Climbing Up or Down? An Overview of the Ten Years of Citizen Participation in Malaysian Public Sector Projects

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Abstract: The Government of Malaysia has been promoting citizen participation since the enactment of the country's Town and Planning Act 1976 (Act 172). The Shared Prosperity Vision 2030, which can be interpreted as the commitment of the Malaysian Government to accelerate the country's sustainable growth, reaffirmed the Government's intention to enhance citizen participation in Malaysia's public affairs. But do average citizens really have the chance to engage in public-sector projects? This work intends to discover the extent to which the Malaysian public had the opportunity to participate in public sector projects. Based on Arnstein's ladder of participation, the present work analyzes citizen participation in Malaysia for ten years. The findings signify that the general people's opportunity to engage in Malaysia's public-sector projects has eventually increased within the last ten years. Nevertheless, the levels of participation were still considerably low, suggesting tokenism as the highest level of participation that the Malaysian public can negotiate. Finally, the work highlights the importance of the Malaysian government to overcome the barriers to enable higher level of citizen participation in the country.

Keywords: citizen participation; malaysia; ladder of participation; public-sector projects.

1 Introduction

Citizen participation has long been argued as one of the useful tools to enable individuals' active involvement in decision-making regarding matters that may impact their lives [1]. It is argued to be the vehicle to deliver citizens' pursuits and apprehensions related to development proposals where the proposed development may affect their livelihood [2]. The participation itself might reduce the political and administrative difficulties particularly if the involvement were properly set up and professionally advocated [3]. Likewise, it could help identify a public concern and desires and lead to the excellent management of resources [4][5]. With the nature of stimulating the information exchange among the affected stakeholders, citizen participation might assist communities to build better connections and boost consensus that would contribute positively to the proposed development plans [6].

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Nevertheless, the success of the participation process is based on the extent to where citizen is permissible to participate [7]. A great participation process requires the citizen to participate in numerous planning and development phases, as Litchfield [8] recommended. Unfortunately, though, many restrictions may obstruct citizens from involving in the implementation of the participation process. Research demonstrates that participatory setting regulations and objectives in public provision projects are frequently vague [9][10]. Its effectiveness has also been questioned as some scholars believed that citizen participation is a delusional concept, even if it was conducted under collaborative working [11][12][13] and through utilization of modern information technologies [14][13]. No matter how scholars discuss it, we cannot deny that citizen participation is an esessential element in community development in ensuring its sustainability. For example, Egan [15] listed 'governance' as one of the criteria for achieving a sustainable community. Under this governance criteria, he indicated citizen participation or involvement as one of the features that construct a sustainable community [15]. Thus, citizen participation is embedded as one of the elements of good governance and has been widely accepted worldwide [16].

In the present study, we focus on the implementation of citizen participation in Malaysia, a country predicted by the World Bank [17] would achieve its transition from an upper middle-income economy to a high-income one by 2024. Since 1976, the country has been advocating the importance of citizen participation in Malaysia's town and country planning. Through the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) [18], Malaysia introduced the possibility for the public to be involved in the town and country planning affairs [19][13]. It is suggesting Malaysia's stronger acknowledgement of the significance of citizen participation in achieving good governance and sustainable development [20][13]. The country's commitment to incorporate citizen participation in its development is reaffirmed in the Shared Prosperity Vision 2030, a national policy that aims to deliver proper essential livelihood to all citizens by 2030 [21]. This policy places citizen participation as the first objective and priority. It emphasizes the importance of 'Development for All', a statement which can be interpreted as restructuring the economy to be more escalating, knowledge-based, and superiorvalued with full 'community participation' [21]. In this vision, apparently Malaysia perceived citizen participation as an entry point for achieving sustainable future and understanding the public demands better [5]. But does the strong political statement from the government guarantee the real opportunity to participate?

The article begins with an introduction to Arnstein's [22] ladder of participation, the basic theory that will be used as the main reference for the study. Following this, an overview of citizen participation's practice in Malaysia will be given, in particularly those related to the public sector projects conducted between 2010

and 2020. This ten-year span was chosen because in 2010, Malaysian Government announce of tenth (10th) and eleven (11th) Malaysian Plan that serve as national development guideline which emphasizing on citizen participation [23][24]. It marked the government effort in highlighting citizen participation through implementation of both plans. Secondly, Malaysia started to announce targeted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) introduced by United Nations in 2015 where citizen participation being reemphasized again [25]. The five-year Malaysia Plan sounding getting stronger because of announcement of the SDGs. Furthermore, new Shared Prosperity Vision 2030 has been designated within those 10 years. In addition, there were some changes in political power from 2018 to 2020 that spotlight the inclusiveness of the citizen in mid-term review of the 11th Malaysia Plan. Most of these documented policies obviously accentuating on 'citizen participation' [26][21]. Using Arnstein's [22] ladder theory, this section would also explore the levels of participation that Malaysian people experienced so far. Finally, the article will be closed with a concluding discussion and recommendation for future research.

2 The Ladder of Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is identified as the process via stakeholder influence and shared power on priority set-up, resource distributions, policy decisions, and entrance to community services and products [17]. Skeffington Committee in the United Kingdom earlier interpreted that citizen participation is an act of sharing ideation of policies and suggestions. Public can genuinely take part in the planning process [27]. Thus, citizen participation is related with public action that seeks to influence policy decisions [28]. The importance of citizen participation in the democratic political process has been acknowledged across the globe [29]. Demand is increasing from citizens to let them play a significant role in the government process rather than passive voters [30].

One of the most often used theories to measure citizen participation is the Ladder of Participation (See **Figure 1**). This theory was introduced by Arnstein [30] in 1969, asserting that there are eight rungs that portray the distribution decision making power between the powerholders and the citizens. The lowest rungs known as non-participation interpreted as an objective of powerholder to 'educate' or 'cure' citizen with no intention to get genuine participation from them. There are two (2) types that were considered in this rung known as manipulation and therapy. Manipulation seen as placing citizen in such advisory group for the goal of 'educating' the citizen and not really concern in tapping their ideas for decision-making. While Therapy is more on 'curing' the citizen mind in an extensive engagement by the powerholder.

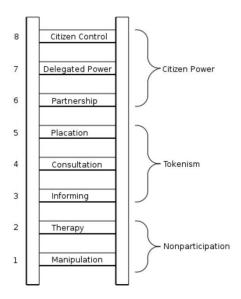


Figure 1. Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969). Ladder of Participation by Dulithgow, 2004. Public Domain

The middle rung stated as degree of tokenism which allows citizen to voice out their opinion and to be heard by the powerholder. No assurance of changing any status quo or follow through done. The final decision is still hold by the powerholder. In this rung, (3) 'information', (4) 'consultation' and (5) 'placation' was arranged accordingly in showing the citizen influence in the matter discuss or decision-making. At the highest level in this rung, which is placation, advised been given and attentively heard but no power to obstruct the final decision by the powerholder. The upper rung known as degree of citizen power that shows great citizen influence in the process of decision-making with the powerholder. It enables them to discuss and connect in trade-offs with conventional power holder indicated as partnership. At the highest rung, citizen get majority control in decision-making or in great power on management which known as delegated power (7) and citizen control (8).

While there have been several scholars proposing different theories of citizen participation such as Wiedemann and Femers (1993), B.C.R.T and Dorcey (1994), and D.M. Connor (1994), Arnstein's theory is still the most and continuously referred to by scholars for their research in expanding their philosophy of citizen participation [31][32][33][34][35]. Thus, the present study also used Arnstein's ladder of participation to conduct a deeper analysis of the levels of citizen participation in Malaysia.

3 Materials and Methods

The study uses the works of literature relevant to the citizen participation in Malaysia that were published between 2010 and 2020. The literature was searched with three keywords as follows, (i) Citizen participation in public project Malaysia, (ii) citizen participation towards sustainable community development Malaysia, and (iii) level of citizen involvement Malaysia. These articles were later screened and only those met the following criteria (See **Table 1**) would be selected for further analysis.

No Criteria

1 Published between 2010 and 2020
2 Identified certain level of citizen participation
Covered the public sector projects, such as transportation,
3 local government service, local agenda 21, tourism,

deforestation, and city planning

 Table 1
 Screening Criteria.

Thematic analysis was then applied to analyse the levels of citizen participation in the introduced projects or programs. Thematic analysis focuses on recognizing, examining and interpreting patterns within qualitative data [36][37] where coding act as the main process for developing patterns or themes [38]. The recognized interested elements of analytical data or dominant theme will be categorised with coding label [38][39]. The test then is analysed to verify the presence and occurrence of a theme [40].

4 Results

Despite the strong political message that Malaysian government sent to the public, several studies conducted by local scholars indicated how citizen participation in public sector projects still needs to be scrutinized and improvised. Not only that the level of participation is low and restricted, but some scholars also underlined the shortage in the preparation and knowledge of public participatory planning [41][42][43][13]. In contrast with the political message at the national level, the local government appeared to have insufficient initiatives to encourage citizen participation, resulting in the lack of citizen participation in the local level. Some of examples were reported in Muhammad et al., [44] and Zolkafli et al.,[13], who identified the absence of citizen's involvement in the enhancement of local service delivery and blueprint development. This absence can be intentional as Malaysia is somehow put itself as a developing nation that gives vital importance to economic growth [45][46][47] and public opinions

against it tend to be relegated [47][48]. Thus, powerholder tend to not include mass citizen in development design and betterment of service distribution [44][13]. Apparently, excessive public participation is perceived by the local authority as posing some risks that could decelerate a project or program execution and lag overall development progress [49]. Moreover, there were some administrative costs to implement citizen participation in the public sector projects [50][51][52]. The cost of involving mass citizen is said to be expensive than singular administrator for decision-making with suitable skill and knowledge [51] and fear upon losing command of the process [53]. For Malaysia, which is currently still focusing on its economic development, taking the risk to add more cost to the development is not a favourable option. However, to reduce the social friction, apparently, Malaysian citizens were still allowed to exercise their power through the facilitated planning processes, but there is a little opportunity for them to negotiate more decision-making power [54][55][47][56].

In the following Table 2, we categorized the decision-making powers that Malaysian citizens could exercise so far based on the category defined by Arnstein's [22] Ladder of Participation. This analysis derived from eleven studies which reported the extent of citizen participation in public project or program in the areas of transportation, local government service and program, housing settlement post-disaster, tourism, GIS, general and city planning.

 Table 2
 Findings on Citizen Participation in Malaysia Public Project based on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

No	Author	Study Design	Focus of Study	Findings	Level of Citizen Participation
Lowe	est Rung, The	Non-Partici	pation		•
1	Zain et al. [57]	Quantitative study (survey)	To recognize the extent of public participation and understanding in environmental impact assessment (EIA) process in Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) project.	 Indicated low level understanding of citizen participation. Public unaware about development procedure and their rights. Not met objective of citizen participation. Significant changes required by authority in promoting program and educating citizen continuously via mass media. 	
2	Muhammad et al. [44]	Quantitative study (survey, interview)	To evaluate level of community involvement in sustainable development process to measure public service delivery.	 Progressive upgrading needed in facility services and maintenance culture. Minimal community participation and sharing information with the authority. Community unaware of participating right and skeptical thoughts on the authority in valuing their opinion. Community showed heavy interest in contributing ideas to improvise service delivery. 	Non- participation
3	Roosli [58]	Quantitative study (survey, document, and review)	To examines technological, spatial and social impact of post-disaster housing projects on disaster victims of tsunami in Kedah and Penang.	 Victims highly satisfied with the housing project but more concerned about their livelihood and community healing. Short-term action failed to identify main problem socio economic survival. 	Non- participation

•	Required adaptable method and
	include victims' participation in
	the decision-making process.

M

Mida	dle Rung, Deg	gree of Tokeni	sm-Information and Co	onsultation	
4	Marzukhi [47]	Qualitative study	To evaluate whether idea of planning discourse-sustainability can assist in capital accumulation via transformation of governance practices.	• Minimalist consultative tactic being applied and designed by	Degree of tokenism
5	Kaur et al. [59]	Qualitative study (Interview, focus group, observation, document review)	To determine the effectiveness of the participatory mechanisms used in Local Agenda 21 (LA21) programs in East West Malaysia.	Official equipment and traditional approaches were utilized to engage with citizensingle manner of communication. The council led the process and hold the final verdict. Lack of citizen empowerment in decision-making. Bottom-up approach framework relating public participation need to be outlined.	Degree of tokenism
6	Manaf et al. [49]	Quantitative study (survey)	To assess the level of involvement of local citizens in local government decisions in Malaysia-northern part of Malaysia.	 Citizen wanted to be included in decision-making process and not only as recipient of the services offered. Authorities appeared unpleasant with excessive citizen involvement which may increase expectations and slowing public project process. Perception of citizen that their involvement does not affect final verdict but believe they have rights to contribute to the process. 	Degree of tokenism

				Urban community is more responsive, vigilant, and knowledgeable than rural community.	
7	Nurudin et al. [60]	Quantitative study and case study approach (interview, survey, secondary data)	To explore the actual dimensions of public participation practice in Seremban Municipal Council (MPS).	 Most participants understand the concept of citizen participation and attended program related to cleanliness, environment, LA 21, health and security. Citizen participation seldomly achieved for overall program conducted due to inadequate 	Degree of tokenism
8	Marzuki et al. [43]	Qualitative study (interview)	To examine the public participation approach to tourism planning in Langkawi Island Malaysia.	distribution of program information and citizen ability in the activities. • Constraints in citizen participation due to of behavior of the residents, ineffective approach by authority, and insufficient information provided.	Degree of tokenism
				 Limited occasions were given for consultation. Verdict made by authority does not involve public. Indicated authority dominance in participation process. 	
9	Zolkafli et al. [13]	Quantitative study (survey, internet based-PGIS mapping via website by facilitated and self- administered mode)	To evaluates the capacity of general public to effectively contribute to land use planning outcomes in Malaysia using Participatory GIS (PGIS).	 Facilitated PGIS process delivered greater quality spatial data compared to self- administered PGIS. PGIS platform together with facilitated PGIS is needed to enhance public participation and value of spatial data produced. 	Degree of tokenism
Mide	dle Rung, Deg	ree of Tokeni	sm-Placation		
10	Connolly [61]	Qualitative study (Interview,	To evaluate the potential of emergent urban governance	Initiatives of Non- Governmental Organization (NGO-Penang Forum), active	Degree of tokenism (placation)

storyline, initiatives in Penang, co-operation by the government observation, and citizen (PHW-citizen as Malaysia, for document achieving more informer) exhibited significant review) socially and interconnection, positive impact environmentally just on safeguarding and cultivating forms of urban multi-species flourishing to development. sustain metropolitan ecologies and its value of living. Abdullah et Qualitative/O To analyze the process Degree of · Citizen involvement and bservational of public participation al. [62] tokenism opinion was seriously shown cohort study during the preparation (placation) and taken into consideration at (observation of the Kuala Lumpur and self-City Plan (KLCP). the overall planning stage. experience) • It indicated that citizen involvement has shifted higher to new paradigm than previous decade.

4.1 The Lowest Rung in the Ladder of Participation

The lowest rung known as the lowest level in citizen participation. At this rung, the objective was to get citizen support and to 'educate' them upon matters that appeared by the one who holds the power. Thus, their participation considered as non-participative as stated by Arnstein's [22]. Table 3 identified three (3) studies that portrayed cases relevant to this rung; Zain et al. [57], Muhammad et al., [44] and Roosli [58]. Zain et al. [57] obviously mentioned lack of understanding on citizens participation in his case study. While Muhammad et al. [44] indicated minor involvement of community and minimal sharing of information with the authority. This happened even though the citizens had interest in contributing ideas for service delivery betterment provided by the authority. On the other hand, Roosli [58] remarks on the failure in recognizing the citizens necessities. The citizen was included only as a formality to fulfil the provision in the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) [18]. Therefore, these 3 studies showed that in some part of Malaysia, not all citizen was genuinely involved in decision-making process.

4.2 The Middle Rung in the Ladder of Participation

4.2.1 Tokenism: Informing and Consultation

The middle rung represents little citizen influence or power in participation process. No assurance of their ideas was going to be implemented. The final verdict is still hold by powerholders. Based on these description, six (6) studies showed several characteristics in the informing and consultation level. The 6

studies were represented by Marzukhi [47], Kaur et al. [59], Manaf et al. [49], Nurudin et al. [60], Marzuki et al. [43] and Zolkafli et al. [13]. For instance, minimal consultative approach being applied where the rights of citizens participation falsely practiced in the study by Marzukhi [47]. Kaur et al. [59] mentioned about lack of citizen empowerment in decision-making that evidently needed a bottom-up method. In other case by Manaf et al. [49], the authority thought that including massive citizen will slower the progress in achieving authority designated goals. Besides that, the citizen felt that their contribution would not give significant impact, even though they know their rights to participate in the process. Nurudin et al. [60] noticed that most citizen understood the idea of public participation. However, even so, they rarely engaged with the authority. This is because of insufficient dissemination of information by the authority and lacking in citizens ability to participate. Marzuki et al. [43] disclosed that citizen participation is restricted even though space been given for them to participate. This is due to dominance action by the authority in hearing session in the case study. Furthermore, Zolkafli et al. [13] revealed on utilization of ICT apparatus via facilitated and self-administered approach in his study. It was suggested that more facilitated or consultative method need to be promoted. This is to help in expanding citizen participation to deliver extraordinary quality of spatial data. Thus, these 6 cases fall under 'information' and 'consultation' level in the middle rung. It proved that in certain area in Malaysia, action conducted by the authority clearly represented their willingness to listen to citizen opinions but with no assurance that the views will be executed or embedded in the designated development. In other words, citizens were involved in participation process via certain platform just to get their voice to be heard but no serious follow through upon the ideas [22].

4.2.2 Tokenism: Placation

At this level, citizens opinion and ideas being seriously heard but final decision was still hold by authority or the powerholder. Two (2) case study were identified that were Connolly [61] and Abdullah et al. [62]. Connolly [61] indicated active citizen participation together with non-governmental organization (NGO) in safeguarding their habitants and ecosystem at Penang Hillside. Cooperation between parties was being witnessed in this case with NGO's is highlighted as the significant component in disseminating information and knowledge to the citizen. This is regarding instilling awareness of their environment that may affected their life. It is obviously exhibited citizen influence in the program or project that was going to be executed. Therefore, urging the authority to act appropriately even though some criticisms were raised upon their decisions in allowing special approval to few developments on the hillside. Similarly in the case of Kuala Lumpur City Plan stated by Abdullah et al. [62], serious participation of citizen in planning was demonstrated. Citizen's suggestions being

considered by the authority before the plan was published. Furthermore, 'changes of paradigm' in citizen participation occurred during the process of planning. The process showed remarkable awareness and comprehension of the citizen on their rights. Thus, in few parts in Malaysia especially in urban area, these cases interpreted "Placation" theory by Arnstein's [22] where citizen have some strong influence in the decision-making process. They were allowed to advise the powerholder even though the authority holds decisive power upon matters that need to be decided.

5 Discussion

The above analysis signified that Malaysian citizen have had little opportunity to exercise a higher level of citizen participation. Most cases analysed above showed the restricted opportunity for Malaysian public to negotiate their power in the decision-making process in the public sector projects. The highest level of participation that they could experience was the placation, which somehow still indicated the dominance of powerholders in the decision-making process. As pointed by Marzuki et al. [43] and Zain et al. [57], this continuous dominance might happen due to inability of citizen in understanding the true concept of citizen participation, their rights and restricted opportunity given for them to contribute their ideas even though they desire it. Kaur et al. [59] further mentioned about lack of citizen empowerment in decision-making that evidently needed a bottom-up method. In other case by Manaf et al. [49], citizen felt that their contribution would not give significant impact, even though they know their rights to participate in the process. Even so, in the study by Marzukhi [47] revealed that minimal consultative approach being applied where the rights of citizens participation vaguely practiced. Another factor might be related to is the inefficiency of the powerholders in publicizing information and communicating their intention to the citizens as identified by Nurudin et al. [60].

Moreover, great level of political interference in Malaysia is another possible factor is related to it. Powerholders have the advantages in controlling the planning process to achieve their designated growth and they may ignore the citizen appeal for the sake of delivering faster and smoother public projects as indicated by Manaf et al. [49]. However at the same time, there is also a possibility where the powerholders would ride on the trend of citizen participation to get smoother approval from the general public. Abdullah et al. [62] and Nurudin et al. [60] showcased some examples indicating that active participation from the citizen did took place in Malaysia. It occurred when the authority was thoughtful and genuine opportunity was given to the citizen in empowering them to influence decisions that may affected their life. In short, it means empowering the citizen. However, as verified in this study, these cases are still somehow uncommon. Hence, to ensure that the citizen participation'

invitation mentioned in the Shared Prosperity Vision 2030 is not going to be another government's lip-service, it is essential for the government to address the current obstacles. The government must showcase stronger genuine invitation to welcome citizen participation and acknowledge that citizen awareness is indeed a crucial component in ensuring a successful participation case.

The study of Manaf et al. [49] documented the interest of citizen in the public affairs, such as designing programs to increase the quality of the authority and service delivered. In short, this recommend that upcoming citizen participation process must deploy applicable citizen involvement where they able to convey unreservedly within context being discuss and powerholder seriously taken into consideration of their feedback that is significant so that transparency and accountability of decisional process and citizen alertness can be enhance [63]. All cases showed that authorities still persist as the major institutes to commence citizen participation process except for the case by Connolly [61] where other entities such as non-governmental organization and local citizen lined together with local authorities to initiate the participation programme in safeguarding the environment and habitants of Penang Hillside. Thus, it indicated that with the involvement of a wide-ranging individuals that understood about democratic wisdom, the image of participatory democracy has been portrayed [64][5]. The case studies also showed that significant considerations should be given to the feedback given by the citizen in their involvement, even though some cases have shown achievement of hefty and genuine citizen participation like case studies by Connolly [61] and Abdullah et al. [62].

Furthermore, creative, and innovative approaches such as utilization of ICT tools and application is seen as a booster in enhancing citizen participation. Zolkafli et al. [13] revealed on utilization of ICT tools via facilitated and self-administered approach in his study that assist in escalating citizen participation to deliver extraordinary quality of spatial data. This is similar with other study by Kingston et al. [65] where he mentioned that technology is supposedly utilized in citizen participation process due to its instant and constant development. In addition, the authority may provide them with attractive incentives or reward in return of their active participation. It will assist in improving citizen participation, increase effectiveness and resulted in better solution-making for the community and their surroundings. Eventually, the nation can experience sustainable community development and at the same time meet the country's pledged for SDGs particularly under SDGs 11, Sustainable Cities and Communities and other parallel agenda relating to citizen participation.

6 Conclusions

The present study confirmed that Malaysia has allowed some degrees of citizen participation its public-sector projects. Within the last ten years, public were more than welcomed to participate in the public sector projects, even though the levels of participation are still somehow limited. The study verified that the levels of participation were still considerably low, suggesting tokenism as the highest level of participation that the Malaysian general public can negotiate. Apparently, the political message that was given by the national government is not yet in line with the implementation at the local level. There are still barriers to citizen participation, such as the strong concern on the hidden cost of participation, which include additional administrative cost and potential risk of lagging project activities. It is essential for the national government to overcome this problem with the local government and design a better approach to enable citizen participation at the local level. Additionally, the intention of the government to welcome citizen participation must be in unison with the opportunity for the general public in Malaysia to participate in the public sector projects. It means that the room for participation should be transparently provided and the how-to process must be clearly informed. Thus, before sending another political message to the citizens, it might be much better for the government to first overcome the barriers to citizen participation by showing more willingness and providing more interactive and clearer opportunities for citizen to participate in the public sector projects. Further studies and analysis on more case studies from different parts of Malaysia and other region are also recommended to provide better array of thoughts and tactics to genuinely involve citizen into participation.

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Nomenclature

Not Applicable.

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