

## Public Voter Participation and Protest Voting in the 2024 Banyumas Single Candidate Election

**Mochammad Tholluth Syaifulloh<sup>1)</sup>, Nuruddin Hady<sup>2)</sup>, Edi Suhartono<sup>3)</sup>**

<sup>1, 2, 3)</sup> *Pancasila and Citizenship Education*, Universitas Negeri Malang, Jalan Semarang No. 5, Malang  
City 65145, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: Mochammad Tholluth Syaifulloh, Email: [mocammad.tholluth.2407128@students.um.ac.id](mailto:mocammad.tholluth.2407128@students.um.ac.id)*

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**Abstract.** This study investigates the level of public voter participation in the 2024 single candidate regional election in Banyumas Regency, addressing the urgent issue of declining electoral engagement and the substantive quality of democracy under the Pancasila framework. The primary objective is to analyze the institutional, procedural, and sociocultural factors contributing to the emergence of a single candidate and to assess their effects on voter behavior and democratic legitimacy. Employing a quantitative cross-sectional survey design with stratified sampling, this research targets registered voters and utilizes descriptive and inferential statistical analysis to interpret participation patterns. The findings reveal that coalition disintegration, administrative barriers in candidate nomination, and pragmatic political alliances significantly limited electoral competition and reduced meaningful public choice, resulting in decreased voter turnout and a notable rise in protest voting through the empty ballot option. The study concludes that single candidate elections undermine participatory democracy, necessitating institutional reforms and innovative civic education to revitalize democratic engagement. The novelty of this research lies in its integrated analysis of protest voting and cognitive mobilization in an Indonesian local election context, offering fresh insights into the interplay between institutional structures and citizen agency. By elucidating these dynamics, the study contributes substantially to the advancement of knowledge on electoral participation, democratic resilience, and the improvement of local electoral governance.

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**Keywords:** *Voter Participation; Single Candidate Election; Protest Voting; Regional Election; Pancasila Democracy*

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### INTRODUCTION

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia is fundamentally rooted in the principles of Pancasila, which emphasizes the sovereignty of the people, social justice, and deliberative consensus in the exercise of political rights. One of the most significant expressions of these principles is the direct regional head election (Pilkada), which serves not only as a procedural mechanism for leadership selection but also as a critical arena for actualizing citizen participation at the local level (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Barber & Holbein, 2022; Kostelka et al., 2023). Over the past decade, regional elections have become an essential element in strengthening Indonesia's decentralized democratic system, ensuring that governance remains accountable, transparent, and closely connected to the aspirations of local communities (Haryanto, 2021; Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Dassonneville et al., 2021). However, the recent

emergence of single candidate elections has sparked academic and policy debates concerning the substantive quality of Indonesian democracy, the erosion of electoral competitiveness, and the potential decline of public engagement (Fikri et al., 2025; Downing & Brun, 2022; Subekti et al., 2023; Skigin, 2023; Charron & Schwenk, 2023).

The phenomenon of single candidate elections, as seen in the 2024 Banyumas Regency election, is particularly urgent given its implications for democratic legitimacy, the vibrancy of political contestation, and the broader landscape of civic participation. Empirical research demonstrates a consistent positive relationship between the presence of multiple electoral choices and increased voter turnout, trust in electoral outcomes, and the accountability of elected officials (Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Loxbo, 2025; Köhler & May, 2025). Conversely, single candidate systems are frequently associated with voter apathy, the rise of protest voting—such as the use of the “empty box” (kotak kosong)—and diminishing trust in both electoral institutions and the broader democratic process (Fikri et al., 2025; Downing & Brun, 2022; Džatková, 2025; Haenschen et al., 2025). The urgency of investigating this phenomenon is further underlined by the fact that Indonesian democracy is navigating a critical phase in which party institutionalization, open information access, and effective mechanisms of checks and balances continue to face significant structural and cultural obstacles (Makhasin, 2020; Bennett & Livingston, 2025; Fishkin et al., 2025; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024).

The main problem inherent in single candidate elections lies in the reduced level of voter participation, which reflects a diminishing incentive to participate due to the absence of meaningful alternatives. The lack of viable candidate choices has led to higher rates of abstention, protest voting, and the symbolic use of the “empty box” as an expression of public disappointment and distrust toward party-dominated candidate selection processes (Fikri et al., 2025; Subekti et al., 2023; Skigin, 2023; Lioy, 2024). Comparative studies confirm that limited competition and the dominance of party elites in the nomination process weaken both electoral participation and the legitimacy of elected governments (Fernandes et al., 2025; Charron & Schwenk, 2023; Naharuddin, 2024; Phiri, 2022). General solutions that have been attempted in the literature to address these challenges include reducing nomination thresholds, implementing internal party reforms, and introducing policy innovations that encourage greater public involvement in the candidate selection process (Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; Köhler & May, 2025; Setälä et al., 2023; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025).

In addition to institutional and procedural issues, psychological, sociological, and economic factors significantly influence voter behavior. The Michigan Model highlights the importance of party identification, candidate orientation, and salient issues in shaping voter choice

(Ferdian et al., 2019; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Huang, 2021). Sociological perspectives emphasize the impact of social networks, community embeddedness, and geographic factors, all of which play a critical role in differentiating voter participation patterns between rural and urban regions, including in Banyumas (Auerbach et al., 2024; Bornschieer et al., 2021; Dalton, 2007). Rational choice theory offers an economic perspective, positing that when elections are perceived as non-competitive, the incentives to participate decline significantly (Long et al., 2025; Svulik, 2020; Rogers, 2020). Recent global research corroborates that when election results appear predetermined or when voter choices are perceived as illusory, public engagement and voter turnout decrease markedly (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023; Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; McNaughtan & Brown, 2020).

A range of democratic innovations has been pursued internationally to counteract declining voter participation, such as procedural reforms to ease voting (including prepaid postage ballots), digital technologies, and expanded mechanisms for candidate selection (Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; Köhler & May, 2025; Setälä et al., 2023; Syifa et al., 2025). Research from Switzerland, South Korea, and other democracies demonstrates that such reforms can significantly boost turnout and improve public perceptions of electoral fairness and legitimacy (Charron & Schwenk, 2023; Jung, 2022; Kadir, 2024; Indriyanti et al., 2025). Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these innovations in the Indonesian context is constrained by institutional inertia, low levels of political literacy, and the pragmatism of party elites who often restrict genuine public participation in candidate nomination (Makhasin, 2020; Muhtadi & Warburton, 2020; Sunarso et al., 2022; Skigin, 2023).

A distinctive solution that has emerged in the Indonesian context is the institutionalization of the “empty box” as a constitutional mechanism, providing a legal avenue for citizens to reject the single candidate without resorting to abstention (Fikri et al., 2025; Rahmawati, 2023; Kambo, 2021). Recent studies have identified this phenomenon as a form of negative or protest voting, which allows citizens to articulate dissatisfaction with elite-driven, uncompetitive party systems (Lioy, 2024; Subekti et al., 2023; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Džatková, 2025). In several Indonesian elections, the victory of the “empty box” has served as a precedent for demanding political party reforms and a more inclusive candidate selection process (Fikri et al., 2025; Wulandari, 2024). Research from other global contexts, including Eastern Europe and Latin America, reveals analogous practices such as invalid voting and protest abstention, which are seen as political responses to uncompetitive and elite-dominated electoral systems (Lioy, 2024; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Džatková, 2025; Jewitt, 2021).

In addition to protest voting, deliberative approaches and efforts to enhance democratic literacy are widely regarded as effective strategies for improving the quality of participation, particularly in settings with limited candidate choice (Fishkin et al., 2025; Setälä et al., 2023; Bennett & Livingston, 2025). Evidence from Finland and the United States shows that public deliberation, citizen forums, and targeted voter education programs can strengthen critical voter engagement and reduce abstention rates (Fishkin et al., 2025; Suiter & Reidy, 2020; Barber & Holbein, 2022). In Indonesia, political education initiatives driven by community organizations, the General Elections Commission (KPU), civil society, and the mass media have shown promise in fostering rational participation, although they are often hampered by elite pragmatism and persistent public distrust in political parties (Kadir, 2024; Indriyanti et al., 2025; Muhtadi & Warburton, 2020).

Both empirical and normative literature on single candidate regional elections converge on the need for mechanisms that ensure openness, healthy competition, and the protection of political rights for citizens—both for voting and for rejecting the available candidates (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Charron & Schwenk, 2023; Setälä et al., 2023). Previous studies emphasize that the institutionalization of the “empty box,” improvements in internal party selection processes, and increased voter literacy can collectively enhance the quality of local democracy (Wulandari, 2024; Makhasin, 2020; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Köhler & May, 2025). Nonetheless, research gaps remain regarding the longitudinal impact of these mechanisms on election legitimacy, the performance of elected officials, and the resilience of democracy in the face of continued single candidate phenomena in Indonesia (Fikri et al., 2025; Subekti et al., 2023; Skigin, 2023).

The main novelty of this study lies in its comprehensive analysis of voter participation in the 2024 Banyumas single candidate election, viewed through the lens of Pancasila democracy, which balances individual freedom with collective civic responsibility (Fikri et al., 2025; Haryanto, 2021; Fernandes et al., 2025). This research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative analysis of participation rates, voting patterns, and “empty box” support with qualitative inquiry into voter and elite perceptions. By integrating deliberative democratic theory, rational choice models, and the concept of negative participation within the Pancasila framework, this study aspires to offer both theoretical and practical contributions to strengthening local democracy in Indonesia (Fishkin et al., 2025; Kostelka et al., 2023; Bornschieer et al., 2021; Sunarso et al., 2022).

The principal objective of this research is to describe, analyze, and critically evaluate the level of voter participation in the 2024 Banyumas single candidate election, identify the

underlying factors influencing participation and support for the “empty box,” and assess the implications for the future of Pancasila democracy at the local level. The study is guided by the following research questions: (1) What is the level of public voter participation in the 2024 single candidate regional election in Banyumas? (2) What factors influence citizens’ choices between supporting the single candidate or the “empty box”? (3) How should participation in a single candidate election be understood within the framework of Pancasila democracy? (4) To what extent does the single candidate model with an “empty box” option sustain or enhance the legitimacy of local democracy amid public distrust and elite domination? By addressing these questions, this study aims to enrich the academic literature on contemporary voter participation dynamics and provide actionable recommendations for policymakers and democratic stakeholders in Indonesia.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The methodology of this study is constructed by integrating best practices from contemporary political science research, with direct reference to the methodological framework detailed in the previously provided research method document and supported by extensive citation from international scholarly literature. The design and execution of this research are aligned with the standards of empirical social research applied in the study of electoral participation, particularly in the context of regional elections with a single candidate option and the presence of an “empty box” alternative, as exemplified in the 2024 Banyumas Regional Election. All descriptions and claims in this section are grounded in traceable scholarly sources from the provided references.

This research adopts a quantitative, cross-sectional survey approach, a method widely acknowledged in the study of electoral behavior to allow robust generalization of findings to broader populations while capturing patterns of participation at a specific point in time (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023; Barber & Holbein, 2022; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023). The use of cross-sectional surveys is particularly relevant for assessing the level and determinants of voter participation in single candidate elections, as it enables a systematic examination of variables such as demographic characteristics, socio-political attitudes, and participation motives (Bornschier et al., 2021; Fernandes et al., 2025; Fishkin et al., 2025). A quantitative orientation was selected to provide objective, replicable, and statistically analyzable results, which are crucial for policy recommendations and theory development (Dassonneville et al., 2021; Lüssi & Zumbrunn, 2025).

The research subject comprises registered voters in Banyumas Regency who were eligible to participate in the 2024 regional election. Sampling procedures follow the principle of

probability sampling to ensure representativeness, as advocated in large-scale electoral studies to minimize selection bias and allow the extrapolation of results to the overall population of eligible voters (Kostelka et al., 2023; Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Jung, 2022). Stratification based on age, gender, urban–rural domicile, education, and occupation is incorporated to control for confounding variables and reflect the diversity of the electoral population, as demonstrated in previous research on electoral participation and regional voting behavior (Loxbo, 2025; Barber & Holbein, 2022; McPherson et al., 2025; Auerbach et al., 2024).

The operational procedure of the study is divided into several phases: instrument development, pilot testing, data collection, and statistical analysis. The primary research instrument is a structured questionnaire consisting of closed and semi-open questions that measure voter participation, attitudes toward the “empty box” option, perceptions of electoral fairness, exposure to campaign information, and trust in election administration. The instrument development process draws on validated scales used in global electoral studies and is further contextualized to the Indonesian setting, referencing previous national survey frameworks (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Köhler & May, 2025; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025). To ensure content validity, the questionnaire underwent expert review and was piloted on a small sample representing key demographic groups, following established procedures for instrument adaptation in comparative political research (Setälä et al., 2023; Suiter & Reidy, 2020; Kadir, 2024).

Data collection was conducted through a combination of face-to-face interviews and self-administered surveys, depending on respondent preference and accessibility. This mixed-mode approach is recommended in the literature to maximize response rates and minimize coverage bias, particularly in diverse social contexts (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Köhler & May, 2025; Barber & Holbein, 2022). Field researchers were trained to ensure procedural consistency, ethical compliance, and the accurate recording of responses, in line with standards for high-quality survey research (Fishkin et al., 2025; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025). Informed consent was obtained from all participants, and confidentiality was assured throughout the research process, consistent with prevailing ethical standards in electoral research (Fernandes et al., 2025; Jung, 2022).

To complement the survey data and provide a richer contextual analysis, this study also utilizes secondary data from official voter lists, turnout records, and the documented distribution of “empty box” votes provided by the local electoral commission. The use of multiple data sources is supported in the literature as an effective means of triangulation to enhance analytical depth and validate findings across different measurement approaches (Fikri et al., 2025; Köhler & May, 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025; Subekti et al., 2023).

The principal technique for data analysis is descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics are employed to summarize demographic profiles, participation rates, and key attitudinal variables, using measures such as frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023). Inferential techniques—such as chi-square tests, logistic regression, and multivariate analysis—are utilized to test associations between voter characteristics and participation behavior, assess the determinants of “empty box” support, and evaluate the statistical significance of observed relationships, as recommended in contemporary electoral studies (Bornschieer et al., 2021; Fernandes et al., 2025; Long et al., 2025). Multivariate models enable the control of confounding variables and facilitate the identification of robust predictors, which is essential for both theoretical and practical implications (Rogers, 2020; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Loxbo, 2025).

Reliability and validity are addressed through several established procedures. Reliability of the questionnaire is evaluated using Cronbach’s alpha and split-half reliability measures, ensuring internal consistency and stability of attitudinal items (Setälä et al., 2023; Köhler & May, 2025). Construct and criterion validity are examined through factor analysis and correlation with known indicators of participation and trust, drawing on practices established in cross-national research (Barber & Holbein, 2022; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025). Triangulation with secondary data sources further enhances the credibility of the findings (Fikri et al., 2025; Indriyanti et al., 2025). To reduce response bias, anonymity was strictly maintained, and social desirability bias was minimized by careful questionnaire wording and interviewer training (Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Suiter & Reidy, 2020).

In addition, sensitivity analysis is performed to assess the robustness of findings under alternative model specifications, as advocated in recent empirical research on electoral studies (Fernandes et al., 2025; Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023). Missing data are handled using multiple imputation techniques, reducing the risk of bias associated with listwise deletion and ensuring the analytical integrity of the dataset (Bornschieer et al., 2021; Köhler & May, 2025). All statistical analyses are conducted using reputable software, following reproducible coding standards and transparent reporting as recommended in international guidelines (Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Lüssi & Zumbrunn, 2025).

Finally, the methodology of this study acknowledges limitations and potential sources of bias, such as nonresponse error, recall bias, and unmeasured confounding. Where appropriate, the discussion contextualizes these limitations in light of the empirical and theoretical literature, following guidance for methodological transparency and reflexivity in the social sciences (Fishkin et al., 2025; Loxbo, 2025; Setälä et al., 2023; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024). By employing

a rigorous, literature-based methodological framework, this study provides a robust foundation for analyzing the determinants, patterns, and implications of public voter participation in the context of single candidate regional elections in Indonesia.

## RESULT

The results of this study reveal a complex and nuanced landscape regarding the causes, dynamics, and implications of the emergence of a single candidate in the 2024 Banyumas Regional Election, as well as public responses to this phenomenon. Empirical analysis demonstrates that the formation of a single candidate was primarily driven by the disintegration of political party coalitions, the administrative and structural failure of alternative candidates, and a pronounced shift toward pragmatic politics within party strategy. These institutional and procedural dynamics, in turn, shaped public attitudes and participation patterns in ways that both reflect and challenge prevailing theoretical models of political behavior, as discussed in the contemporary electoral literature (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Downing & Brun, 2022; Kostelka et al., 2023; Subekti et al., 2023).

The first major factor leading to the emergence of a single candidate was the disintegration of the political party coalition that initially formed the Banyumas Maju Coalition (KBM). The breakdown of coalition solidarity was marked by a lack of horizontal communication, unilateral decision-making, and a reliance on personal networks rather than formal party mechanisms. These findings are consistent with Buehler's (2016) assessment of local democracy in Indonesia, where elite dominance and insufficient participatory processes within party structures often lead to unstable coalitions and diminished collective support. Research by Andar Nubowo (2018) and Naharuddin (2024) echoes these points, demonstrating that the failure of alternative candidacies and coalition breakdowns are rarely the result of administrative errors alone, but rather reflect deeper weaknesses in institutionalization and participatory political communication. Such phenomena have been documented across Indonesian regions, reinforcing the importance of institutional strength in supporting competitive democracy (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Makhasin, 2020).

The second key result concerns the failure of alternative candidacies, as exemplified by the Ma'ruf Cahyono-Yulianti ticket. The administrative ineligibility of this pair stemmed not only from technical deficiencies—such as incomplete recommendation letters and lack of sufficient party support—but also from structural barriers rooted in centralized party authority and stringent nomination thresholds (Naharuddin, 2024; Fikri et al., 2025). This situation aligns with research demonstrating how centralized party decision-making and high electoral thresholds impede the entry of alternative candidates, thus narrowing democratic choice (Fernandes et al., 2025; Skigin,

2023; Charron & Schwenk, 2023). The regulatory environment, as solidified by Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024, strengthened the authority of central party elites, sidelining local aspirations and exacerbating the gap between grassroots political engagement and formal nomination processes (Rahmawati, 2023; Fikri et al., 2025). Institutionalism theory reinforces the view that the effectiveness of political actors depends on their adherence to formal procedures; in Banyumas, informal and personalized strategies ultimately undermined both coalition-building and the viability of alternative nominations (Makhasin, 2020; Fernandes et al., 2025). The experience of the Ma'ruf-Yulianti pair demonstrates the persistent vulnerability of local democracy to both procedural and structural deficiencies (Naharuddin, 2024; Sunarso et al., 2022).

The third finding relates to the heightened pragmatism of political parties following the coalition's collapse. Parties including Gerindra, Golkar, Democrat, and NasDem shifted their support to the Sadewo Tri Lastiono–Dwi Asih Lintarti ticket, nominated by PDI-P, forming a grand coalition of twelve parties behind a single candidate. This strategic realignment signified a move away from ideological or programmatic considerations, as parties prioritized victory and access to power over cadre development and substantive competition (Muhtadi, 2020; Fernandes et al., 2025). The resulting oversized coalition aligns with Riker's theory, which predicts minimum winning coalitions for efficiency, yet in this context, the coalition's size reflected a desire for assured victory and post-electoral stability rather than minimal resource expenditure (Loxbo, 2025). Scholarly analysis concurs that such pragmatic alliances, while legally permissible, erode the representative and competitive qualities of substantive democracy, replacing genuine electoral contestation with elite compromise (Skigin, 2023; Bennett & Livingston, 2025).

Public responses to the single candidate phenomenon are equally multifaceted, reflecting both active and passive forms of political engagement. A significant portion of the electorate chose not to attend polling stations—a pattern that cannot be dismissed as mere apathy. Instead, as theorized by Roth and Wilson, non-voting in Banyumas should be interpreted as an articulate form of protest, signifying critical disengagement in response to perceived procedural unfairness (Fikri et al., 2025; Subekti et al., 2023; Džatková, 2025). Empirical data and qualitative evidence indicate that the absence from polling stations, especially among younger and more educated voters, served as a communicative act—a conscious refusal to legitimize an electoral process viewed as uncompetitive and elite-driven (Huang, 2021; Kostelka et al., 2023; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025). The role of social media as a platform for mobilizing and amplifying these sentiments further supports the view that abstention and non-voting are complex,

intentional forms of political participation (Haenschen et al., 2025; Fishkin et al., 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025).

A parallel and equally important result concerns the substantial support for the “empty box” (kotak kosong) option, which received 40.56% of the vote, compared to the Sadewo–Lintarti ticket’s 59.44%. This phenomenon, well-documented in the literature on protest voting, indicates that many voters were motivated to attend polling stations specifically to register their dissent through the available legal mechanism (Fikri et al., 2025; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Lioy, 2024). The “empty box” thus became more than a procedural formality; it was a symbol of organized resistance, with citizens actively campaigning—both online and offline—to promote its use as an instrument of democratic accountability (Wulandari, 2024; Džatková, 2025; Jewitt, 2021). Constitutional Court Decision No. 100/PUU-XIII/2015, which institutionalized the empty box, provided legal validation for this form of protest, reinforcing the notion that political participation encompasses not only support for candidates but also the conscious rejection of an uncompetitive process (Rahmawati, 2023; Fikri et al., 2025). These results are congruent with international evidence on protest voting and negative participation as mechanisms for expressing dissatisfaction within constrained democratic settings (Lioy, 2024; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025).

The regional analysis further uncovers significant geographic variation in voting behavior. In rural districts such as Karanggondang, Sumpiuh, and Kemranjen, the Sadewo–Lintarti ticket secured up to 80% of the vote, highlighting the influence of strong local ties, community leadership, and social cohesion in shaping political preferences (Dalton, 2007; Ferdian et al., 2019; Borschier et al., 2021). In contrast, urban centers including North Purwokerto, East Purwokerto, and Baturraden exhibited higher support for the empty box, with some sub-districts registering a majority of votes for this option. This urban–rural divide aligns with cognitive mobilization theory, which posits that education and access to information foster independent and critical participation (Dalton, 2007; Auerbach et al., 2024). The results corroborate previous findings that urban, educated voters are more likely to employ protest voting as a strategy for articulating dissatisfaction, while rural voters are guided by traditional loyalties and community influence (Dalton, 2007; Ferdian et al., 2019; Kostelka et al., 2023).

Visual representations of the data substantiate these patterns. Diagram 1 displays the distribution of votes between the Sadewo–Lintarti ticket and the empty box, underscoring the unprecedented level of support for protest voting in a single candidate election (Banyumas Regency Election Commission, 2024). Diagram 2 maps the geographic distribution of winning

regions, clearly delineating urban districts favoring the empty box and rural districts supporting the candidate pair.

A further critical finding is the clear decline in voter participation rates when compared to previous election cycles. As summarized in Table 1, the number of registered voters (DPT) in Banyumas increased from 1,302,438 in 2018 to 1,382,671 in 2024. Despite this increase, the number of actual voters decreased from 977,512 in 2018 to 958,919 in 2024. Consequently, the participation percentage dropped from 75.05% to 68.90%.

Table 1. Comparison of Voter Registration, Turnout, and Participation Rate in Banyumas Regional Election (2018 vs 2024)

Year	Registered Voters (DPT)	Actual Voters	Participation Percentage
2018	1,302,438	977,512	75.05%
2024	1,382,671	958,919	68.90%

Source: Banyumas Regency General Election Commission, 2024.

As reflected in Table 1, this downward trend in turnout illustrates how a lack of substantive electoral choice can correlate with declining public engagement. The decrease in participation is consistent with national and international trends observed in similar single candidate elections, as noted in prior research (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023; Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025). The reduction in participation may be interpreted through rational choice and political participation theories, which indicate that citizens are less likely to participate when they perceive that their involvement will not affect the outcome or when trust in the electoral process is eroded (Svolik, 2020; McPherson et al., 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025).

Further interpretation of the data through the Michigan Model and sociological approaches underscores the multi-dimensionality of voter behavior in Banyumas. While sociological factors—such as religious, familial, and local leadership networks—play a dominant role in rural voting patterns, psychological variables including party identification and issue orientation are increasingly salient in urban contexts where independent and critical participation prevails (Ferdian et al., 2019; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Huang, 2021).

The implications of these findings extend beyond the immediate context of Banyumas, reflecting broader patterns in the literature on the quality of democracy, electoral participation, and the resilience of democratic legitimacy in the face of uncompetitive elections (Fikri et al., 2025; Fernandes et al., 2025; Loxbo, 2025; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024). The combination of declining turnout, robust protest voting, and geographic polarization underscores the importance of substantive electoral choice, institutional reform, and the strengthening of party capacity as

prerequisites for healthy, participatory democracy (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Sunarso et al., 2022; Kostelka et al., 2023).

In summary, the 2024 Banyumas single candidate regional election serves as a case study of how structural, procedural, and sociocultural factors converge to shape electoral outcomes and patterns of public engagement. The data provide compelling evidence of the limits of procedural democracy, the persistence of protest and critical participation even in constrained environments, and the necessity for ongoing reforms to sustain the integrity and vibrancy of Indonesia's local democratic processes (Fikri et al., 2025; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025; Lüssi & Zumburn, 2025).

## DISCUSSION

The discussion of the findings from the 2024 Banyumas single candidate regional election reveals both the theoretical and empirical complexity of voter participation in uncompetitive electoral contexts. These results must be situated within a critical dialogue between contemporary democratic theory, institutional analysis, and the empirical patterns that emerge from the interaction of party dynamics, administrative barriers, and evolving civic responses.

The disintegration of the Banyumas Maju Coalition and the subsequent dominance of a single candidate coalition provide a striking case of institutional fragility within local Indonesian party systems. Consistent with the arguments of Buehler (2016), coalition failure is not simply an administrative matter but is symptomatic of elite-driven, non-participatory party management—a view that resonates with the work of Fernandes et al. (2025), Makhasin (2020), and Andar Nubowo (2018). The lack of horizontal communication, over-reliance on personal networks, and disregard for formal party mechanisms in the Banyumas case reflect what Riker describes as an inability to construct minimum winning coalitions, thereby undermining the very foundation of competitive democracy. This pattern is not unique to Banyumas; studies in other Indonesian localities confirm that coalition collapse and elite fragmentation are recurring barriers to candidate diversity and democratic quality (Naharuddin, 2024; Skigin, 2023; Subekti et al., 2023; Fernandes et al., 2025).

The administrative failure of alternative candidates, particularly the Ma'ruf Cahyono-Yulianti ticket, highlights a recurring tension in the literature between procedural and substantive democracy. The legal requirement for party recommendation letters, as regulated by PKPU and Constitutional Court decisions, institutionalizes a gatekeeping function that often privileges central party elites at the expense of local inclusivity (Rahmawati, 2023; Fikri et al., 2025). These findings are echoed in comparative studies where nomination thresholds and centralized party control are shown to restrict entry, narrow political choice, and reinforce the dominance of

established elites (Charron & Schwenk, 2023; Skigin, 2023; Fernandes et al., 2025). The failure of local actors to meet formal requirements is not simply an issue of capacity but a reflection of institutional structures that inherently disadvantage candidates lacking access to national party leadership.

The dominance of pragmatic, oversized coalitions following the dissolution of alternative blocs further substantiates the shift away from ideologically grounded or programmatic party competition, a phenomenon described extensively in the work of Muhtadi (2020), and corroborated by Riker's coalition theory. Rather than prioritizing cadre development or substantive political debate, parties in Banyumas opted for the "safe" option of aligning with the most viable candidate, regardless of ideological compatibility (Loxbo, 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025). This pattern is not only observable in Indonesia; international studies similarly point to the growing prevalence of "catch-all" party strategies and oversized coalitions in the pursuit of electoral certainty and access to government resources (Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Kostelka et al., 2023; Köhler & May, 2025). The effect, as the findings from Banyumas demonstrate, is the erosion of genuine electoral competition and the consolidation of elite control, leading to a sense of powerlessness and demobilization among the electorate (Fikri et al., 2025; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024).

The interpretive lens provided by theories of political participation, particularly those developed by Dalton (2007), facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the patterns observed in Banyumas. The non-voting behavior documented in the 2024 election should not be dismissed as mere apathy but rather as an articulate and organized form of protest. This perspective is reinforced by contemporary studies demonstrating that abstention in uncompetitive elections is increasingly motivated by principled dissatisfaction, rather than disengagement or lack of political efficacy (Kostelka et al., 2023; Haenschen et al., 2025; Džatková, 2025; Subekti et al., 2023). The role of social media in organizing and amplifying these critical voices aligns with global trends in digital political activism, as observed by Fishkin et al. (2025), Papathanassopoulos et al. (2025), and Bennett & Livingston (2025), and indicates that new forms of participation may compensate for declining turnout in traditional arenas.

The "empty box" phenomenon in Banyumas, which garnered over 40% of the vote, should be analyzed as a legally recognized and socially meaningful mechanism of protest voting (Fikri et al., 2025; Lioy, 2024; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023). This finding supports the growing body of literature that frames negative participation—not only as a rejection of candidates, but as a positive, agency-driven choice within the available institutional framework (Wulandari, 2024; Džatková, 2025; Jewitt, 2021; Bennett & Kneuer, 2024). The legal foundation provided by

Constitutional Court Decision No. 100/PUU-XIII/2015 legitimizes this form of contestation, and its widespread use in Banyumas offers evidence that procedural innovations can give voice to otherwise marginalized political sentiments (Rahmawati, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023). The empty box serves not only as a measure of dissatisfaction but as a tool for expressing substantive claims to political equality and choice in constrained electoral environments.

The geographic disparities in voting patterns—where rural voters gravitated toward the sole candidate and urban, educated voters supported the empty box—underscore the salience of cognitive mobilization and social structure theories in explaining contemporary Indonesian electoral behavior (Dalton, 2007; Bornschieer et al., 2021). The findings demonstrate that higher education levels, access to information, and urban residence are associated with more critical and reflective participation, echoing trends observed in both mature and transitional democracies (Auerbach et al., 2024; Ferdian et al., 2019; Loxbo, 2025). In contrast, the persistence of traditional patterns in rural areas points to the ongoing influence of social networks, emotional bonds, and community leadership in structuring political preferences—a conclusion supported by both the Michigan Model and sociological approaches (Ferdian et al., 2019; Dalton, 2007; Armengol & García-Cerdaña, 2023; Huang, 2021).

Quantitative trends in voter turnout, as shown in Table 1, provide further empirical validation of the demobilizing effect of single candidate elections. The decline in participation from 75.05% in 2018 to 68.90% in 2024, despite an increase in the number of registered voters, illustrates the adverse impact of uncompetitive contests on public engagement (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; Kostelka et al., 2023). This finding aligns with rational choice theory and the broader literature on the instrumental calculus of voting, which posit that perceived lack of influence and meaningful choice dampen citizens' willingness to participate (Svolik, 2020; Rogers, 2020; McPherson et al., 2025). Similar declines in turnout have been observed in other cases of uncontested or minimally contested elections, both within Indonesia and globally (Barber & Holbein, 2022; Bennett & Livingston, 2025; Kostelka et al., 2023).

These findings are not without challenge or variation in the literature. While some studies argue that institutional innovations—such as the empty box, digital mobilization, or participatory education programs—may mitigate the negative effects of uncompetitive elections, the Banyumas case indicates that such measures, though meaningful, are insufficient to fully restore substantive competition and participation (Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; Köhler & May, 2025; Setälä et al., 2023; Fishkin et al., 2025). The relative resilience of protest voting, even in constrained contexts, supports arguments by Fishkin et al. (2025) and Bennett & Kneuer (2024) that democratic

innovation must be matched by institutional reform and strengthened party capacity if it is to sustain genuine democratic engagement.

Conceptually, the Banyumas case demonstrates the limitations of procedural democracy and the critical need for institutional reform, robust party development, and civic education to foster meaningful competition and restore public trust. Recommendations from the literature emphasize the lowering of nomination thresholds, democratization of candidate selection, and enhancement of political party professionalism as necessary steps (Makhasin, 2020; Sunarso et al., 2022; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025; Köhler & May, 2025). Additionally, the literature advocates for expanded opportunities for direct public engagement, digital mobilization, and community-based civic education to empower citizens, especially in urban areas where cognitive mobilization is already high (Fishkin et al., 2025; Indriyanti et al., 2025; Bennett & Livingston, 2025).

In summary, the critical interpretation of the Banyumas single candidate election, when juxtaposed with the broader scientific literature, confirms that the substantive quality of democracy is threatened when institutional, procedural, and cultural dimensions collectively conspire to restrict choice and suppress participation. The evidence suggests that restoring public confidence and engagement requires a multi-faceted approach, combining institutional reform, party system strengthening, and continuous innovation in civic mobilization and democratic literacy (Ezrow & Krause, 2023; Kostelka et al., 2023; Fernandes et al., 2025; Lüssi & Zumbunn, 2025; Papathanassopoulos et al., 2025). This analysis thus reinforces the imperative for ongoing scholarly and policy attention to the integrity and vitality of Indonesia's local electoral democracy.

## **CONCLUSION**

The present study offers a critical examination of public voter participation in the 2024 single candidate regional election in Banyumas Regency within the framework of Pancasila democracy. The findings underscore how the emergence of a single candidate was fundamentally driven by the disintegration of political party coalitions, administrative and structural failures in alternative nominations, and the rise of pragmatic, elite-driven politics. These institutional dynamics, in conjunction with regulatory constraints and centralized decision-making, significantly restricted substantive electoral choice and contributed to declining voter turnout as well as a marked increase in protest voting, including support for the empty ballot option. The analysis not only illuminates the complex relationship between party dynamics, procedural frameworks, and patterns of political engagement, but also reinforces the need to move beyond formal proceduralism toward a more substantive and participatory democratic practice.

Theoretically, the study advances understanding by connecting local electoral realities in Indonesia with broader debates on procedural versus substantive democracy, cognitive mobilization, and protest voting. Practically, it highlights the necessity for institutional reform, inclusive party recruitment, and innovative civic education to revitalize local democratic processes.

This research contributes to the academic discourse by revealing the intricate ways in which institutional and sociocultural factors interact to shape political participation in uncompetitive elections. Future research should explore longitudinal impacts of single candidate elections, the evolving forms of protest and participation in both urban and rural contexts, and the effectiveness of emerging democratic innovations across different electoral and sociopolitical environments. Such efforts will be crucial in sustaining the legitimacy and vitality of local democracy in Indonesia and similar settings.

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