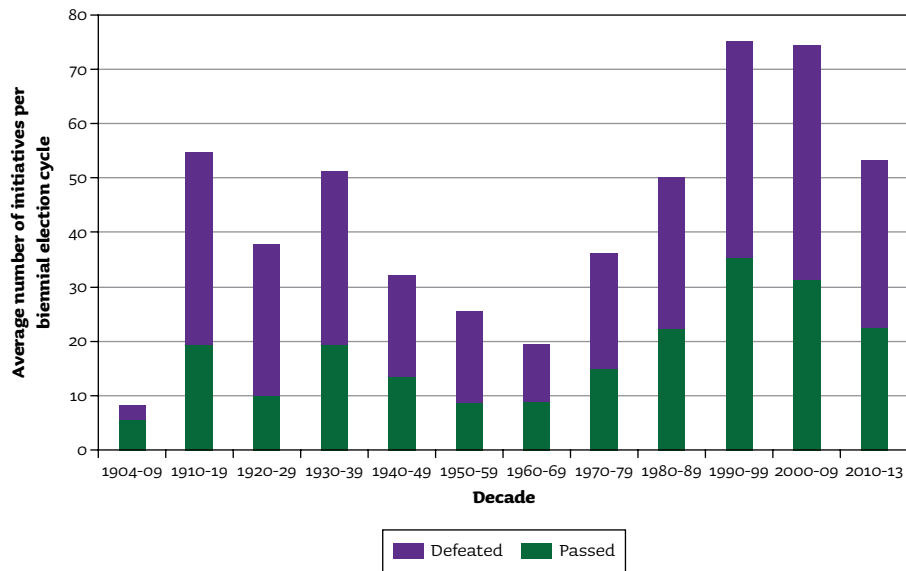


FIGURE 16.3

INITIATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1904-2013



The initiative and referendum enjoyed great popularity immediately after they were first enacted in many states, early in the twentieth century. After a period of decline, they are once again being used frequently by citizens and interest groups to achieve policy changes that might not otherwise be passed in state legislatures.

Source: Calculated by authors from Initiative and Referendum Institute database, [www.iandrinstitute.org/IRI%20Initiative%20Use%20\(2013-1\).pdf](http://www.iandrinstitute.org/IRI%20Initiative%20Use%20(2013-1).pdf) and www.iandrinstitute.org/BW%202013-1%20Election%20results.pdf.