## Contents

Lis	t of Figures	page xi
Lis	st of Tables	xiii
Pre	eface	XV
Aci	knowledgments	xix
Lis	t of Abbreviations	xxiii
I	Democratic Innovations for Representative Governments 1.1 Democratic Fatigue and Options for Democratic Innovation	I 2
	1.2 Defining Direct Democracy	6
	1.3 Direct Democracy and Representative Government	II
	1.4 Organization of the Book	20
PA	RT I ORIGINS	
2	Breaking Through: The Rebirth of Direct Democracy in the Age	of
	the Nation-State	27
	2.1 Historical Cases	30
	2.2 What Do We Know about CI-MDD Adoption?	44
	2.3 Conclusions	47
	Appendix	49
3	Catching On: Waves of Adoption of Citizen-Initiated Mechanism	
	of Direct Democracy since World War I	55
	3.1 Adoption of CI-MDDs: The Puzzle	56
	3.2 Measuring Citizen-Initiated Mechanisms of Direct Democracy 3.3 Reasons behind the Adoption of Citizen-Initiated Mechanisms of	58 f
	Direct Democracy	64

0					
(	$\cap$	nt	$\rho$	n	TS
$\cup$	V	100	v	1.0	20

	3.4	Empirical Evidence	69
	3.5	Conclusions	76
		Appendix	78
PAI	RT II	NATURE	
4		tus Quo Bias? Political Change through Direct Democracy The Effects of Democracy and Institutional Design on	83
		Popular Votes	84
		Determinants of the Success of Mechanisms of Direct Democracy	86
		Empirical Evidence	95
	4.4	Discussion	IOI
		Appendix	106
5		t or Right? Investigating Potential Ideological Biases in	
		ntemporary Direct Democracy	III
	5.1	Ideological Biases and Direct Democracy:	
		Plausible Explanations	114
	5.2	Measuring Ideological Divide and Capitalization	118
		Empirical Evidence and Data Analysis	126
	5.4	Conclusions	137
		Appendix	140
PAI	RT II	I REFORM	
6	Wh	y Adopt Direct Democracy? Much More Than a Simple Vote	145
	6.1	Impact of CI-MDDs on the Political Game	146
	6.2	The Relationship between Representative Institutions and	
		the Citizenry	149
	6.3	Direct Democracy Performs Better Than Other Democratic	
		Institutional Innovations	156
	6.4	Conclusions	165
7	Ho	w Can Direct Democracy Be Improved? Citizens' Commissions	
/		l Citizens' Counterproposals	167
		Representation	167
	'	Direct Democracy as a Means to Control the Plutocratic Tendency	10/
	/	of Elections	169
	7.3	Direct Democracy Best Practice	172
	1 2	A Further Twist on the Promise of Deliberation	180
		Fusing Direct and Deliberative Institutions: Deliberative Citizens'	
		Commissions (DCC)	183
	7.6	A Counterfactual Case: Voting Rights for the Uruguayan Diaspora,	
		October 2009	192
	7.7	Conclusion	196

## Contents

8 Conclusions: A New Democratic Equilibrium	198
8.1 Main Findings and Contributions	198
8.2 Expanding Citizenship and the Quality of Democracy	204
8.3 The Road Ahead	209
8.4 Final Remarks	212
References	
Index	247