
Military Aid Diagnostics

In all the three figures, all of our imputation models show that the random multiple starting values all converge to the single value in all chains of iterations. Thus, our imputation models are all appropriate.

Density Comparison

Development Aid (1)

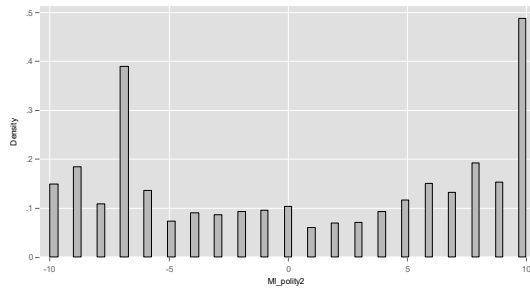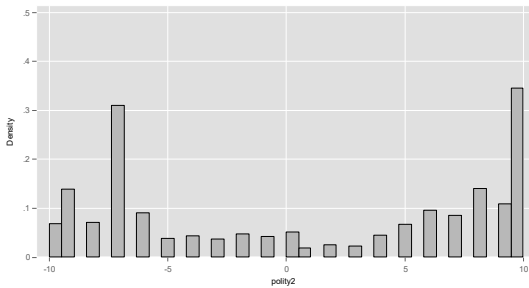Density Comparison of lnlgdppc
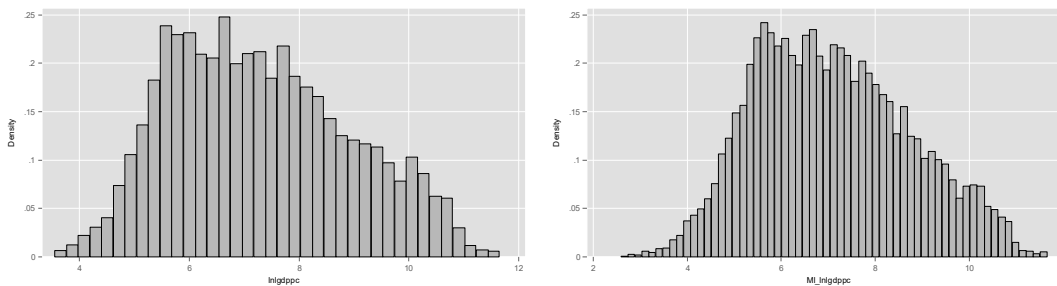
Density Comparison of lnpop
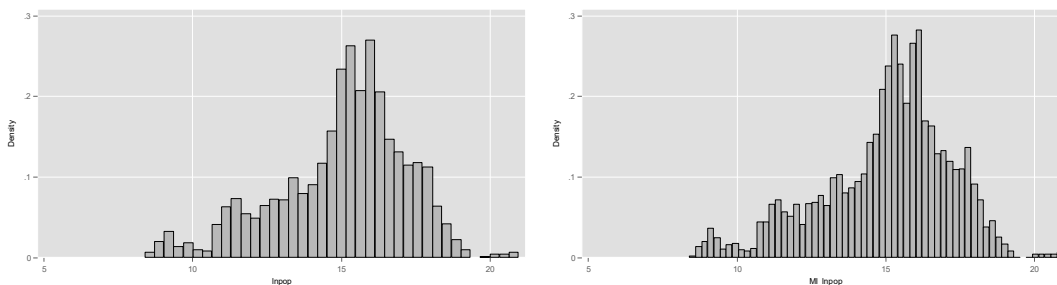
Development Aid (2)

Density Comparison of lnltot_trade
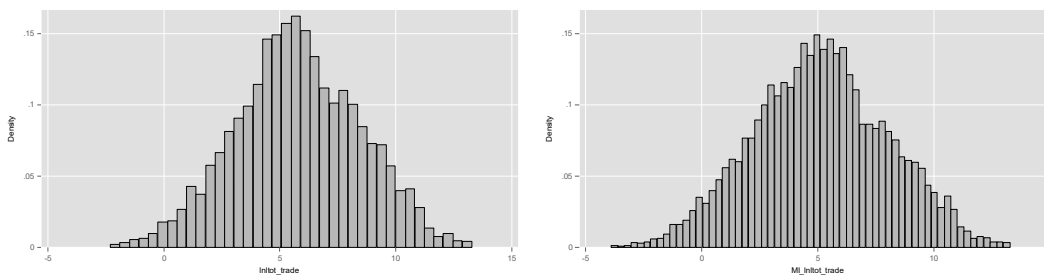
Density Comparison of polity2
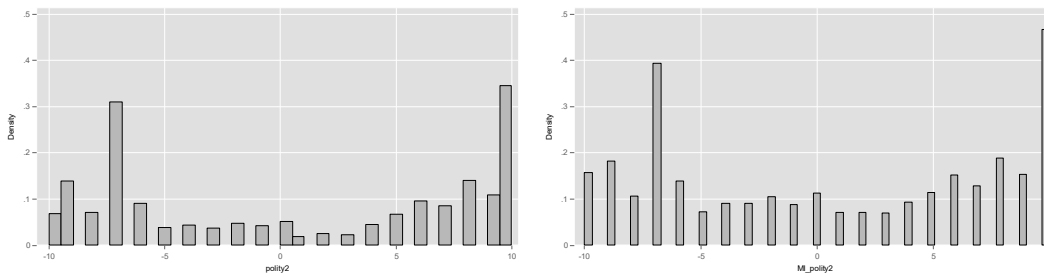
Development Aid (3)

Density Comparison of ls2un
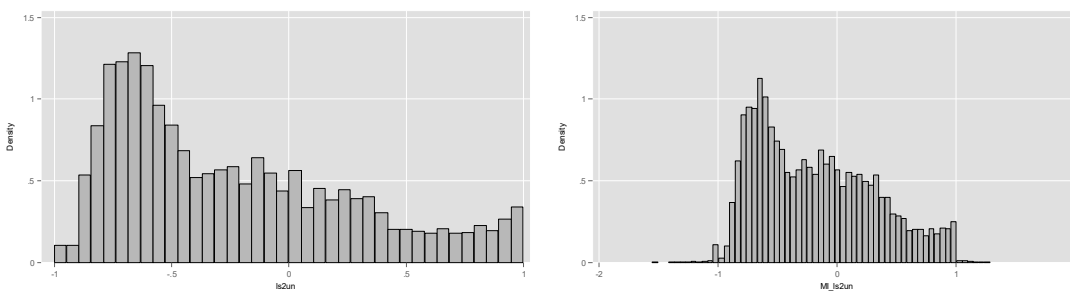
Density Comparison of limr
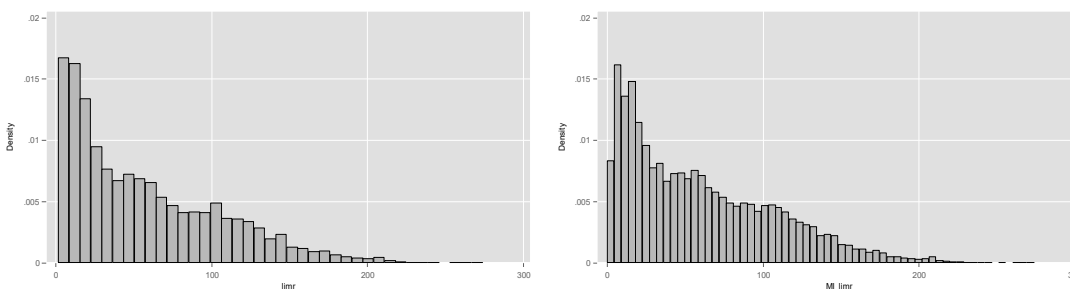
Development Aid (4)

Density Comparison of leconomicglobalization
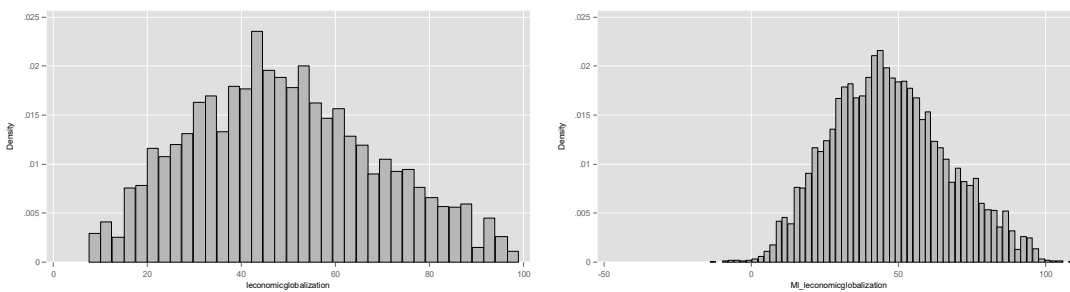
Density Comparison of lphysint
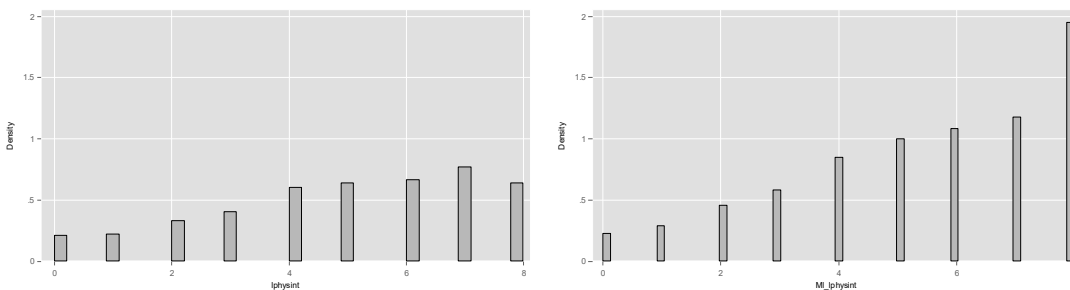
Military Aid (1)

Density Comparison of lnlgdppc
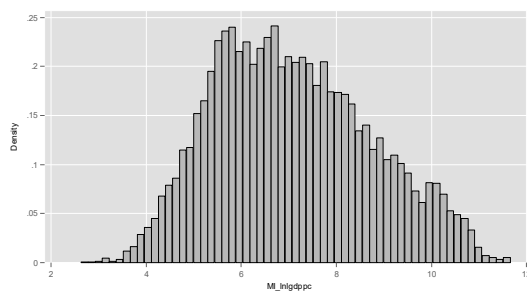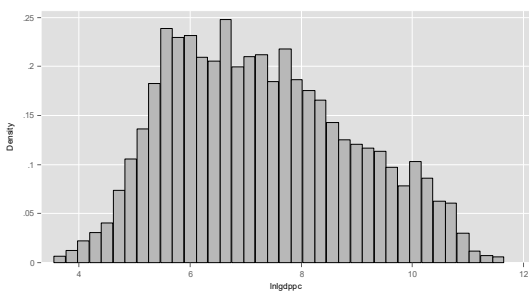
Density Comparison of lnpop
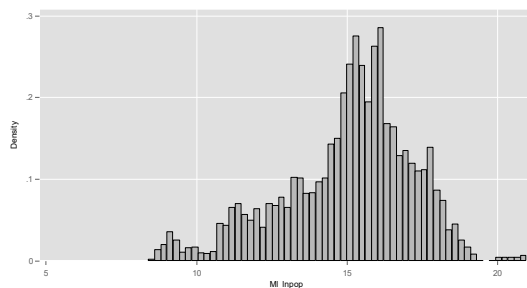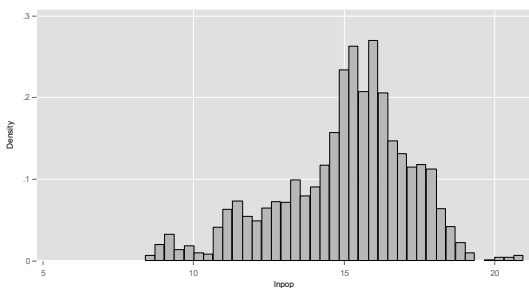
Military Aid (2)

Density Comparison of lnltot_trade
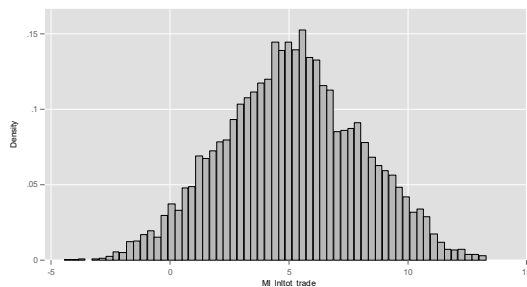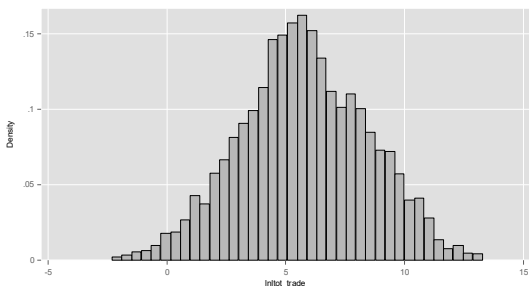
Density Comparison of polity2
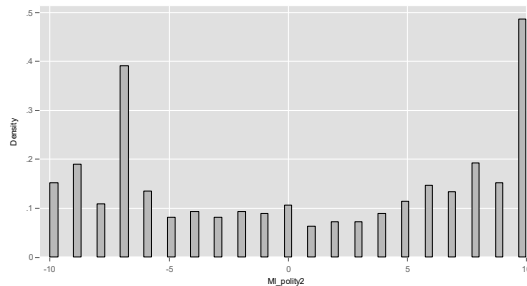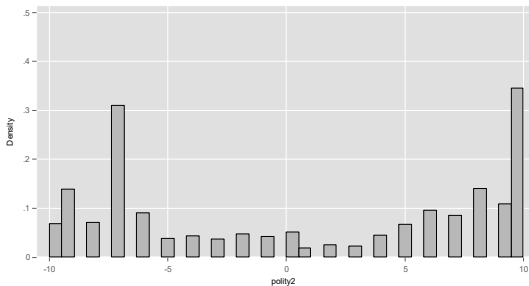
Military Aid (3)

Density Comparison of ls2un
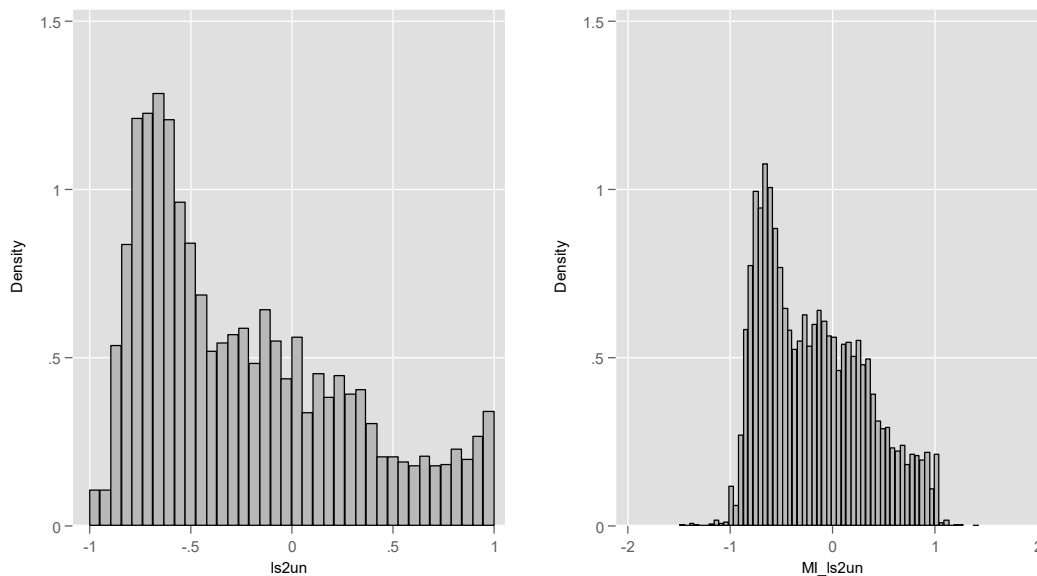
Military Aid (4)

Density Comparison of leconomicglobalization
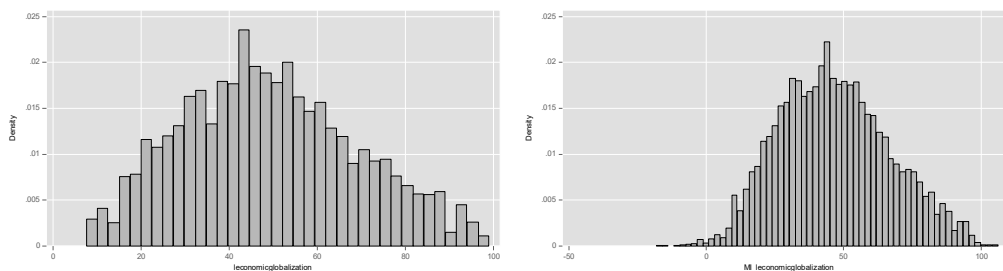
Density Comparison of lphysint
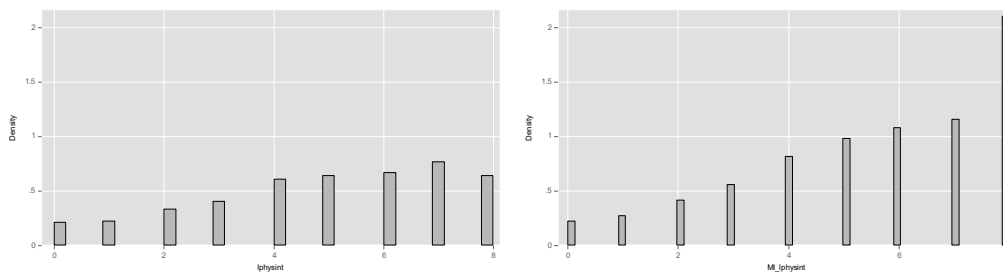
Political Aid (1)

Density Comparison of lnlgdppc
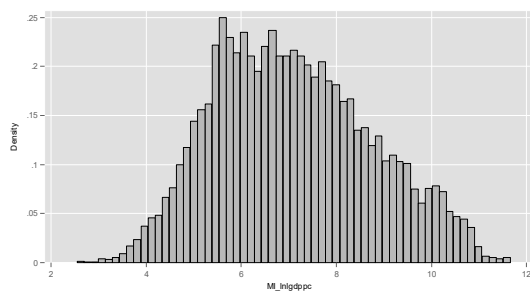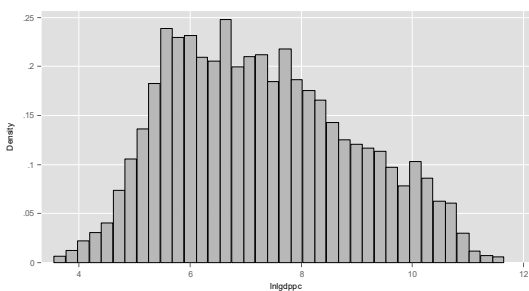
Density Comparison of lnpop
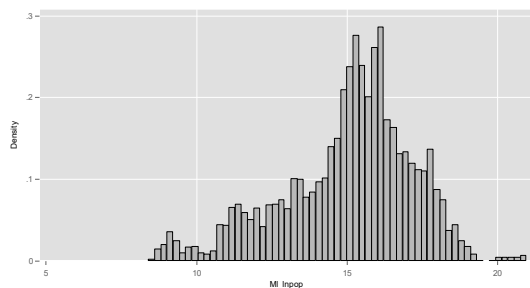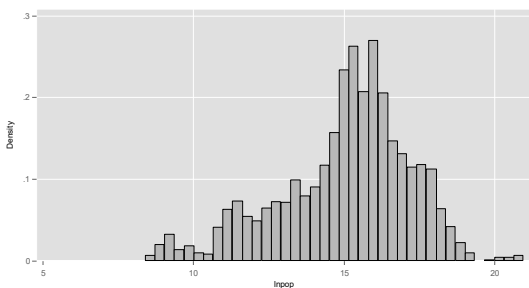
Political Aid (2)

Density Comparison of lnltot_trade
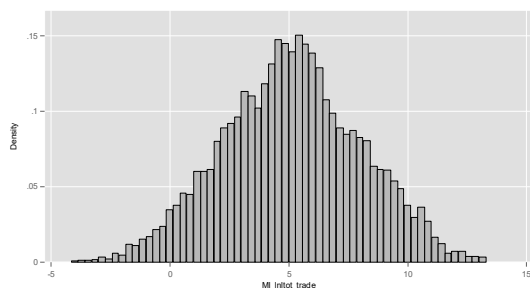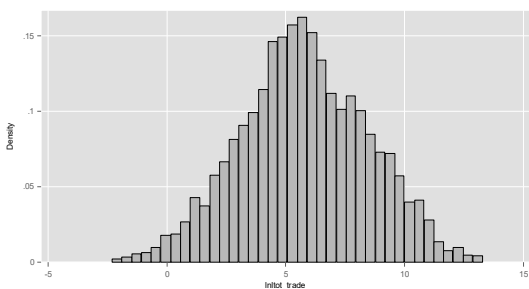
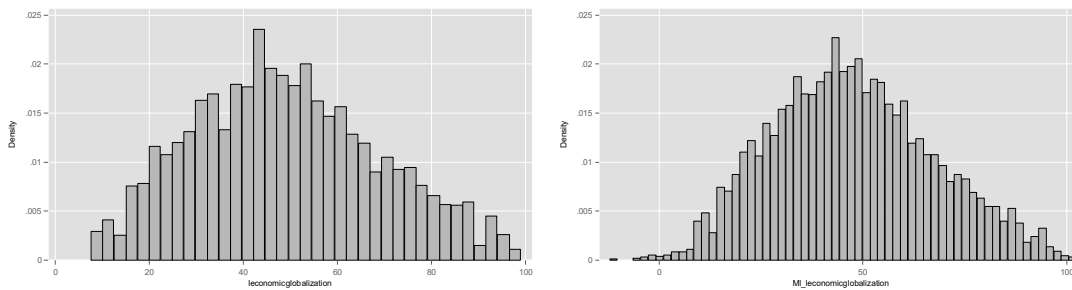### Density Comparison of polity2

Political Aid (3)

Density Comparison of ls2un
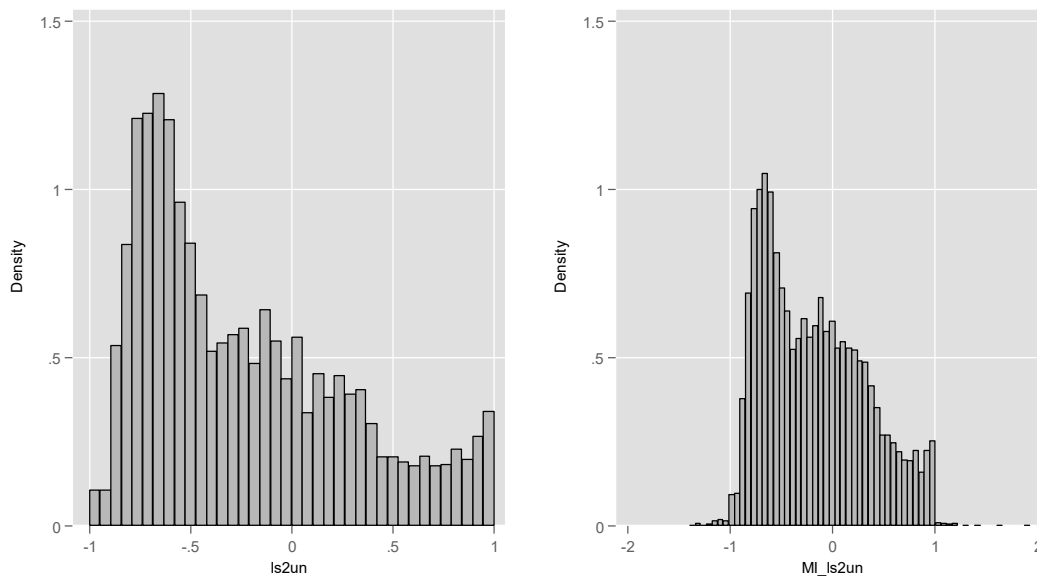
Political Aid (4)

Density Comparison of leconomicglobalization

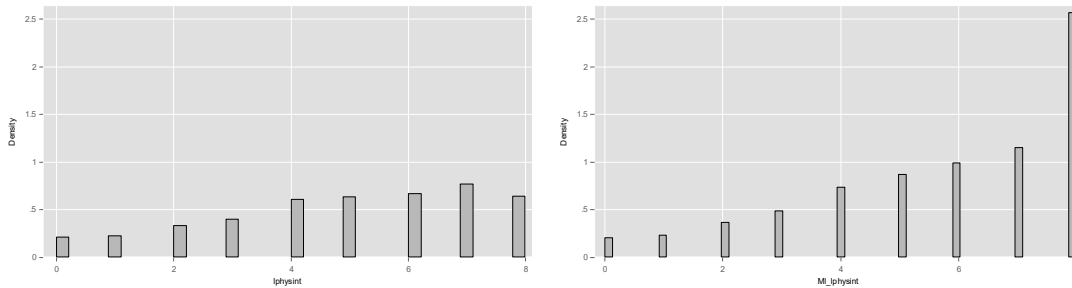### Density Comparison of lphysint

Figure C4. Density Comparisons for Some Multiply Imputed Variables

All figures above exhibit the density comparison between the original missing variables (on the left) and the complete variables generated using multiple imputation technique (on the right). The shapes of the density are approximately similar in the all pairs of variable, further suggesting the goodness of our multiple imputation models.