

# Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Glossary</i>	xv
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Puzzle 1</i>	
<i>Overview</i>	3
<i>Terminology</i>	10
<i>Road map</i>	10
<b>2 Turnout twist: higher voter turnout in lower-level elections</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>Introduction</i>	12
<i>Australian state elections</i>	13
<i>Canadian provincial elections</i>	14
<i>Finnish municipal elections</i>	15
<i>French communal elections</i>	17
<i>Indian state elections</i>	18
<i>Italian local elections</i>	18
<i>Japanese municipal elections</i>	20
<i>Northern Ireland parliamentary elections</i>	22
<i>Spanish municipal elections</i>	24
<i>Swiss communal elections</i>	24
<i>Summary</i>	26
<b>3 A rational choice model of relative voter turnout</b>	<b>27</b>
<i>Introduction</i>	27
<i>Existing explanations</i>	27

x	<i>Contents</i>	
	<i>An alternative explanation</i>	29
	<i>Summary</i>	35
<b>4</b>	<b>Three levels of quantitative tests</b>	<b>37</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	37
	<i>National-level analysis</i>	37
	<i>Municipality-level analysis</i>	44
	<i>Individual-level analysis</i>	54
	<i>Summary</i>	62
<b>5</b>	<b>Culture or institution? Elections in a traditional society</b>	<b>64</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	64
	<i>Japanese culture and electoral behavior</i>	66
	<i>Kitagata town assembly election</i>	71
	<i>Discussion</i>	82
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Summary</i>	90
	<i>Implications</i>	91
	<i>Future research agenda</i>	97
	<b>Appendices</b>	
	<i>A Cross-national analysis: data sources</i>	100
	<i>B French communal elections</i>	112
	<i>C Survey data analysis: question wording and coding</i>	114
	<i>D A single vote can be decisive: examples from Japan</i>	117
	<i>Notes</i>	120
	<i>Bibliography</i>	132
	<i>Index</i>	142