Indecision in American Legislatures Jeffrey J. Harden and Justin H. Kirkland https://www.press.umich.edu/9379474/indecision\_in\_american\_legislatures University of Michigan Press, 2018

## Contents

List of Figures ix List of Tables xiii Acknowledgments xv

- I Open-Minded or Indecisive? I
  - 1.1 Before the Final Vote 4
  - 1.2 Observing Indecision 6
  - 1.3 Why Does Indecision Matter? 8
  - 1.4 Competing Principals and Cross-Pressured Representatives 10
  - 1.5 Explanation, Prediction, and Model Fit 12
  - 1.6 States as Laboratories 13
  - 1.7 A Look Ahead 14

## 2 A Theory of Legislative Indecision 19

- 2.1 A Competing Principals Theory of Indecision 21
- 2.2 Illustrating the Theory via Simulation 25
- 2.3 Summary 35
- 3 Competing Principals and Waffling in State Legislatures 37
  - 3.1 Waffling Data 38
  - 3.2 Modeling Waffle Rates 41
  - 3.3 Conclusions 58

## 4 State-Level Patterns in Waffling 61

- 4.1 Party 61
- 4.2 Cosponsorship Limits 65
- 4.3 Professionalism 68
- 4.4 Term Limits 70
- 4.5 Statistical Models of State-Level Waffling 71
- 4.6 Conclusions 76

Indecision in American Legislatures Jeffrey J. Harden and Justin H. Kirkland https://www.press.umich.edu/9379474/indecision\_in\_american\_legislatures University of Michigan Press, 2018

- 5 Predicting Waffling in State Legislatures and the US Congress 78
  - 5.1 US House 79
  - 5.2 State Legislative Majority Parties 82
  - 5.3 State Legislative Minority Parties 88
  - 5.4 Predicting Individual Waffle Rates 92
  - 5.5 Conclusions 97
- 6 A Placebo Test: Vote Switching in California 99
  - 6.1 Vote Switching Descriptives 102
  - 6.2 Explanations for Vote Switching 107
  - 6.3 Modeling Vote Switches in California 108
  - 6.4 Conclusions 117
- 7 The Consequences of Indecision 119
  - 7.1 Citizen Reactions to Waffling: Experimental Evidence 120
  - 7.2 Observational Implications of Indecision 140
  - 7.3 Conclusions 152
- 8 Indecision and Representation in American Politics 154
  - 8.1 A Summary of the Findings 157
  - 8.2 Implications for Legislative Scholarship 162
  - 8.3 Evaluating Models in Social Science 163
  - 8.4 Indecision and Representation 165
  - 8.5 Final Thoughts 168

A Appendix to Chapter 2 169 B Appendix to Chapter 7 176 Notes 181 References 185 Index 195