

## 【刘哲伟专栏】六州选举的两个看点



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雪兰莪、森美兰、吉打、槟城、吉兰丹和登嘉楼这6个州属，将在8月12日举行选举投票。（档案照：透视大马）

抛开政治言论，以最直接的看法来预测六州选举，可预见吉兰丹、登嘉楼和吉打将继续由国盟执政，而槟城、森美兰和雪兰莪则由希盟和国阵联合执政。

我所关注的重点并不是州选的结果，而是选举过程可能产生的问题，所以我将从两个方面来探讨州选。

### （一）统民党（MUDA）的竞争

许多希盟的支持者和领袖都不满统民党上阵，直指他们在分散选票和制造麻烦。我个人认为他们不会赢得议席，可以保住按柜金就是好成绩，毕竟他们的大部分支持都来自希盟。同时，我同意统民党会“分散”希盟的选票。

但是，要如何界定谁分散了谁的票？如果希盟没有竞选，那么票就流向统民党，相反地，统民党也可以说是希盟分散他们的选票，而且并非统民党不愿意与希盟合作。从政治角度来看问题，统民党参选肯定是对希盟不利，但是又不能假借赢面名义来阻止他人参选，这是违背了民主精神。

在这次州选举中，统民党其实不用赢得任何议席，倘若可以让希盟因为分散了选票而输掉议席，未来可以迫使希盟不得不跟他们协商。从另一个角度来看，统民党参选，还是有其另一个层面的考量，如果一个政党都不竞选，那么有什么意义呢？所以其实也很难怪统民党竞选。



从政治角度来看问题，统民党参选肯定是对希盟不利。（档案照：透视大马）

同时，统民党这次也开拓了先河，提名了超过一半女性候选人。虽然很多政党表面上都主张女权，提名至少30巴仙女性候选人，但真正做到的也不多，除了行动党以外。现实的考量点是赢面。当然，女性候选人并不直接代表拉低了赢面，但在马来西亚政治上，男权主义还是很强，还是很主观的认为如此。再加上政党党职制度下，包括区部领袖的政治规范，不容易不以常规提名候选人。而这常规也经常使候选人都是区部领导人，也就是男性。所以，要改变这种现象，可以采取两个方案。

第一，不单单随党龄或党职来决定候选人，而是以能力来决定。这个方案需要中央拥有强大的权力集中，也必须确保若区部发生反叛，中央必须压得住，或至少在选举中不被影响。简单来说，这个方案需强大的政治意愿加上党的支持率大量超过地方个人的支持率。目前最简单的例子，槟城行动党。

第二，直接从根源改变，即把女性成为区部领导。这样的话，上面所讨论的政党规范或常规也不需被违背，也不需强大的政治意愿特地的介入而改革。但是，正如以上所说，在马来西亚男权为主要的政治生态下，这并不容易，但也不是不可能。



作者认为，“绿潮”是否如第15届大选般强劲，还是已经减弱值得关注 and 讨论。（档案照：透视大马）

## （二）马来选票的流动

这是值得讨论的部分，也是州选举直观重点观察。其中“绿潮”是否如第15届大选般强劲，还是已经减弱？目前，我们还不能断定说“绿潮”势力减弱，尤其在马来选区。相反的，吉打大臣沙努西之前的言论反而巩固他在马来人眼中的地位。虽然在华裔眼中，他不过是无稽之谈的言论，但是在马来人听了，尤其是弱势群体，直接把他当作英雄，毕竟之前没有伊党领袖像他一样。

另一方面，那些在大选支持希盟的人，如今要他们支持希盟与巫统合作，他们与那些“含泪投票”的华裔选民一样，选择有限。反而巫统支持者，他们这一次会选择1加1等于2，还是跳船选择国盟呢？我曾经说过，选举很多时候是被情绪带动，无论多么理性的选民，一旦情感覆盖了理性，他们是会根据情绪投票而非理性，所以投票倾向只能在投票当天或前一天才知道。是国盟领袖设法从情绪上赢得更多支持，还是这一群人依然继续支持国阵呢？

结论，六州选举从表面上来看，可能激不起火花，但是我相信每个人都可以从中找到关注点，可以更深入去观察这场选举。

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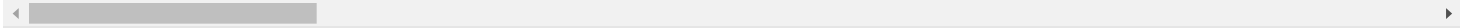
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# [Liu Zhewei Column] Two highlights of the six-state election



**Liu Zhewei**

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*The six states of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Kedah, Penang, Kelantan and Terengganu will hold elections on August 12. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)*

Putting aside the political rhetoric and predicting the six state elections from the most straightforward perspective, it is foreseeable that Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah will continue to be governed by the Perikatan Nasional, while Penang, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor will be jointly governed by the Pakatan Harapan and the Barisan Nasional.

My focus is not on the results of state elections, but on the problems that may arise from the election process, so I will explore state elections from two aspects.

## 1. Competition from the United Democratic Party (MUDA)

Many PH supporters and leaders are unhappy with the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) taking part in the election, saying that they are splitting votes and causing trouble. I personally think that they will not win any seats, and it is a good result if they can keep their deposit, after all, most of their support comes from PH. At the same time, I agree that UMNO will "split" PH votes.

However, how to define who split whose votes? If PH did not run in the election, the votes would go to the United Malays National Organization (UMO). On the contrary, it can be said that PH split their votes, and it is not that UMO is unwilling to cooperate with PH. From a political perspective, UMO's participation in the election is definitely disadvantageous to PH, but it cannot use the name of winning to prevent others from running in the election. This goes against the spirit of democracy.

In this state election, the United Malays National Party does not actually need to win any seats. If they can make the Pakatan Harapan lose seats by splitting the votes, they can force the Pakatan Harapan to negotiate with them in the future. From another perspective, the United Malays National Party's participation in the election still has another level of consideration. If a political party does not run for election, what is the point? So it is actually hard to blame the United Malays National Party for running for election.



*From a political perspective, the United Malays National Organisation's participation in the election will definitely be disadvantageous to the PH. (File photo: Malaysian Perspective)*

At the same time, the United People's Party also broke the precedent this time by nominating more than half of the candidates as women. Although many political parties ostensibly advocate women's rights and nominate at least 30 percent of female candidates, not many have actually done so, except for the Democratic Action Party. The realistic consideration is the chance of winning. Of course, female candidates do not directly mean that the chance of winning is lowered, but in Malaysian politics, patriarchy is still very strong, and it is still very subjective to think so. In addition, under the political party position system, including the political norms of division leaders, it is not easy to nominate candidates in a conventional way. And this convention often makes the candidates all division leaders, that is, men. Therefore, to change this phenomenon, two solutions can be adopted.

First, candidates are not determined solely by party age or party position, but by ability. This solution requires a strong concentration of power at the central level, and must ensure that if a branch revolt occurs, the central level must be able to suppress it, or at least not be affected in the election. In simple terms,

this solution requires strong political will and a party support rate that far exceeds the support rate of local individuals. The simplest example at present is the Penang DAP.

Second, change the root cause directly, that is, let women become division leaders. In this way, the party norms or conventions discussed above do not need to be violated, nor do they need strong political will to intervene and reform. However, as mentioned above, in Malaysia's male-dominated political environment, this is not easy, but it is not impossible.



*The author believes that whether the "Green Wave" is as strong as in the 15th general election or has weakened is worthy of attention and discussion. (File photo: Perspective Malaysia)*

## 2. The Flow of Malay Votes

This is a topic worth discussing and a key point to observe in the state election. Is the "Green Wave" as strong as in the 15th general election, or has it weakened? At present, we cannot conclude that the "Green Wave" has weakened, especially in Malay constituencies. On the contrary, Kedah Menteri Besar Sanusi's previous remarks have consolidated his position in the eyes of the Malays. Although in the eyes of the Chinese, his remarks are just



nonsense, but when the Malays hear them, especially the disadvantaged groups, they directly regard him as a hero. After all, there has been no PAS leader like him before.

On the other hand, those who supported PH in the general election are now asked to support PH and cooperate with UMNO. Like those Chinese voters who voted in tears, they have limited choices. On the contrary, will UMNO supporters choose 1 plus 1 equals 2 this time, or jump ship to PN? I have said before that elections are often driven by emotions. No matter how rational voters are, once emotions override rationality, they will vote based on emotions rather than rationality, so the voting tendency can only be known on the day of voting or the day before. Will the PN leaders try to win more support from emotions, or will this group of people continue to support the Barisan Nasional?

Conclusion: On the surface, the six-state elections may not spark much excitement, but I believe everyone can find focus and observe this election more deeply.

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