

**PARTICIPATORY PLACEMAKING: GOVERNANCE AND EMOTION IN THE
URBAN REGENERATION OF MALAYSIA**

by

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ABSTRACT

The shift towards embracing the place-based approach in urban regeneration has highlighted the importance of enhanced inclusivity and increased capacity for participatory approach in urban governance, collaborative planning and project implementation. The change from government to governance has led to exploring the relationship between the government, private companies, and civil societies in the distribution of power and negotiating decisions on economic development and the city's sense of place. The Malaysian context's historic urban centre regeneration is investigated in this thesis by exploring emotions at play in collaborative and participatory processes of placemaking in three cities: Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. This is explained by unpacking the urban regeneration agenda, the government-market-civil society relationship, the market forces and local social demography shaped by historical and current events, as well as investigating the motivations to bottom-up community actions. This thesis contributes to expanding the understanding of participatory placemaking within the Global South context, particularly Southeast Asia, influenced by contextual forces shaping its distinctive models and its relation to historic urban centre regeneration.

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...And He found you lost, so He guided you (Surah Ad-Duhaa:7)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations

AAK	Anak-anak Kota (Children of the City)
AKTC	Aga Khan Trust for Culture
Aliran	Persatuan Aliran Kesedaran Negara (society for the flow of national consciousness)
Arts-ED	Arts and Education
BARRA	Batu Road Retailers Association
BBCC	Bukit Bintang City Centre
BBEC	Bukit Bintang Environmental Association
BBKLCC	Bukit Bintang – Kuala Lumpur City Centre
BJCK	Buku Jalanan (Street Book) Chow Kit
BREB	Unit Rekabentuk dan Estetika Bandar (Urban Design and Aesthetic Unit)
BWM	Badan Warisan Malaysia (Malaysia Heritage Body?)
CAP	Consumers Association of Penang
CHAT	Cultural Heritage Advisory Team
CMI	Chief Minister Incorporated
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
DIAD model	Design and Implementation for Active Directory
DOSM	Department of Statistics Malaysia
EEG	Electroencephalography
EPF	Employees Provident Fund
EPP	Entry Point Projects
ETP 2010	Economic Transformation Program 2010
FGD	Focus group discussion
FTM	Ministry of Federal Territories
GE14	Malaysia's 14th General Election
GPS	Global Positioning System

GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
GRPB	Gender responsive participatory budgeting
GST	Goods and Service Tax
GT	George Town
GTCD	George Town Conservation and Development Corporation
GTF	George Town Festival
GTGP	George Town Grants Program
GTHC	George Town Heritage Celebrations
GTLFT	George Town Literary Festival
GTP 2010	Government Transformation Program 2010
GTWHI	George Town World Heritage Incorporated
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
ICC	Ipoh City Council
ICH	Ipoh City Hall
IUM	International Islamic University Malaysia
JMG	Jabatan Mineral dan Geosains Malaysia (Minerals and Geoscience Department Malaysia)
JTAR	Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman
JWN	Jabatan Warisan Negara (Department of National Heritage)
Khazanah	Khazanah Nasional Berhad
KL	Kuala Lumpur
KLCH	Kuala Lumpur City Hall
KOMTAR	Kompleks Tun Abdul Razak (Tun Abdul Razak Complex)
KPI	Key performance index
KV	Klang Valley
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LGA 1976	Local Government Act 1976 (Act 171)
LMT	Laman Medan Tuanku
Lorong TAR	Lorong Tuanku Abdul Rahman
LPA	Legal Profession Act 1976

LQC	Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper
LRT	Light Rapid Transit
LTP	Laman Tun Perak
MAPS	Movie Animation Park Studio
MAS	Malay Agriculture Settlement
MBI	Majlis Bandaraya Ipoh (Ipoh City Council)
MICC	Ministry of Information, Communication and Culture
MOTAC	Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPPP	Majlis Perbandaran Pulau Pinang (Penang Island City Council)
NAPIC	National Property Information Centre
NDP	Neighbourhood Development Plan
NEP	National Economic Policy
NGOs	Non-Government-Organisations
NHA 2005	National Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645)
NKEA	National Key Economic Areas
NPOs	Non-Profit-Organisations
NPP	National Physical Plan
NPUR	Neighbourhood Planning Users Revisited
NUP	National Urban Policy
OUV	Outstanding Universal Values
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
PGCC	Penang Global City Project
PHT	Penang Heritage Trust
PHT	Penang Heritage Trust
PICC	Penang Island City Council
PPE	Philosophy, Politics and Economics
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PPS	Project for Public Space
PSP	Penang Structure Plan 2020
PSR	Penang South Reclamation

PTMP	Penang Transport Master Plan
PWDC	Penang Women's Development Corporation
REDHA Youth	Real Estate and Housing Development Association Youth
ROL	River of Life
SAP 2020	Special Area Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEA Games	Southeast Asian Games
SERI	Socio-economic and Environmental Research Institute /
PI	Penang Institute
SMP	Strategic Master Plan
SOGO	SOGO Shopping Complex
Suaram	Suara Rakyat Malaysia (Malaysian's Voice)
Think City	Think City Sdn Bhd
TN50	Transformasi Nasional 2050 (2050 National Transformation)
TRX City	Tun Razak Exchange City
UBBL	Uniform Building By-Laws
UK	United Kingdom
UK GOV	United Kingdom Government
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States of America
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Committee
WHL	World Heritage List
WHS	World Heritage Sites

GLOSSARY

Anak-anak Kota	Children of the City
Arkib Negara	Malaysia National Archive
Baba Nyonya Peranakan	Ethnic group whom were descendants of Chinese settlers in Tanah Melayu
Badan Warisan	Malaysia Heritage Trust
Bangsa Malaysia	Malaysian nation
Bangsawan	Traditional Malay opera or theater accompanied by music and dances
Barisan Nasional	The National Front – current opposition party - was the government for 60 years.
Boria Performance	Cultural performance that incorporates music, dance and sketches with Indian origin
Bumiputra	Son of the soil, i.e. indigenous/natives of Tanah Melayu
Daulat	Sovereign
Derhaka	Rebellious, disobedient and treacherous
Dikir Barat	Malay traditional performance involves singing in groups accompanied by percussion instrument and choreographed movements
Gotong – royong	Communal work
IDR Perak	Institut Darul Ridzuan Perak (Perak Darul Ridzuan Institute)
Jawi Peranakan	Locally born, Malay speaking Muslims of mixed Indian and Malay ancestry
Jus soli	Citizenship by birth right
Kedaulatan	Sovereignty
Kerajaan	Government
Kohijau	Koperasi Alam Hijau Perak Berhad (NGO)
Kompang	Drum like traditional musical instrument
Kuala	Junction or estuary

Lorong TAR	Lorong Tuanku Abdul Rahman
Lumpur	Mud or muddy
Malam Wayang	Night cinema
Melayu	Malay
Mesyuarat Pembangunan	Development meeting
Odissi dance	Classical Indian dance
Pakatan Harapan	The Alliance of Hope – current government of Malaysia.
Pasar Karat	Vintage Market or Flea Market held every Sunday in Ipoh
Potehi Glove	Traditional Hokkein puppet theater
Raya	Eid festival
Rukun Negara	National Principles of Malaysia
Sahabat Alam Malaysia	Friends of the Earth Malaysia
Sejarah Melayu	Malay History
Songkok	Traditional headgear worn by Malay man
Sultan / Raja	King or the state religious leaders of Islam, and head the customs and practice of the Malay culture in their respective states
Tanah Melayu / Persekutuan Tanah Melayu	Federation of Malaya (presently known as Malaysia)
Towkeys	Business owners/boss
Wakaf	Gazebo
Wayang kulit	Traditional Malay puppet shadow play/theater
Wayang pacak	Outdoor movie/cinema
Yang di-Pertuan Agong	Head of State of Malaysia

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Research Background

The early 21st century's demographic trend saw a shift in urbanising population concentration from the global North to the global South. It is estimated that 68% of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2050 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018). Today, half of the world population lives in Asia Pacific region that host the largest number of mega-cities globally (UNESCAP and UN-HABITAT, 2011; Bunnell et al., 2012; Parnell and Robinson, 2012). Most Asian cities have undergone rapid urbanisation over the last 40 years. With the projection of additional 1.6 billion inhabitants in the next 30 years, Asia is urbanising fast at an unprecedented pace in economic development, at a rate greater than that witnessed by the developed Global North for within a short period (UNESCAP and UN-HABITAT, 2011; Heinrich, 2019).

The urbanisation of Asian cities shifted from rural areas' development to focus on cities, as the economic trend transition from agriculture-based to industry-based and into service-based for local and the global market (Sheng, 2016) with leading examples from Tokyo, South Korea and Singapore. As cities become the 'engines of economic growth', branding, reimagining and infrastructure investments become the predominant marketing strategies for cities to draw foreign investments and job creation. Worldwide, the more current urban regeneration policies and orientation

lean towards sustainability – creating a balance in economic, environment, and social nexus. To attract tourists as well as talented and skilled residents with purchasing power to spend into the local economy, urban regeneration move towards preservation of environment and heritage (Roberts and Skyes, 2008; Jones and Evans, 2013; Jones, 2017; Tallon, 2020), and addressing diversity, promoting equality and liveability (Edensor and Jayne, 2012; Chen, Zhu and Yuan, 2020).

The general definition of urban regeneration refers to any development in town and cities (Tallon, 2020), which encompasses restructuring the built environment to reinvigorate rundown areas and tackle inner-city deterioration (Abidin, 2016; Jones & Evans, 2013; Roberts & Skyes, 2000). The term 'regeneration' is the present-day label for a broader phase of urban areas adaptation to enhance economic, physical, social and environmental conditions through an integrated vision and actions of actors and stakeholders (Abidin, 2016; Jones & Evans, 2013; Roberts & Skyes, 2000). Before 1990s, the urban regeneration process in the Global North came under several labels such as reconstruction (1950s), revitalisation (1960s), renewal (1970s), and redevelopment (1980s). In the past 20 years, urban regeneration approaches turn to a smaller scale, place-based and distinctive strategies paying greater attention to the uniqueness of place over large scale regeneration strategies in the past due to factors such as local government cuts in public expenditure and global commitment to sustainable development (Velayutham and Perera, 2004; Houghton, Foth and Miller, 2015; Jones, 2017; Chen, Zhu and Yuan, 2020). Urban regeneration progresses in light of the philosophy of rebirth, connected to spiritual crusade to redeem not only material structures or national economy via new

economic opportunities and inward investment, but also to rescue the nation's soul by using cultural-led activities and heritage present in the intangible part of the city (Jones and Evans, 2013).

The emergence of new creative districts in a city embraces culturally-oriented strategies and resources to encourage small business entrepreneurs, as well as to empower communities in stimulating economic activities and physical transformations of the urban setting (Jones, 2017; Warren and Jones, 2018). Cities rich in culture and heritage that turn into popular tourist destinations can boost the local economy, such as those noted in Brussels, Florence, Paris, Rome, Barcelona, and London in Europe (Van Der Borg, Costa and Gotti, 1996; García-Hernández, de la Calle-Vaquero and Yubero, 2017), while George Town, Malacca, Brunei, Bangkok, and Singapore in Southeast Asia (Jenkins, 2010; World Tourism Organisation [UNWTO] and Global Tourism Economy Research Centre [GTERC], 2014). Regeneration projects tied to the spirit of collaboration among public, private, and community segments promote sustainable planning and visionary design concepts funded through less conventional government sources. In contrast, local communities are reckoned as a significant actor who is local experts with tacit knowledge about the place they reside (Jones, 2017).

Since the past decades, extensive studies concerning urban regeneration that involved planners, architects, politicians, environmental activists, geographers, sociologists, and communities have assessed new models of governance, planning practice, and co-production of place, which emphasise the participatory and

collaborative processes in decision-making and placemaking (Kim Dovey, 2002; Coaffee and Healey, 2003; Brand and Gaffikin, 2007; Cars et al., 2012; Harvey, 2012; Purdy, 2012; Parés, Martí-Costa and Blanco, 2014; Healey, 2015).

Many researchers have investigated community-led urban regeneration approaches associated with the growing role of communities in shaping both physical and social characters of neighbourhoods through place-based artistic practises and creative intervention in smaller urban spaces (Bonner, 2002; Schneekloth and Shibley, 2005; Silberberg et al., 2013; Bartram, 2014; Project for Public Space [PPS], 2015; Toolis, 2017; Pendlebury and Porfyriou, 2017; Beza and Hernández-Garcia, 2018; Strydom et al., 2018; Sweeney et al., 2018; Eggertsen Teder, 2019; Saptorini, 2019; Wesener et al., 2020; Lennon, 2020). In advanced Global North, familiar variations have been noted in community-led urban regeneration terms, inclusive of heritage urbanism, tactical urbanism, temporary urbanism, guerrilla urbanism, and creative placemaking, but 'placemaking' is the more popular term used in city design guidelines in Asia (Ghavampour and Vale, 2019) including Kuala Lumpur and George Town (THINK CITY, 2016), and Singapore (Pak, 2018). This present study proposes that while exploring the community-based approach has been vastly investigated in the Global North; this very idea is relatively new in the Southeast Asia region, thus the pressing need to catch up with the uprising variations. As such, this study assessed the placemaking approach within the larger urban regeneration agenda in historical zones.

The understanding of placemaking and the work it may entail continued to be

explored both in practice and academia as the idea is widely tested in different contexts, time and space as argued by Strydom et al. (2018), Sweeney et al., (2018) and Dupre (2019). A systematic literature review concerning placemaking in spatial planning and urban development, carried out by Strydom et al., (2018) and Dupre (2019), revealed several placemaking definitions as the subject is too intricate to only have a single definition. According to Strydom et al. (2018, p:165), the theoretical trends of placemaking denote 'a physical construct, a social construct, an economic construct, a tool for empowerment, a psychological dimension, and an environmental management tool'.

Meanwhile, Ghavampour and Vale (2019 p. 197) unpacked the philosophy tradition of placemaking from two conventional thoughts. First, the visual-artistic tradition emphasises visual forms and aesthetic perception of a place that fails to reckon people's activities and public perception of places. Second, the social usage tradition that focuses on people's use and experience of place over physical location, which signifies that the sense of place is the outcome of human feelings, as well as interaction with place in its social, cultural, and economic contexts. The balanced view of placemaking, which is in line with a sustainable approach in urban regeneration, responds to two philosophical traditions; (1) urban environment (place) that comprises of physical space, sensory experience, and activities; and (2) placemaking is as much as a process as it is a product-space attached with meanings (Schneekloth and Shibley, 2005; Silberberg et al., 2013; Ghavampour and Vale, 2019).

A noteworthy movement that advocates for placemaking in urban regeneration is the Project for Public Space (PPS), which originated in the United States in 1976. PPS supports the philosophy put forward by Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte, who criticised mega-scale urban renewal and redevelopment projects in favour of small-scale planning with innovative ideas to design cities for people rather than cars and malls (Kent, 2019; Laven, Bradley and Polyak, 2019; Jones and Comfort, 2020). PPS has grown into a global network through organisations and institutions (e.g., Placemaking Europe and Placemaking Asia), as well as via conferences, events, and publications (PlacemakingX, Cities for All, Placemaking Leadership Council, Future of Places, and City at Eye) (Kent, 2019; Laven, Bradley and Polyak, 2019).

Being featured in the World Urban Forum 2018 held in Kuala Lumpur has amplified the presence of placemaking movement in Asia. A year later, the initial Placemaking Week Asia conference was held in Malaysia, co-organised by Think City. Founded in 2009, Think City has been one of the leading community-based urban regeneration organisations established in Malaysia, a visionary advocate for placemaking in the historic city of George Town through a partnership with PPS at the earlier stage of its formation.

Studies that have looked into placemaking within the Global North context have extensively outlined several initiatives that fit the definition as a small-scale urban intervention to activate urban spaces, such as back lane activation and pop-up gardens using creative intervention linked with arts, culture, gardening, and

community events (Brunnberg and Frigo, 2012; Thomas, Pate and Ranson, 2015; Innocent, 2016; Richards, 2017; Zakariya and Azhari, 2017; Kortbek, 2019; Stevenson, 2019; Wesener et al., 2020). Many have investigated placemaking as a design and planning mechanism deployed by professional placemakers to engage the community in small-scale projects at numerous venues (Thomas, 2016; Ellery et al., 2017). On the contrary, some have associated placemaking with the act of resistance towards government-led urban transformation, wherein communities and civil societies rise in collective bottom-up action, often motivated by attachment to place, group or cultural self-esteem; as well as the belonging and sense of ownership to protect the environment, heritage, and meaningful places from annihilation (Lewicka, 2005; Germen, 2015; Montgomery, 2016).

There has been a growing debate pertaining to placemaking as the current design and planning of cities view placemaking as the end-product of urban intervention by professional placemakers, including urban planners, architects, landscape architects, and urban designers. With the Westernised and globalised technical knowledge, professional placemakers tend to address complex issues related to diverse and dynamic urban life rationally via physical terms, which can result in the replication of standardised and uniform visual aesthetics across the globe with little reference to its local context (Ghavampour and Vale, 2019). The ability to create meaningful places by taking into account beyond physical spaces, to include activities and experiences of the everyday life of urbanites, is lost in modern placemaking (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; Ghavampour and Vale, 2019). One major reason for this is the incomplete comprehension of the emotional and

psychological connections between people and place, as emphasised by scholars in the human geography domain (see Anderson and Smith, 2001; Maginn, 2007; Pile, 2010; Jones and Evans, 2011). Despite policies that support community engagement, an implicit caution lurks among institutional partners to involve local communities in decision-making, for fear of community resistance to regeneration projects (Sandercock, 2000; Maginn, 2007; Purdy, 2012).

The term 'participatory placemaking' accentuates the concept of placemaking as a collaborative process in co-creating a place instead of the end-product of space activation both physically and socially (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; Sara, Jones and Rice, 2020). Regardless of the vast definitions that describe participatory placemaking, this study adopted the definition proposed by Sara, Jones, and Rice (2020 p.2), who associated participatory placemaking with the 'interplay between formal top-down strategies and informal, bottom-up tactics... that empowers local community groups to take ownership of local communal spaces... through creative practice... to reclaim public spaces'. The broad use of the term refers to the collaboration act among stakeholders to turn spaces into places in shared ownership of urban spaces through negotiations and manoeuvres. In this scenario, experts and professional placemakers have a pertinent role in facilitating and supporting, instead of leading the local community to make changes and improvements to the urban spaces (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; URBACT, 2019; Sara, Jones and Rice, 2020). Since participatory placemaking operates on a smaller scale and targeted social/economic issues with greater flexibility, most researchers upheld that its impact on urban social fabric is greater than that of

government-led mega projects. Close interactions among stakeholders to collectively acquire the sought resources and to become less dependent on the government, have built the capacity of both stakeholders and the community (Gallent and Ciaffi, 2014; Pak, 2018; Lennon, 2020; Sara, Jones and Rice, 2020). Accordingly, under the broader concept of place-based initiatives, participatory placemaking is grounded within the social-cultural, economic, political, and governance context yet shaped by global connections and market trends. As such, this present study highlights the limited understanding of participatory placemaking from the Global South context due to scarcity in the mainstream academic literature, particularly in the Southeast Asian region, known for its diversity and emerging economies.

Recent debate has challenged the dominance of Global North urban theories and its direct application on Asian cities, emphasising that Asian urbanism is not reducible to the conception of Western urbanism, and far too little attention has been paid to the topic of diversity and the pluralistic nature of Asian urbanism in the existing literature. For decades, the Southeast Asia region has drawn an understanding of urban regeneration, planning, and governance from the theories and practices of the Global North. Replication of Western theories in the urbanisation and regeneration of cities in the Global South leads to two representations of the Asian cities. First, cities with 'formal economic artefacts' characterised by mega-projects designed by 'starchitects' for consumerism and tourism that generate 'placelessness' and homogeneous 'unmarked spaces of whiteness' (Hamnett and Forbes, 2011; Yap and Thuzar, 2012; Perera, 2016;

Sheng, 2016). Second, the city's traditional segment presents an image of the past untainted by colonialism. Compared to the newly developed area; it appears low-end, underdeveloped, overcrowded, diverse, and chaotic with informal economies (Perera, 2016). At present, the clash of both representations, Western versus Conventional, symbolises the uniqueness and identity of Southeast Asian cities. These global cities are built on glorious past, rich in layers of history, with diverse and vibrant urban landscape as the Asian society embraces concepts and ideas from various origins while simultaneously selecting elements of its own culture to create contemporary Asian urbanism (Perera, 2016, 2020; Sheng, 2016).

Asian urbanism is associated with cultural and ethnic diversity that contributes to vibrancy, attractiveness, inclusiveness, and contestation in identity representation (Perera, 2020). Some cities in Southeast Asia have encountered multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and coexistence in spaces long before Western and European colonisation. This is through Intra-Asia-trading with China, India and the Middle East as it is strategically located along the important ancient international maritime route in the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea, – bridging East and West (Guan, 2016; Idris, 2018; Otsuka and Sugihara, 2019). Perera (2016) asserted that the locals neither view the coexistence between various places, traditions or periods in history as humiliating nor see non-native spatial ideas and knowledge as threatening. While the idea of compartmentalising people and stereotyping them into religious and ethnic groups exist, knowledge gains from others that function socially, economically, politically and useful in a local sense is freely adapted. Asian urbanism refers to a social phenomenon where culture is central to adaptability and

resilience to external ideas in a local setting. As diverse elements are amalgamated in multiple ways, the impact on urban structures is unique and reflects distinctive identities (Edensor and Jayne, 2012; Perera, 2016, 2020; Pak, 2018).

Therefore, understanding contemporary Asian urbanism by exploring place-specific local perceptions and social practices in cities is critical to generate new alternate sources of knowledge and intellectual methods to inform Asian placemakers, professionals, and government agencies on grounded urban interventions. This is the point of departure of the study, the pressing need to comprehend participatory placemaking in urban regeneration initiative, as well as the significance of conducting contextual analyses on Asian knowledge, memory, and emotions that are mostly absent in the Western theories (Hamnett and Forbes, 2011; Bunnell et al., 2012; Edensor and Jayne, 2012; Perera, 2016).

Since the past decade, Malaysia has witnessed a growing momentum of small-scale urban intervention that targets specific urban spaces in historical zones of cities, such as George Town, Ipoh, Gopeng, Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, Johor Bahru, and Kuala Terengganu. The small-scale intervention in the form of laneways as well as targeted urban space beautification and activation deploys arts, culture, and events as tools to activate those spaces driven by various parties, including federal and state governments, non-profit organisations, civil societies, and local communities. A fair number of old structures within the historic cores, especially vacant traditional shophouses turned into hipster cafes, boutique hotels and galleries. Historical cities like George Town, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur were once depopulated due to

outmigration caused by urban expansion and sprawl from the government urbanisation policy in the 1990s, seen a new surge of life with blooming small scale economies and increment in both local and international tourists. For instance, Kuala Lumpur had hosted international events (e.g., World Urban Forum 2018 and Southeast Asian Games 2018), while George Town jointly with Malacca was listed as World Heritage Site in 2008, and Ipoh was featured as one of the places to visit in Asia by Lonely Planet in 2017.

The placemaking approach has turned popular amongst Malaysian local governments and built environment professionals with numerous projects exploring various locations. Yet, the results appeared inconsistent at different locations. At the same time, in the Malaysian planning industry, Think City becomes an important advocator for placemaking, conducting various workshops, seminars, and projects to build local stakeholders' capacity, sometimes in partnership with global networks like PPS and Capire from Australia to introduce varieties of tools and methods. However, placemaking experiences in Malaysia are hardly documented by other parties leading the project, apart from that conducted by Think City. Therefore, arriving at sufficiently sound conclusions about the effective use of placemaking for Malaysia's urban regeneration is indeed difficult. Having that said, more comparative studies are sought to reveal how placemaking occurs at the varied local context (Strydom et al., 2018; Dupre, 2019). This is mainly because it is placed-based and grounded in the economic, environmental, and material structures, within which the capacity of communities and institutions to engage in participatory processes is localised. In precise, all 13 states and federal territories in Malaysia

have their own unique social, economic, and political contexts linked to the historical past.

For this thesis, three case studies in which the local government has manifest commitments to culture and heritage urban regeneration strategies in the local plan will be examined, that is George Town, Kuala Lumpur, and Ipoh (Figure 1). These cities were integral economic contributors to the British Administration, where George Town was an international entrepot, while Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur were thriving tin-mining cities. After gaining independence in 1957, the centralised British Administration was dissolved, and greater power was bestowed on local governments.

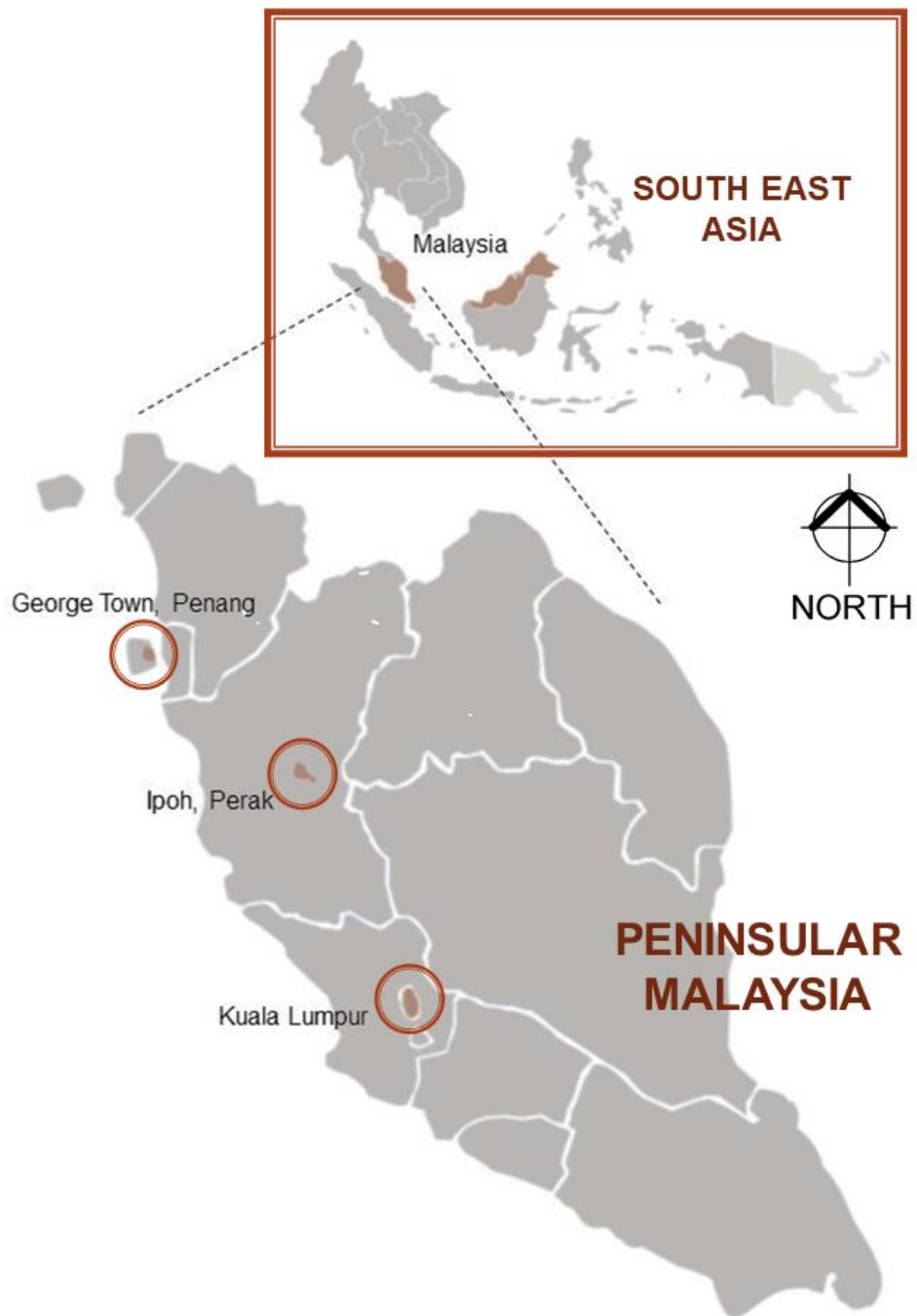


Figure 1 Location of the case studies: George Town, Penang; Ipoh, Perak and Kuala Lumpur.

The governance system in the three case studies is distinctively unique. Kuala Lumpur is the capital city of Malaysia and is directly governed by the Ministry of Federal Territories, while George Town and Ipoh are the capital cities to their respective states. The head of State for George Town is a Governor, whilst Ipoh has a Sultan. Due to diverse geographical, topography and land-use mixes, demographics, social culture, density, lifestyle, governance, and institutions, the urban patterns, urban form and micro urbanism vary in the three contexts. Hence, this study views placemaking as both the process and the production of meaning - a continuous negotiation (and manipulation) among local societies, actors in the planning process, governance structures, as well as the global economic, environmental, and social trends (Massey, 1994; Beza and Hernández-garcia, 2018). The interaction among local, national, and global processes generates contestations, in which various groups, classes, ethnicity, local communities, political parties, and elitist attempt to instil certain identities and sense of place.

To sum up, this study aims to critically unpack the factors involved in creating momentum for placemaking in the three case studies by interrogating the link between the roles of government, private sectors, civic societies and communities. The study seeks to understand who or which actor groups drive the efforts and outcomes by mapping out major placemaking stakeholders and the embryonic private-public-community collaborations. The study claims that the imbalance in the power and resources, as well as the relationship between actors, often steer place-shaping and placemaking initiatives towards the interest of the more dominant group as suggested by Purdy (2012). The trend of place branding, which serves as a vital

marketing tool for cities, has increased the contestation of place narratives and representation of identities with multiple meanings and layers of histories, particularly in historical zones. More often than not, contestation between multi-ethnic groups to establish place narrative stems from greater meanings and memories attached to the urban landscape than what is physically seen (Perera, 2020). The more dominant actors or ethnicities have supremacy over the narratives. Therefore, it is paramount to understand peoples' interpretations of historic landscapes before implementing any urban regeneration schemes in the historical zones in order to prevent erasing familiar places and heritage important to different cultures and ethnicities. As such, this study draws together discussions pertaining to placemaking concept, emotional geography, and participatory planning practices, mainly to understand policies, methods, and rationale of placemaking initiatives in historical zones within the larger urban regeneration agenda.

1.1 Research Focus

The broad aim of this study is to enhance the understanding of participatory placemaking through the lens of governance and emotions in the Global South context by looking at the historic urban centre regeneration in Malaysia.

First, this study assessed the roots of placemaking concept from space and place theories in human geography, planning, and governance. Several theoretical concepts, including the sense of place, place attachment, belonging, and ownership, were explored to determine the impact of emotions and actions on protecting meaningful places, the environment, and survival of identities, and subsequently,

the promotion of a more sustainable approach to urban regeneration in historical cities. The placemaking process revolves around identifying needs, issues, cultural elements of cities, and local community assets and capacities, to effectively engage the community in creating a meaningful place.

Second, this study assessed the planning policies and practices related to the urban regeneration of historical cities in Malaysia and the governance structures they are embedded in, drawing understanding from local and global trends. Special attention was given to place-based and collaborative approach that shape contemporary practise of planning and policy-making of urban regeneration. Public participation and community action were explored by assessing local communities and civil societies' influence on creating and maintaining a sense of place. The comprehension of collaborative planning and public participation is paired to the studied context to gauge the understanding of power dimensions in the placemaking process at the horizontal level between stakeholders and the vertical level between collaborative planning and governance participants.

Finally, through the employment of ethnographic methodology undertaken in the three case studies, the study seeks to contribute to addressing the gap in participatory placemaking theory, particularly in the global south context, as emphasised by several researchers (Pak, 2018; Strydom et al., 2018; Dupre, 2019; Perera, 2020). This study contributes to better understand participatory placemaking with a focus on governance and emotions. Upon exploring the three case studies within the country, the study generates a more in-depth understanding

of how different local governance structures, politics, economic market (local and global), local values and emotional attachment to place shape the practice outcome of participatory placemaking.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. After this introductory chapter, the literature review in Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework of this study. Essentially, three themes are addressed in this study. The start of this second chapter looks into the concept of space and place in order to shed light on the emotional and affective dimensions of place. Several concepts, such as sense of place, place attachment, belonging, ownership, and stewardship, are explored. Next, the chapter examines theories and concepts pertaining to place governance, discussing the shift from single government governance to collaborative governance practice. Multi-level and collaborative governances are elaborated to provide a background on collaborative planning practice within the context of urbanisation and urban governance. The chapter moves on by discussing public participation that may exist in the formal structure of planning practice or emerge from the bottom-up community actions. Finally, this chapter offers a conceptual framework of participatory placemaking that amalgamates theories related to emotions, collaborative planning, and community actions. At the end of this chapter, the objective of this thesis is addressed.

Chapter 3 describes the data collection methods adopted in this study, along with their rationalisation. This chapter discusses the philosophical background,

methodological direction (ethnography of case studies), experiences, and challenges faced during fieldwork. The data collection techniques employed were mainly qualitative, which incorporated fieldwork observation and interviews.

Chapter 4 introduces the context of this study, Malaysia, and the three case studies, namely Kuala Lumpur, George Town, and Ipoh. This chapter starts with general information about Malaysia, its profile, political structure, governance, and policy framework in light of urbanisation. Next, this chapter provides information about the three case studies, including a historical overview, local political structure, as well as the economy and socio-cultural characteristics. Later, urban regeneration efforts in all three case studies and the agenda behind the efforts are discussed.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the analysis and empirical outcomes. Chapter 5 is devoted to governance and institutional capacities that address the actors-power relations at play within which participatory placemaking has been enabled. Chapter 6 discusses public participation and community action by looking into the gradation of participation and the forms of citizen initiatives. It also evaluated the characteristics that pushed genuine public involvement in the placemaking process. Chapter 7 elaborates the emotions at play in participatory placemaking and the role of emotion in the sustainability of urban regeneration initiatives.

Chapter 8 concludes the overall study outcomes. It starts with a review of the study objectives. Next, this chapter reflects on the implications of case studies to tie empirical evidence to the theoretical contribution of this study. This study builds a

new comprehension of how participatory placemaking should be understood in the Malaysian context.

1.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided an overview of this study by outlining the content, focus and the flow of discussion in the following chapters. This study presents new perspectives on the ways emotions and governance contour participatory placemaking in the Global South context, particularly in Southeast Asia, based on an ethnography research approach involving three Malaysian cities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The term placemaking has been extensively used to describe a promising approach to small scale urban centre regeneration that values bottom-up processes of shaping places (Zamanifard et al., 2018). As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the term placemaking that concerns the identity and meaning of place has a wide range of definitions across various intersecting disciplines. Any parties involved in a collaborative effort can lead the placemaking process with an assortment of place-based urban intervention strategies (Ellery & Ellery, 2019; Ghavampour & Vale, 2019; Sara et al., 2020). However, the choice of initiatives and implementation on a particular site is highly dependent on the way place at the theoretical level is viewed by collaborating parties and other contextual influencing factors (Cresswell, 2015). Drawing from research in various fields, such as human geography, planning, urban design, architecture, psychology and sociology, this chapter presents the theoretical framework of participatory placemaking through the scope of governance and emotions within the Global South context.

This chapter has three principal aims. Firstly, to single out three core themes this research revolves around: (1) unpacking the term placemaking from theories of space and place, (2) understanding the institutional capacity for place-based approaches through theories of governance and collaborative planning, and (3)

motivations for community actions and participation in shaping places through placemaking projects. Secondly, this chapter aims to review how the three themes have been linked in the theoretical discussion of participatory placemaking to highlight the gaps in which this research attempts to address. The final aim of this chapter is to provide a clear focus and position of this research by examining particular approaches and definitions, as well as the need to investigate placemaking in the historic urban centres of Malaysia.

Consequently, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section unpacks the three core themes of the research. The first theme explores the theoretical tradition of placemaking through theories of space and place to understand the association of values, meanings and emotions to the creation of place. Concepts such as sense of place, sense of belonging and sense of ownership are discussed to examine the people-place relationship and their actions in protecting, modifying and constructing place. This is to understand the vital role of emotions and affect in the spatial planning and design of spaces, primarily historical significant sites by several scholars across the field of geography, planning and architecture (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Eckersall, 2011; Gustafson, 2001; Murray & Landry, 2020; Rawling, 2018; Sweeney et al., 2018). The second and third themes investigate the manner in which formal regeneration schemes drive place-based and small scale urban regeneration approach within the historic core, as well as encouraging community-led projects through a myriad of different ways at different scales (Cresswell, 2015; Ghavampour & Vale, 2019; D. Harvey, 2012; Sweeney et al., 2018; Tuan, 1977; Zylstra, 2017) Debates along the topic of power relation and steering capacity of

actors to construct place identity is investigated through the theory of governance (the second theme). Concepts such as multi-level governance, place governance and collaborative governance are explored. The third theme is devoted to understanding citizen participation gradient, ranging from professional-led public participation to bottom-up community actions and their outcome on the placemaking process. Unpacking the three themes helps lay the theoretical foundation for interpreting participatory placemaking that was vaguely defined in Chapter 1 (p.8).

The second section discusses the fundamental problem and gaps surrounding the theoretical concepts and the implementation of participatory placemaking, particularly the way it is employed as a place-based solution within historic urban centre regeneration. This section seeks to define the term for this research, exploring the various approaches to placemaking that reflects its open-ended and indefinite nature. This research focuses on constructing local place identity by the actions of the people in power and the local community through regeneration and placemaking in historic urban centres confronting sustainability issues, Asian urbanism, and preservation of heritage within the conservation areas.

Finally, regarding the discussion in the first two sections, the third section provides a conceptual framework for participatory placemaking that combines theories on emotional geographies, governance, collaborative planning, and community actions grounded in place-based understanding. This research focuses on placemaking practices in the Global South, particularly in Malaysia – a country located in the Southeast Asian region known for the most multi-cultural region.

2.1 Understanding Placemaking from the Concept of Space and Place, Governance and Community Participation

Placemaking has been claimed as a sustainable way for urban centre development because it addresses not only the economic growth, but also the social aspects by supporting community participation and the environmental aspects by advocating for the sustainability of place value and meaning (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005; Zamanifard et al., 2018). However, there is a growing debate concerning the loss of the sense of place and identity in the historic urban centres, as placemaking appears to have changed from authentic everyday practices of the people to modern planning relying entirely on professional practices of placemakers (Ellery & Ellery, 2019; Ghavampour & Vale, 2019; D. Harvey, 2012; Relph, 1976; Sara et al., 2020). As stressed by Creswell (2004, 2015), the way people make places is contingent on their understanding of place at a theoretical level. This section investigates these claims through theories of space and place, governance, and community participation.

2.1.1 The Concept of Space and Place

Space has a connotation to a location (a location without meaning); it has areas and volumes (Cresswell, 2015, p. 8). Within the dimension of space, a matter is located, and items are contained (Agnew, 2011). Space is given geometrical personality by events or objects occupying it but is independent of it (Agnew, 2011; Downs & Tuan, 1978). The everyday language we use for space, such as public space, private space, and social space, gives the idea of human activities and their whereabouts (Bakri, 2018, p. 32). People's awareness of types of space grows in places with

unique qualities. Space is an entity by itself but might appear active through the power of places, objects, and events placed within it (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Relph, 1976). According to Relph (1976, p. 8), how we feel or explain space is nearly always associated with the sense and concept of place.

Human understanding of the spatial and geometrical character of space is experienced through the sensory organs. It is natural for human beings to attempt to embody their feelings, images and thoughts into a tangible form, ranging from the smallest scale (of a bedroom) to the larger scale like the city (Tuan, 1977). According to Ghavampour and Vale (2019, p. 197), the understanding of people's experiences of space, how they judge and feel space is a result of a person's perception and cognition through the appreciation of the environment's aesthetic qualities. This visual artistic tradition in planning and urban design was a popular practice, especially between 1940-1970, strengthened by writings like *Townscape* (Cullen, 1961) and *Image of the City* (Lynch, 1960). This tradition emphasizes the visual qualities and the spatial representation of art in the making of places where different visual qualities are believed to stimulate different feelings for the viewer. Hence, in designing cities, spaces should be arranged and applicable based on visual experience. However, as Ghavampour and Vale (2019) argued, absent from this tradition is references to people's activities and the specific view on place as meaningful location.

Another important conception of space is that it allows movements and is constantly directed towards or paused by objects or places (Cresswell, 2015; Tuan, 1977).

Tuan associate space as an 'open arena of action and movement that is amenable to the abstraction of spatial science and economic rationality' (Cresswell, 2004 p.20). Space offers openness and freedom. It could be manipulated or emptied from above by those with power like 'the colonial strategist or urban planner, and from below through spatial negotiation in everyday life by ordinary people' (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015, p. 562). Space is not merely socially produced through socio-economic ideology and technological factors, nor does it begin and ends with planners, architects, and builders who produce the material setting's physical establishment. But, as Lefebvre (1991) described - it is also socially constructed through continuous social interactions, memories, experiences, imagination, and usage by the ordinary people (AlTarawneh, 2017; Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015; Bakri, 2018). Space is a container of power as described by Michelle Foucault, where the built environment is a powerful instrument for exercising power and fighting for justice or civil rights – as socially, people are both exerting ideas about society through the built environment by creating categories such as race, class and gender, as well as resisting or modifying the meaning assigned to space (Aoki & Yoshimizu, 2015). This conception of social space or socially produced is near in definition to the concept of place.

The primary distinction between space and place is always ascribed to the attachment of meanings to space, turning it into place. Over time, people's awareness of space grows as the relationship to space becomes more profound with the addition and subtraction of sentiments as people experience it. When people invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some

way, it becomes a place (Cresswell, 2015 p.16). The attachment of meanings to space is what changes space into place.

To explain the difference between space and place, Creswell (2015) drew on the first experience of moving into college accommodation. He describes that a space providing basic necessity for a student's life is an anonymous room - until the student adds personality to the room by rearranging furniture, putting up posters, and adding his/her possessions – turning it into his/her 'place'. Hence, place is space invested with meaning in the context of power – which happens across the globe, at all scales throughout history.

Most scholars who studied space and place often highlighted that the term place is a complex word with a fair number of definitions as it travels freely between disciplines, and therefore, benefits from multidisciplinary view (Agnew, 2011; Cresswell, 2004, 2015; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Although this research remains open to the various definitions and aware of the slippery association between the word place, space, and landscape, for this research, four main conceptions of place are studied: (1) place as meaningful location, (2) place as home (3) place as process and continually being constructed, and (4) place as coming together

1. Place as the meaningful location

Place is often referred to as location, a notion of location or a notion of where – a meaningful location – where a person has a certain connection to the particular location or building like 'ownership, a notion of privacy and belonging (Cresswell,

2015, p. 7). According to Creswell (2015), the word place used in everyday speech is always vested in common sense, making it difficult to be understood in a more developed way beyond common sense. The way it is used may suggest a reference to physical quality and people's experience of places, such as the phrase 'Brisbane is a nice place', a sense of position in social hierarchy through the phrase 'she puts me in my place' and a particular ordering of things in the world through the phrase 'a place for everything and everything in its place'. Place is how we make the world meaningful and the way we experience the world.

Agnew (2011) describes three basic aspects of place relating to a meaningful location: location, locale, and sense of place. Place must be located or have a notion of a location. Place almost always has a concrete form, or an imagery materiality or material visual form as setting for social relations (locale); and place must have a 'sense of place' – the people-place relationship related to the human capacity to produce and consume meaning. Similarly, Relph (1976) described the properties of place as - having a location that is given appearance by the landscape within which lies the spirit of place. Place gives and obtained meaning based on what it offers socially and morally where different locations are linked with a certain spirit or sacred purpose (Agnew, 2011; Creswell, 2015; Downs & Tuan, 1978). The meaning and significance of place grow from a range of human emotions and experiences when maintained in the continuity of traditions and rituals through time, reinforcing each other's identity (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Relph, 1976). Nonetheless, people's experience of place could also be negatively (Manzo, 2005). People experienced the sense of inescapably, imprisoned and oppressed by the misery of routine,

symbols, or establishment in everyday life (Relph, 1976). This brings us to the next discussion of place as 'rooted, authentic,' and later on - shaped from the outside.

2. *Home as the Fundamental Place*

Place is also associated with 'home' - which provides security, stability, and identity as people develop deep psychological and existential ties to it. This is the foundation of human existence rooted in the need for spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere familiar (Downs & Tuan, 1978). People are most attached to places where they had a multiplicity of personal and communal experiences, and consequently, this attachment to place develops a deep sense of care and concern to protect it or resist insensitive development (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Relph, 1976; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

According to Cresswell (2015), several prominent writings in geography described the home as a fundamental place for people's authentic existence – that is more than a mere location, such as Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* (1927) with the popular term 'Dasein' or dwelling, and Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (1994). Home is linked to the idea of a centre of meaning where people feel a sense of attachment and belonging, an intimate place to rest or take refuge from the outside world – to be oneself. People's first experience of the world is very intense in that it frames people's understanding of all the spaces outside (Cresswell, 2015, pp. 39–40). The deep attachment to place link to a certain kind of homeliness, which explains the act of protecting places from those who 'do not belong', our reaction to extreme changes to 'our' place and the nostalgic feeling we felt to places that remind

us of home or something familiar. It also explains why certain places are in bad shape (deteriorate or dilapidated) or where humility is not exercised – because of the absence of care or sense of belonging to the place as it might be lacking authenticity (Creswell, 2015).

However, the notion of 'home' as the fundamental place for human existence was contested by feminist geographer Gillian Rose (1993) and Marxist radical geographer Doreen Massey (1994). The former debated that home is not always conflict-free and nurturing because some people (for example, woman) might experience violence, abuse, and neglect at home. As the argument goes, the lack of attention to difference and universal view concentrated on man is problematic in the equation of home as the fundamental place. The latter argues that the notion of place as rooted and authentic might not be relevant in the world with increased mobility and globalisation like what we are experiencing in this 21st century.

A place becomes a meeting place, a coming together of diverse and multiple ethnicity living and working together. Discussing place as home can be problematic because protecting a place that stands for the identity and memory of a particular group of people tends to exclude the 'threatening others'. Often, the search for an authentic sense of place is politically used in the form of reactionary. The contemporary urban centres are becoming more multiethnic and diverse, progressively constructed internally by multiple identities and histories thrown together in place and time, as well as shaped by the outside (global forces). Hence, the sense of place is no longer singular nor static but is progressively constructed

in a global sense.

3. *Place as process*

The third concept explored places as a constantly being created process as it is always provisional (Agnew, 2011; Relph, 1976). It is never finished but always becoming from the result of processes and practices by creating and utilising a physical setting (Cresswell, 2015; Pred, 1984). Hence, the study on place needs to consider the dominance of institutional projects, profiles of people negotiating place, and the way in which a sense of place is developed through the interaction and negotiation of both shaped and refrained by the social order (Cresswell, 2015, p. p.65).

Place as a process has been advocated by several scholars like Allan Pred (1984 p.279), who disagree with viewing place as an inert, experienced scene, emphasizing particular attributes of place as frozen scenes of human activities. He believes that the observable scene of place can never be fully formed since it is continually evolving through appropriation and change, which is inseparable from reproduction and transformation of society in space and time (Cresswell, 2015, p. 65). Similarly, place as a social construct carries a duality view of place, that it is within human power to change it, yet, the change to the meaning and materiality of place is also shaped by social hierarchy and power relation within the society. Lefebvre (1991) highlighted that while mobilities of bodies in space create a sense of place, it is not necessarily the product of free will. More often than not, the mobilities' rhythm is the product of societal order imposed on human bodies

(Cresswell, 2015, p. 65).

Place does not exist in isolation. Instead, they are stops and pauses from the flow of space and time, socially constructed by powerful institutional forces in society to mark particular boundaries and establish particular forms of local government and social power. While places need to promote themselves as good places to live, work and invest in attracting capitalist investment and getting a share of the mobile capital, the power of global capitalism is a serious threat to the loss of place-based identity. According to David Harvey (1996), nations and local government use place as a political tool to assert power and identity, reinforcing their distinctiveness to provide a sense of pride and belonging, declaring their independence from wider global pressure (Cresswell, 2015, p. 95). Hence, place is also a continuous process of constructing imagined places where identity is created through the construction and preservation of memories connecting people to the past (history and heritage) as a form of resistance against capitalist forces (Cresswell, 2015, p. 96).

This search for authenticity and rootedness could result in a very selective and singular projection of identity linking a particular area to a certain race or ethnic group and history, side-lining others and the experiences of more recent arrivals, in the act of almost reactionary, as described by Creswell (2015, p.103):

A reactionary sense of place is the constant desire to show how places and their identities are rooted in history. This explains the modern desire for heritage at both national and local scales. The national government and cultural elites are often keen to root a sense of national identity in a historical story about where it has come from and where it is going – a creation myth. Elaborate traditions are invented to bolster these stories.

Museums display these histories.

While history is an important element, places are not bounded by it. Rather, the addition and subtraction of historical and cultural elements through interactions and a distinct mixture of the wider context and more local social relations dynamically change places' character (Massey, 1994; Relph, 1976). According to Massey (1991), place history is always a history of journeys and connections, layers upon layers of different sets of linkages, both local and wider world. Local history is also a global history, and it is the gathering of stories that make place specific. As place exists in a network that extends to a global scale, place is progressively shaped by the power of larger globalized context as much as the local communities that are now more heterogeneous and complex. The multiple identities can both be a source of richness and conflict that creates a unique sense of place, which will be explored next.

4. Place as coming together

Places have the power of gathering – things, people, experiences, histories, emotions, and memories - where the inside of the place (which gathers) have a relationship with an outside (from where things are gathered). Place has a relational nature related to the outside and things on the move (Cresswell, 2015, p. 52). Since place does not exist in isolation and is connected through flow in space and time, movements of people and social groups in this flow and their interconnections are varied in reasons beyond the result of universal transformation in the capital (Massey, 1994). They are infused with power in social relations forms (Cresswell,

2015, p. p.101). People's movement in space and time is extremely complicated, with highly complex social differentiation in the degree of movement and communication and the degree of control and initiation.

The mobility and control of some group can actively weaken other people, which is labelled as power-geometry by Massey (1994). Massey is concerned about how our actions might negatively affect others' lives – and critique the extreme reaction due to fear of outsiders that often result in an introverted obsession with heritage and nationalism. Massey (1991) calls for a different way of looking at place – one that celebrates diversity and hybridity, made by a mixture of multiple ethnicities that comes together in place. A progressive concept of place is where specificity is continually reproduced by a distinctive mixture of broader and local social relations, marked by flows and connections that are throwntogether in place (Cresswell, 2015, pp. 105–108). Massey advocates for interpretation of place defined by radical openness and permeability rather than introvert and feels threatened by difference – which she claimed is becoming more relevant to this 21st century.

Discussion on space and place have exposed the importance of meaning to differentiate these terms. Exploring the four concepts of place has revealed that meaning and emotions associated with place are the results of human actions influenced by various factors such as social relations, culture and tradition, and the global forces. Place could also be manipulated and constructed at different levels by different groups in society, often with specific motivations (e.g., reaction to threat, belonging, and identity). This is useful in the discussion of the empirical chapters.

The next subsection explores the relationship between place and emotions through emotional geography within the context of urban regeneration.

2.1.2 The Emotional Turn in Geography

The study on people-place relationship and emotions has gained increasing interest from various fields such as sociologist, anthropologies, and historian concerns with the survival of cultural heritage (Harvey, 2001; Kearney, 2009), health and psychology fields concerns with both mental and physical human wellbeing (Halpenny, 2010; Lengen & Kistemann, 2012), and in the field of urban studies, planning, and urban design. Within planning and urban design, the writings about emotions of people and places call for the crucial need to address and consider emotions in the professional practise of placemakers (Deitz et al., 2018; Osborne & Grant-smith, 2015; Sandberg & Malin, 2016). Emotion is declared as essential in order to understand people-place relationship (Ansaloni & Tedeschi, 2016; Brehm et al., 2013; Erdiaw-Kwasie & Basson, 2018; Kearney, 2009; Lachapelle, 2008; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015a), that plays a role in placemaking (Cristoforetti et al., 2011; Tan et al., 2018; Wesener et al., 2020). Various explorations on mapping tools tapped into knowledge in geography, neurosciences, and psychology are continuously explored to provide data on emotions. The aim is to help decision-makers and placemakers make the right decision guided not merely by rational and technical considerations but also by people's emotions to places. People's emotion in place could be captured and locate through the act of walking as proposed in 'rescue geography' by Jones and Evans (2011) and 'feeling' maps by Weinreb and Rofe (2013), using mobile electroencephalography (EEG) such as the 'urban brain'

by Aspinall *et al.* (2015), using biosensing technologies and mix-method approach by Osborne and Jones (2017) and using social media data (geotagged photos shared on Flickr) by Ashkezari-toussi, Kamel, & Sadoghi-yazdi (2019).

The multidisciplinary nature of emotional geography ascertains that people's emotion matters and understanding emotions are crucial for appreciating how lives are lived, histories experienced, geographies made, and future shaped (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Davidson *et al.*, 2007; Eckersall, 2011; Murray & Landry, 2020; N. Osborne & Grant-smith, 2015). Emotions have the power to alter the shape of our lives, as our daily lives are infused with and informed by emotion in complex and dynamic ways. However, emotions are never merely a surface phenomenon, never easy to define or demarcate, or to be observed and mapped (Davidson *et al.*, 2007).

According to Davidson, Bondi and Smith (2007, p. 7), 'emotions are commonly understood to be contained by psycho-social and material boundaries that separate person from another and their surrounding environment,' and often conceptualised as individual and internal (N. Osborne & Grant-smith, 2015). The 'emotional turn' in geography has recognised that the study cannot just deal with feelings; it must convey a sense of emotional involvement with people and places rather than detachment. In 2001 *Transaction Journal*, Anderson & Smith (2001, p.9) made a strong call for more significant and more in-depth examination on emotions and affects in geography beyond embodiment and representational geography into the non-representational,

‘... the quest for a policy turn in geography seems to us to be key areas where an awareness of how emotional relations shape society and space is important... Our argument has been that social relations are lived through the emotions, but the emotional qualities of social life have rarely been made apparent within the lexicon of social research. Tackling this requires us to confront a methodological as well as a conceptual challenge.’

Moving the subject of emotion away from the body has open wide-ranging exploration possible in studying emotional geographies running across a range of spatial scales such as the home and homeland and across topics of inclusion or exclusion, identity, and the social life in the city and rural spaces. Bondi (2005) traced three philosophical viewpoints on how emotions are approached within emotional geographies: humanistic geography, feminist geography, and non-representational geography.

Humanistic geography, concerns with emotional qualities of place and human life, offer means to describe people's rich experiences of place and emotions and emphasize the capacity of places to evoke emotions such as love, hate, pleasure, grief, rage, and more (Bondi 2005; Pile 2009). However, humanistic geography has been criticized for paying too little attention to difference, otherness, and equality (Bondi, 2005; Burns, 2000; Castree et al., 2013; Dixon & Jones, 2006). This is explored in feminist geography. Feminists often reject generalization and are more attentive to the details of the every day with the view that social life and space are indeed heterogeneous (Burns, 2000). Non-representational geography concerns the significance of that which cannot be brought into representation – the inexpressible affects (Pile, 2010; Thrift, 2004). Pile (2010, p. 8) further clarify

distinctive features of affects such as 'the production of a capacity of the body that is defined by its openness to other bodies', which is both within and between bodies', 'connects bodies, makes them proximate by flowing between them', and has potential but could also be manipulated'.

Affect is valuable because it is not confined to the individual body and can become shared and magnified with changes in its intensities (Jones & Evans, 2011). For example, drawing from the non-representational geography and affect, Anderson (2006) described the character of hope as something that has not yet become but matters because it is a creation of potentiality and possibilities. The circulation and distribution of hope dampen social-cultural life across various scales, from hopes in everyday life through larger-scale hope that built multiple collectives.

Understanding the emotional turn in geography and the three philosophical viewpoints in emotional geography points out various opportunities in exploring people-place relationship – from people's emotional reaction to place to the need to understand it with relation to power and privilege in society. The neglect of affect in urban studies has been called 'criminal neglect' by Thrift (2004, p. 58). He debated that the systematic knowledge of creation and mobilisation of affect is vital in everyday urban life. This knowledge has been widely and politically manipulated by the rich and powerful as an instrument of aesthetic representation. More scarily, it could be forged into economic weapons that could be actively used to engineer urban experiences.

1. Emotional Geography in Historic Urban Centre

Emotional geography is a field of knowledge that aims to explain emotion, both experientially and conceptually, as socio-spatial mediation and articulation beyond interiorised subjective mental states, embodiment and singular experience of place (Davidson et al., 2007; Dittmer, 2011). A spatially engaged approach to the study of emotions has brought new insights – that emotion is both relational, and as emerging from social and spatial interaction, it is socially and spatially constructed as it is also coming from within bodies. Osborne and Grant-smith (2015, pp. 679–682) describe the need to embrace the social and spatial conceptualisation of emotion in the study and practice of urban planning. The field where professional placemakers makes policies on the development and implementation of placemaking:

‘Emotion contributes to the creation and constitution of spaces and shapes ‘not only what the world is, but also how it comes to be this way’, it can only be fully understood within its spatial and social context. Emotion is embodied, spatially and temporally constituted, shapes and is shaped by relationships between people and between people and places and is part of how we construct and know places, social and power relations and structures...without an understanding of how emotion can shape actions with particular social-spatial context – planners may be missing something critical to the achievement of desired outcome... silencing emotion (in planning practice) may damage the success of the overall policy/plan.’

There are two perspectives of why emotions need to be addressed in spatial planning and design from western theories. One is based on Harvey’s (1996) reactionary sense of place, and the other is based on Massey’s (1991) global sense of place. The former relates to the overwhelming foreign identities due to the flooding of a multi-ethnic society that threatens the dominant ‘western’ identity.

While the latter relates to the need to be more open to permeate the identity of others who also contributes to the city's sense of place.

Concerning the context of this research, the global south, particularly in Southeast Asia, emotions and affect situated in people's experiences in the historic urban centres matters in a way that the place identity is constantly created, maintained, and contested. The distinctively unique heterogeneous image and narrative in the conservation areas is the result of negotiations between both internal multi-ethnic societies in the local and the people in power are threatened by the invasion of the more 'homogenous western identity' (Edensor & Jayne, 2012; Perera, 2016; Ujang, 2017).

As cities are caught in the global place branding competition, the historic urban centres and its conservation areas in Asian cities are confronting increasing pressure from the global economic, environmental, and social trends to project a particular image of homogeneous, 'westernized' identity to appeal to the global market. The imagery material or material visual form of place is a powerful marketing tool that people in power could manipulate to construct a particular image, identity, and urban experience, and consequently the emotional relations to place and sense of place (Pendlebury & Porfyriou, 2017). The less powerful cultures and the marginalized with any of their representation is being pushed away from the city by the state's economic, political and powerful forces to project a clean and sanitized urban environment (Burns, 2000).

Realizing the danger of insensitive development that threatens the uniqueness of place and local identities, grassroots resistance and initiatives by activist and voluntary groups challenges the decision-making, control over development, management of land, and investment by the formal government (Wu, 2003). Clearly, among other reasons, their actions are often motivated by emotions and attachment they have with place. Coincide with the increasing interest in understanding people-place relationship in various fields, urban regeneration takes a more holistic, place-based approaches, seeking a deeper understanding of the role of emotion and affect in the historic urban centres to understand complex emotional reactions to places confronting issues of power struggles and privilege in society to address community values (Sandberg & Malin, 2016).

Place is a powerful source of memory with stabilizing persistence as a container of experiences. It has the ability to make the past come to life in the present practise of people experiencing a place through all senses: sight, smell, touch, sound, and taste. According to Creswell (2004, p.85), 'memory appears to be a personal thing... and it is also socially constructed... some memories are allowed to fade, and some are promoted or constituted in the production of places'. In the context of urban centres, place memories are constituted through the inscription of heritage and conservation zones supported by the preservation of particular buildings valued as heritage buildings and state investments in erecting monuments, museums and plaques, often to commemorate winners of the history and (only recently) to remember dark memories of places. Clearly, place has many memories, but the choice of memories to be conserved and promoted as urban memories is often a

political decision based on selective values. Tuan (1977) advocates that the value of place is profoundly connected to the humanistic aspects like human involvement, connection, and experience of place both in its tangible and intangible forms (Tuan (1977) in Bakri, 2018). The urban memories value as significant by the people in power sometimes conflicts with what the locals value as place memories in everyday experience.

In developing an emotion-based understanding of the historic urban centres, Tuan (1977) distinguished people's experiences of place into two broad categories – place as public symbols and places as the field of care. The former caters to the eyes – instantly recognisable and command immediate attention such as the monuments and the grand design of buildings and urban spaces. The latter often do not seek to project an image to the outsider but come to be known, and meaningful through prolong experience and involvement, resulting in the growth of affection and attachment that are positively related to human emotions vibrating in the field of care (Deitz et al., 2018). Several scholars suggest for examination on the people-place relationship through concepts like the sense of place, place attachment, sense of ownership and sense of belonging (Jones & Evans, 2011; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Pretty et al., 2003; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015b). These are the concepts explored in this subsection, and later in Section 2.3, the influence of these concepts on placemaking initiatives is discussed.

2. Sense of Place and Identity

Conservation areas in the historic urban centres are often designated as 'cultural

and heritage significant' quarters (Lai et al., 2013; McCarthy, 2006; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015b). Culture is a social process where people create meaning to give themselves a sense of identity (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015b), while heritage 'is a process that continually creates and recreates a range of social relations, values and meaning about the past and the present' (Smith (2006, p.42) in Bakri, 2018). Heritage is a spatial-temporal process, where memory could be presented in both physical and symbolic forms, and non-physical aspects such as cultural activities, customs and values that people carry.

The former relates to what Tuan (1997) described as a public symbol of place, while the latter relates to the field of care when discussing people's experience of place. Place is made of the physical setting, activities, and meanings inseparably interwoven in our experience of place. However, a place's meanings are more difficult to comprehend because it is a property of human intentions and experiences (Relph, 1976). Relph further explains that the fusion of these three components and the dialectic links between them are the fundamentals that create a place's identity. People can grasp the identity of a place by recognizing the differences and sameness between places based on their experience of places.

Another dimension of identity is known as 'spirit of place' or 'sense of place' or 'genius loci', which refers to the character or personality of place (Relph, 1976, p. 48). It is a complex concept within several philosophical traditions such as humanistic geography (see Relph 1976 and Tuan 1977) and critical Marxism (see Massey 1997). The theoretical concepts underpinning the sense of place include

identity, attachment, and dependence (Erdiaw-Kwasie & Basson, 2018).

The term 'sense of place' is referred to as the affective dimension of people's relationship with a place (Liz Taylor, 2005), which comprises emotional bonds with places, values, meanings, and symbols (Lengen & Kistemann, 2012). Sense of place highlights the 'sense of identity' of a particular environment (Sime, 1986). A robust sense of place exhibits a strong identity and character felt within the mixture of natural and social features of the landscape, enhanced by people, literature, myths, and legends about the place. Although the natural and social feature of place may change through time, the sense of place continues to persist, as described by Relph (1976, p. 48):

Spirit of place involves topography and appearance, economic functions and social activities, and particular significance deriving from past events and present situations, but it differs from the simple summation of these. Spirit of place can persist in spite of a profound change in the basic components of identity... the distinctiveness persists despite the change.

Jivén & Larkham (2003) highlight two ways in which a sense of place is discussed. First, as characteristics that made a place unique, which influence people's experience of place. Second, people's feeling or perception about a place that fosters an authentic human attachment and belonging. The former describes the sense of place as the atmosphere, the character, and the environmental quality of a place that emphasises the place's visual and external experience. Emphasizing the visual qualities and the spatial representation that is believed to stimulate different viewer feelings is categorised as the visual artistic tradition in planning and urban design (Ghavampour & Vale, 2019). Jivén & Larkham warns that this only a

partial understanding of the concept, and it means so little then than what Norberg-Schulz suggests of sense of place. They also highlighted that architects, urban planner, and interior designers often adopt this understanding, focusing on issues of 'character' in the design and conservation approach.

Norberg-Schulz's (1980) description of the sense of place is driven from ancient Roman belief in guardian spirit that gives life to people and places (from birth to death). It is this spirit that grants people and places its character and essence. Human survival depends on a good relationship with the place both in a physical and psychic sense. It also comes to terms with the genius of the locality and the definite character of the environment where his life takes place. The sense people have of a place is understood in the totality of 'all physical and symbolic values in nature and human environment.' Jivén & Larkham (2003, p. 70) further describe:

'The natural condition of a place is understood as being based on features in the topographical landscape, including a cosmological and temporal perspective that includes continual changes of light and vegetation in the annual cycle... This is genius loci, a place in nature that we have to interpret when we are changing our built environment... Both buildings and the symbolic meaning of a settlement are important for the genius loci concept as expressions of society's cultural interpretation of place.'

Genius loci highlight that people experience a place in combination with the 'rhythmic fluctuation' of the natural environment and the physical form characteristics, highlighting the element of nature as an important element in the sense of place. Lynch (1981, p.1-13) described this concept of genius loci in his book, '*A Theory of Good City Form*', in which he described the layout of the ancient

Chinese city of Peking. The city was carefully planned with the natural setting as magnificent background and designed with certain monumental buildings, enclosures, gates in which directions laid to reinforce the sense of awe through 'psychological domination.' Within it, rituals practice that is fitted to the place with the belief that it will sustain the harmony of heaven and men - and if disturbed, will be disastrous. The city is a safe and secure place with an orderly location, orderly timing, and fitting behaviour. Lynch (1981, p.1) claimed that 'most modern urban places are less than satisfactory – uncomfortable ugly, or dull – as if they were measured on some absolute scale, except certain fragments of cities such as a historic town, vital centre of some great city, an affluent suburb and fine parks'.

According to Relph (1976, p. 63), a sense of place can be authentic and genuine, or it can be inauthentic, contrived, or artificial. A place is authentic when it relates to genuine, unadulterated, without hypocrisy, and 'honest to itself' in characteristics and in-depth Relph (1976). People's authentic attitude to a place comes from full awareness that a place is a meaningful setting for human activities and human intentions purposely create it. Tuan (1977) mentioned that places are innocently accepted for what they are (which is tied to spiritual rather than physical aspects) through the unselfconscious experience of place, direct and genuine in the entirety of its identity. The People-place-spirit relationship is profoundly strong in primitive people as their life and survival centres on the dependence and relationship with the natural world. In a modern world where more people live in urban areas and live a different lifestyle, an authentic sense of place is often linked to the reminiscences of past cultures and history. It offers a sense of stability and rootedness in place, a

sense of identity, of 'being inside and belonging to a place, knowingly without reflecting upon it.

In contrast, an inauthentic sense of place is described as placelessness – place lacking intentional depth, no adaptation to local condition, a meaningless pattern of buildings, monotonous, chaotic and produces mediocre experiences of place (Relph, 1976). Placelessness makes it less possible to develop a genuine felt sense of place as 'inauthentic attitude has no appreciation to their identities, no awareness on the deep and symbolic significances of places (Relph, 1976, p. 82) – no profound sense of care and concern to protect it. Inauthenticity is characterized by stereotype, artificial, dishonest and places planned by 'others' which disengage genuine belief system and other aspects of existence particular to the place. The creation of place is purely concern with functional efficiency, which could be achieved through objective organization and manipulative planning. He mentioned that this is most prevalent in industrialized and mass societies, in which inauthentic attitude and placelessness spread through mass communication (such as for transportation), mass culture (homogenization for tourism, 'Disneyfication', 'museumisation' and the like), big business (grand scale business with offices for large companies in city centre development), a powerful central authority (power to control over economic expansion and physical planning by a central authority) and the economic system that embrace all these.

Although there is a great difference in people's attitude towards authentic and inauthentic sense of place based on 'rootedness and authentic sense of identity' as

mentioned by Tuan (1997) and Relph (1976), Massey (1994) debated that contemporary urban centres are often made of multi-ethnic society with various cultural backgrounds 'throwntogether' at the same space and time. As place is a process of becoming, there is a need to include both the past and the more recent history in creating the sense of place. Sense of place needs to be viewed as progressive, with a notion of dynamism responding to both introvert and extrovert global changes in social, political power, economic shifts and mobility. Massey highlights that representation of singular identity in urban centres from the introvert viewpoint is bias because only the majority is acknowledged. Placemaking in this way, even for a positive purpose, may be oppressing to the 'others'. Hence, making places within the context of urban centres regeneration need to consider the old and new history, the majority and the minority ethnic groups in the place, the formal and informal attributes linked to socio-economic factors, the rational perspectives and emotional perspectives, and the locality and its relation to the global connection.

In summary, the historical and conservation zones are important areas in urban centres as people associate themselves with place identity. People judge place identity based on their judgement of its sameness and difference to themselves, interwoven in their experience of place. People experience place using all of their senses and recognised the sense of place (and spirit of place and genius loci) through their interaction with the place components: the physical setting, activities and meaning. Sense of place also relates to the affective dimension that people have to place rooted in the spiritual and emotional bonds that could foster attachment to place. The next subsection explores the concept of place attachment

to further unpack people's emotional bond and the people-place relationship concerning historic urban centres.

3. *Place Attachment and Meaning*

When discussing sense of place, both Relph and Massey touched on people's attachments to place. According to Jones & Evans (2011), Relph uses the notion of insideness and outsideness as a spectrum to explore individual attachment to place. Being deeply inside a place, the stronger a person identifies with it as he/she experience the place, surrounded by it and be part of it. Whilst being outside, the place is looked upon from a distance where the environment is evaluated through its aesthetic qualities – in which to develop empathy towards the local's way of life and values requires special efforts (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Relph, 1976). Place Attachment is defined as emotional bonds to one or several places as the place provides meaning to the individual or groups (Gustafson, 2001; Ramkissoon et al., 2012). Affective bonds with places may develop through a range of attributes such as natural and cultural environment, family and social activities, history and traditions (Kaltenborn, 1997). The discussion on place attachment will elaborate on its association with place meaning (psychological attachment), place dependence (functional attachment) and place identity.

Attachment due to the psychological relationship to the physical setting through the association of significance, purpose, symbolic role and value is known as place meaning (Brehm et al., 2012; Stedman, 2003). Meaning includes an array of positive and negative emotions and experiences as users associate significance, purpose,

symbolic role and value to the physical setting (Manzo, 2005; Wolf et al., 2014). However, the literature on place attachment tends to only focus on positive emotions (Trentelman, 2009), which are contributed by functional, emotional and social meanings (Hashem et al., 2013; Leith, 2006; Saar & Palang, 2009).

Functional attachment, or the ability to satisfy the needs and behaviour goals a place can offer compared to other places, is known as 'place dependence' (Budruk & Stanis, 2013; Halpenny, 2010; Trentelman, 2009; Vaske & Kobrin, 2001). Emotional attachment and symbolic attachment between people and place are known as 'place identity' (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010; Proshansky et al., 1983; Wolf et al., 2014). People may develop an attachment to the tangible physical component of place and the intangible social environment accumulated over the years (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Kaján, 2014; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010b). According to Ghavampour and Vale (2019,p.197-198), emphasizing the relationship between people and environment through activities and experience of people over the physical location's visual materiality is one of the traditions in urban design practice. The social usage tradition sees place as shaped by its social, cultural and economic context, which studies the human aspects in place including the behaviour (William H. Whyte, 1980) range of activities people do in places such as optional activities and necessary activities (Gehl, 1987), and the tripartite model of place combining activity, image and form (Montgomery, 1998).

The importance of place attachment is associated with people's identification with a community and location (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), social wellbeing (Rollero &

De Piccoli, 2010a), nurture sense of belongings and ownerships, motivates environmentally responsible behaviour (Halpenny, 2010; Vaske & Kobrin, 2001) and encourage people's involvement in community participation and conservation commitment (Downs & Tuan, 1978; T. H. Lee, 2011; Relph, 1976). People who feel a strong attachment to their community places tend to oppose redevelopment plans that threaten these relationships even if the planning proposal demonstrate useful potentials (Kaján, 2014).

People are drawn back to places that hold meaning to them, such as places they have a connection and identification with, places that support their mental wellbeing, that holds nostalgia and provides security, places that satisfy their behaviour needs, pleasure, escapism and benefits it offers such as 'my thinking place' or 'my relaxing place', as well as that offers hope for a better future (Eckersall, 2011 National Trust Report). Place attachment merits greater attention in the planning and urban design practices (Brown et al., 2003) as a stronger attachment to place increased the interest towards sustainability (Brown et al., 2003; Kaján, 2014; Manzo & Perkins, 2006). It is a natural human instinct to protect things that are meaningful to them, including meaningful places for future generations. Often this action is motivated by a real sense of belonging and self-identity (National Trust Report).

4. Sense of Belonging, Sense of Ownership and Stewardship

'...Before you have places of belonging, you must feel you belong. Before there is a vibrant street, one needs an understanding of the social dynamics on the street... political

understanding of who is in and who is out is also central to civic vitality. The relationship of (creative) placemaking activities to civic identity must investigate who has and who doesn't have civil rights. If placemaking activities supports politics of dis-belonging through gentrification, racism and real estate speculation in the name of neighbourhood revitalization, then it betrays the democratic ideals of having an equitable and just civil society.
(Bedoya, 2013)

Bedoya (2013) described two interconnected concepts important to the placemaking process. One sense of belonging relates to self-identification and self-categorization towards a certain group of people. Two, ownership, which relates to the exclusive control of physical or intellectual property embodied in legal rights, is often considered the defining characteristic in development, especially in the capitalist socioeconomic system described by Lachapelle (2008, p. 53). 'Sense of ownership' evolves from power strictly bestowed by legal rights to the concept that describes responsibility, obligation and caring of individuals (or group) in problem situation to address the problem (Lachapelle & McCool, 2005). This involves collective efforts to define, share and address the situation, including reassess power distribution. Lachapelle & McCool (2005) further describe three characteristics of ownership: the process of whose voice is heard and considered legitimate, who has influence over decisions and who is affected by the process and outcome.

Another concept related to the sense of belonging and sense of ownership is the term 'sense of community', which is 'a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going

socialization processes' (Najafi & Kamal, 2012, p. 7638). There are two types of the community mentioned by Najafi & Kamal. One, the community of interest that are not necessarily placed bound but are connected from common interest and lifestyles. Two, the community of place who drew a connection from geographical location. Consideration of emotional geography and the placemaking process requires deliberation on both unique sets of concept.

There are several ways how a sense of belonging and sense of ownership is expressed in place both through a tangible and intangible form such as personalization or self-investment, activities and usage of the place (Relph, 1976), giving name to object in the place (Warren & Mcfadyen, 2010) narrative, myths and stories as well as symbolic meaning through visual prominence, art, architecture, ceremonials and rites (Downs & Tuan, 1978). Tuan (1978, p. 178) further described, 'identity of a place is achieved by dramatizing aspirations, needs and functional rhythms of personal and group life.

Attachment to place and identity is often discussed with a sense of belonging, sense of ownership, and stewardship. Place meaning is imperative to the maintenance and creation of a sense of place. Identification to a place expresses a self-categorization to a membership of a group of people defined by their location or ideology, which is often termed as a community (Rollero, 2013). Belonging is central to the sense of community and in the context of the people-spatial relationship. It has the dimension of historical temporality, and cultural engagement (Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014) enliven by identity, memories, cultural histories, imagination and feelings to place.

However, belonging could be 'elective and selective' depending on self-chosen symbolic meaning and sense of self-worth. So does political actions that may come from this personal selection. Politics of belonging also involves who belongs to the place and who do not (Bedoya, 2013; Saar & Palang, 2009) in which to obtain control on deep, fixed link between a specific group, excluding others who do not suit is a possible action (Saar & Palang, 2009). The question of ownership is predominant within conservation and urban regeneration discussion regarding culture and heritage. While the community or society communally owns the historic town, historic buildings are either owned by the government or owned by individuals (Said et al., 2013). In some cases, the conflict between community rights to preserve the heritage and individual rights to develop their property befalls.

Discussion on the concept of space, place and emotional geographies at the beginning of this subtopic has not only unveil the importance of emotion in guiding how we should intervene in the world – as to how we shape places and design policies in urban planning and design, but it has also revealed the peril of not attending to emotions in making places in the urban centres which Thrift (2004) has labelled as 'criminal neglect'. Exploring concepts such as place attachment, sense of belonging and sense of ownership builds the understanding that emotional bonds to places foster environmental stewardship in communities. The next subsection discusses the place-based approach in urban regeneration in which placemaking is enabled within the governance structure practising collaborative planning and participatory or local communities.

2.1.3 The Question of Governance and Participation in Making of Places

As elaborated in the introduction chapter, in the current service-based economy, cities are becoming the engine of economic growth (Bradford, 2004). Local and National government are paying greater attention to improving infrastructures, facilities and urban spaces in the city to be appeal to both local and international skills and talents. However, the power to act on cities and policies to support place-based initiatives is constrained by the fiscal and constitutional boundary. Changes in governance that support place-based policies need to be strategized to allow local government and municipalities a share of power to facilitate the implementation of place-based strategies in planning and designing places at the local level. Consistent with the claim among scholars who study space and place like Relph (1976), Massey (1991), Harvey (2012) and Cresswell (2015) - that place is a process of meaning production in the context of asymmetrical power relations at all scales, this subsection explores the structural context in which institutional forces and the local community construct place through planning practice and participatory process.

This subsection aims to understand the institutional capacity for place-based approaches through theories of governance, collaborative planning, as well as community participation and action.

1. *From Government to Governance*

To begin, the term government and governance need to be clarified concerning their

use in this thesis before proceeding further to discussions on governance of place and collaborative governance. The term government refers to 'the formal and institutional process, which operates at the nation-state level (or from here onwards termed as the federal government), to maintain public order and facilitate collective actions. The federal monopoly in legitimate coercive power is characterized by its ability to make decisions and the capacity to enforce them (Stoker, 1998, p. 17).

In this thesis's context, the federal government refers to the Malaysian Government ruled by Barisan National (1957-2018) and Pakatan Harapan (beginning May 2018 until present). The second hierarchy is the state government (Malaysia is a federation of 14 states), which in reference to the case studies comprises the Perak State Government and Penang State Government, whilst the capital city of Kuala Lumpur is directly governed by the Federal Ministry (further described in chapter 4).

Governance is described as the 'development of governing styles, in which boundaries between and within the public and private sectors have become blurred' (Stoker, 1998), or 'a new process of governing or a changed condition of an ordered rule that shifted from federal government monopoly into governance by 'networks' (Rhodes, 2007). Governance emphasises 'process' over the institution, through which public and private actions and resources are coordinated and given common direction and meaning (Guy Peters & Pierre, 2004). This involves the relocation of authority upwards, downwards and sideways from the central authority of the federal government (Hooghe & Marks, 2003), detailed further by Vernon, Essex, Pinder, and Curry (2005):

Traditionally, the public sector has taken a “top-down”, centralized and bureaucratic approach that has seen government assume responsibility for infrastructure provision, planning control, marketing and promotion, and proactive development for the perceived public good. It has been replaced partially by a more “bottom-up”, decentralized and inclusive form of governance. Local communities and businesses are being encouraged to take more responsibility for management.

The key dilemmas when shifting towards governance include power-sharing and power dependence between the actors (government, private companies and civil societies). Exploring tools and techniques to achieve consensus and outcomes is highly required in addressing resource and capacity imbalance (Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, & Tkaczynski, 2010; Stoker, 1998). Some scholars argued that although the capacity to make a decision is shared among actors, the federal government persist in having control bestowed by the hierarchical system. It operates and controls the ‘rule of the games’ (Rhodes, 2007). Through time and experience in continuous collaborations, the institutional capacities of actor groups developed together with the network of power. Stoker (1998) described developments in the three actor groups, which includes the changing task of the government institution: an increased capacity of the private companies made possible by their financial and human resources; as well as the increase of active citizenship through voluntary and third sector agencies in the form of voluntary groups, non-profits, non-governmental groups, community enterprises, co-ops, and community-based organizations.

According to Stoker (1998), the new tasks of the government include (i) composition

and coordination of actors, which involves defining a situation, identifying key stakeholders and developing effective linkage; (ii) steering of the collaboration by influencing and building relationships to achieve the desired outcomes; (iii) integration and regulation of the management system to establish the mechanisms for effective co-ordination, which involves thinking and acting beyond the individual systems.

Capitals such as tangible (financial, people, technology and supplies) and intangible resources (knowledge, culture and capabilities) increase dependencies of other actors to the resource-powered actors (Purdy, 2012). Government supports through public-private partnership projects and incentives in exchange for infrastructure development have resulted in the rapid growth of private companies and encouraged actors from the private sector to be involved in (re)developing urban areas (McCann, 2017). As more development becomes profit-making oriented, actors from civil society groups have risen to protect public interests, such as environmental, social cultural, and heritage sustainability. The government's capacity is greatly questioned by civil society groups, fighting for power legitimacy through elections (not by appointment), as Stoker (1998) mentioned.

The shift from government to governance highlights decentralisation or transfer of power in certain areas to the local government and municipalities. Within the literature on governance, the term multi-level governance, urban governance and collaborative governance have emerged. A strong grasp of these concepts will be useful in understanding the discussions in Chapter 5. The concept of multi-level

governance refers to a particular kind of relationship, both vertically and horizontally, between several institutions and at various levels. Actors, arenas and institutions are not ordered hierarchically but are structured by a more complex and contextually defined relationship (Guy Peters & Pierre, 2004).

Multi-level governance describing the two types of federal government authority and jurisdiction is reconfigured. According to Hooghe & Marks (2003), Type I governance was founded in federalism and existed in a pyramidal structure with hierarchical direction concerning the relationship between the central government and non-intersecting subnational governments. Power-sharing only happens in the local, intermediate and central levels. This type of governance is usually characterized by the structure of an elected legislature, an executive with a professional civil service and a court system. Reform in the jurisdiction is costly and unusual, as it will affect policy functions across the existing level of governance.

Hooghe & Marks (2003) described Type II governance as task-specific, impermanent, and more common at the local level. It consists of many jurisdiction levels on diverse scales with less hierarchy than multi or polycentric governance. Many decision-making centres exist in coexistence, potentially vast, overlapping and operate at numerous territorial scales. Jurisdiction is more flexible in responding to changing citizen preferences and functional requirements. Type II governance is embedded in Type I, with no legal blueprint, and there are variations in the way it works and in its membership from one jurisdiction to another. Both Type I and Type II multilevel governance have their own advantages, co-exist and complement each

other (Guy Peters & Pierre, 2004).

In Malaysia's context, decentralisation has been emphasized since 1970's regional planning policies, which has contributed to restraining Kuala Lumpur from becoming a primate city and contributing to the development of several conurbation hierarchies as national, regional and intermediate (Siong, 2008). Further discussion in Chapter 4.

The governance in different locales situated within the same (national) political culture may differ, as shaped by their contending views on the city's policies' purpose and goals. The structuring and orientation of urban governance in any given national and local context reflect predominant norms, values, ideas, and practices, which may result in different models of urban governance (Pierre, 1999). These different models can be identified based on the different views of local democracy, the role of local government in local economic development, the different styles of distributive policies, and the different conceptions on local state-private-civil society relationships. Pierre (1999) listed four models of urban governance, namely: managerial governance, corporatist governance, pro-growth governance and welfare governance. It is common for cities to adopt a combination of these models or move from one model to another in parallel, depending on needs and situations.

Collaborative governance came into being as a response to the failure of downstream implementation of governance, which is heavily bureaucratic, impersonal, inefficient, inaccessible, increasingly repressive, and in favour of

privatization relegated towards the demands of profit, protecting private interest more than the public interest (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005). Looking from a more positive viewpoint, Ansell and Gash (2008) suggested that the trend towards collaboration is becoming more popular as the result of knowledge becoming more specialized and institutional capacity growing more complex and interdependent. Collaborative governance is described by Ansell and Gash (2008, p. 544) as:

'A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus oriented and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.'

Pertinent to collaboration is non-state actors' engagement in a formal decision-making process (not merely consultation) by public agencies. It also implies two-way communication between public agencies and non-state actors, with the aim to achieve some degree of consensus on public policies and issues. Some other terms used to refer to collaborative governance are participatory management, interactive policy-making, stakeholder governance and collaborative management, including planning, policy-making and management (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Emotional factors such as trust (building), development of commitment and (shared) understanding are crucial within the collaborative process, in which face-to-face dialogues and continuous cycles of collaborations aimed for small wins may deepen trust, commitment and understanding (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

This subsection has discussed the turn to governance and decentralisation of power from the federal to the local government, which has created a structure for a

collaborative and participative form of decision-making and planning for the future. The next subsection will further discuss collaborative planning.

2. Collaborative Planning

McCann (2017) claimed that the study of urban governance has evolved from general studies of political economy and governance of economic development (governing urbanization, which he named as UGS 1.0) into the study of urban life, citizenship, political representation and participation, to identities and living spaces (governing urbanism or named UGS 2.0). He summarized that it is important to understand urbanism within the context of urbanization, which this thesis sought to do. To have a sound knowledge of placemaking is to understand it within the frame of urban regeneration and urban governance practised.

From the perspective of spatial planning, Healey (2003, p. 117) advocated the concept of collaborative planning, which she described as:

Collaborative planning is a plea for the importance of understanding complexity and diversity, for planners and policy analyst to play a role in urban governance contexts, involved in the discussion, design and management of specific actions, grasping the fine grain of the interactive dynamics between situational specificities and broader dynamics.

She acknowledges that collaborative planning might be bounded by politics, bureaucracy and the governance structure, stressing the need to understand the discourse and practices, which may provide ways to enhance social justice and how this could be achieved. According to Healey (2006a), the rational model of traditional planning (characterized as rigid and sequential) is suitable for development that

requires highly technical decisions such as transportation and hydrology. However, for controversial contexts with hard to define social, political and cultural issues, an alternative planning model (characterized as more collaborative and participative) is equally important.

Healey (2006a) promoted participatory planning and collaborative policy-making towards a just and inclusionary approach to collective concern governance by coming to terms with the co-existence in shared spaces. Living in the 21st century, the challenges of co-existence in shared spaces could not be dismissed, and so does the interconnectedness of people and places across the globe (Healey, 2006a; Sandercock, 2004). The place-focused governance is faced with great challenges, more so to the planning profession, whose primary concern is making quality places. Hence, planners need to acquire skills of listening, empathy, facilitation, negotiation, and interpersonal relations to face the challenges, as advocated by Sandercock (2004, p. 134). This is parallel to the discussion in Section 2.1 on the need to address emotion in the planning practice. The people-place relationship should not be taken for granted, and the need to be more sensitive and attentive to the diverse culture and ethnic that co-exist in the urban centre.

Professionals dealing with the production and modification of urban spaces, such as architects and urban designers, need to find new ways to approach place, as defined by conflicting values within a multi-cultural society. Burns (2000) suggested interdisciplinary teamwork to seek a common understanding of the social and cultural issues at stake. More importantly, those community and users in the

affected area need to be engaged to establish a moral relation that from the start acknowledges people's 'right to the city' (Friedmann, 2010).

Theories on the conduct of collaborative planning process and collaborative policy-making approach are widely discussed by scholars such as Innes and Booher, Leoni Sandercock and Jill Purdy. Innes and Booher (2002) introduced the DIAD model listing three conditions governing actors' relationship in a collaborative network namely, diversity of participants, interdependence among participants, and communication flow between participants through authentic dialogues. Similarly, Sandercock (2000) discussed dialogues techniques, which can be therapeutic and/or transformative in nature. A therapeutic process is a dialogical approach, which brings stakeholders together in an open communicative process, involving negotiation and mediation to work through a problem – which is appropriate if a rational discourse among stakeholders is achievable.

However, in cases with a history of conflicts, 'fear of others' and other similar situations, dealing with the emotions and confronting real issues are most important in order to move the process on. To do that, planners may explore less-formal techniques such as speak-out, story-telling, listening, and interpreting visual body language (Ferilli, Sacco, & Tavano Blessi, 2016; Sandercock, 2000; Tuan, 1991). These techniques allow for an open yet safe setting where parties could meet and speak without the fear of being dismissed, attacked or humiliated. Seeing the imbalance of power among participants in a collaborative process, Purdy (2012) introduced a framework to assess actors' sources of power (such as formal

authority, resources and discursive legitimacy) and how it is being used (to determine participants, process design and the content) in collaboration to provide a thorough understanding on the outcome and how it can be improved. This understanding could help in levelling the playing field to make the collaborative process more representative and inclusive.

Central to what has been proposed by Innes and Booher (2002), discussions by Leoni Sandercock (2000) and Jill Purdy (2012) revolve around the issues on participation and platform of engagement, as these can greatly influence the outcome of a collaboration. According to Purdy (2012), participants should include people with formal power to make a decision, people who can block a decision, people affected by a decision, as well as people with relevant information and expertise. In this sense, power distribution between actors is somewhat level. There should be an equal representation of participants, including the community that will be affected by the planning decision.

However, according to Sandercock (2000), the existence and nature of racial/ethnic disadvantage are greatly ignored, where only the values and norms of the dominant culture are reflected in plans, planning codes and bylaws, legislation, heritage and urban design, while the less dominant are invisible to both the participatory and the planning process. This will be further discussed in the next subsection.

3. Public participation and Community Action

One of the prerequisites in achieving sustainable development is public participation

in decision-making, and in most countries, it is embedded in the planning practice. Of late, public awareness of potential threats of unsustainable urban regeneration and the environmental problem is increasing (Omar & Hoon Leh, 2007). So is the literature on participation, which can be seen as expanding. Some scholars provided clarification on the difference between government-controlled and genuine citizen empowerment (Arnstein, 2019; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014; Healey, 2015; King & Cruickshank, 2012), some explored methods to achieve inclusive participation along with the debates on diversity, multi-cultural and globalized city inhabitants (Esposito De Vita, Trillo, & Martinez- Perez, 2016; Ferilli et al., 2016; Hadfield-Hill & Zara, 2018; Haklay, Jankowski, & Zwoliński, 2018; Kamarudin, 2014; Ortiz Escalante & Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015; Sandercock, 2000), while others discussed the conditions to maintain citizen initiatives in the self-organized community, which relies on active and positive behaviour of both the community and the government (Edelenbos et al., 2018; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014).

Issues surrounding public participation, either as a means to legitimize pre-determined planning or as a genuine effort to address community needs and concern, have long been the topic of debate (Arnstein, 2019; Bovaird, 2007; Edelenbos et al., 2018; Ferilli et al., 2016). Arnstein (1969) addressed the typology of citizen participation through the ladder of participation (Table 1). Arnstein's ladder charts the redistribution of power, enabling citizens to be purposely included in planning for the future against methods of engagement by the people in power. Each rung represents the extent of citizen's power in determining a plan and/or a program.

Table 1 Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969)

Citizen Power Participants can govern a program/institution. In charge of policy and managerial aspects, and able to negotiate the conditions which outsiders may change.	Degrees of citizen power
Delegated Power Citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan and powerholders need to start bargaining process.	
Partnership Power is redistributed through negotiation, agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities via joint policy board and planning committees.	
Placation Placing a few handpicked on boards of institutional agencies or public bodies, but could easily outvoted or outfoxed by elites powerholders.	Degrees of tokenism
Consultation ‘Window dressing participation’ with no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account.	
Informing One-way flow of information (official to citizen) on citizens’ rights, responsibilities and options with no channel to give feedback or negotiate.	
Therapy ‘clinical group therapy’	Non-participation
Manipulation Educating, persuading and advising or engineering their support	

At the bottom rungs, manipulation and therapy are described as a masked non-participation with a hidden agenda of 'educating' or engineering the citizen's support and curing them through extensive activities rather than addressing issues that matter to them. The middle rungs are categorized as tokenism. Citizens are given the avenue to have a say by informing, consultation, and placating, with no assurance that their views will be materialized or taken into consideration. The three higher rungs illustrate citizen's degree of power and control over a plan or program. She concluded that power distribution is a prerequisite to genuinely include citizen participation, or otherwise, it is merely an empty and frustrating process for the powerless.

Arnstein's ladder of participation has been referred by various scholars to further develop understanding on participation models that genuinely encourage the community to actively secure more power in making decisions for the future of their area (Gaber, 2019) and developing a model (Figure2) that could strengthen community's sense of place that motivates them to take part in placemaking process (Ellery & Ellery, 2019). There are two distinctive discussions surrounding public participation in literature. The first discussion is on the role of professionals, such as planners and designers, in improving public participation efforts and address the coexistence in place. Ideally, participation occurs in a formal process with professionals as facilitators. However, the sincerity to listen rather than dominating the discussion is widely debated (Berner, Amos, & Morse, 2011; Besley, 2012; Bryson, Quick, Slotterback, & Crosby, 2012).

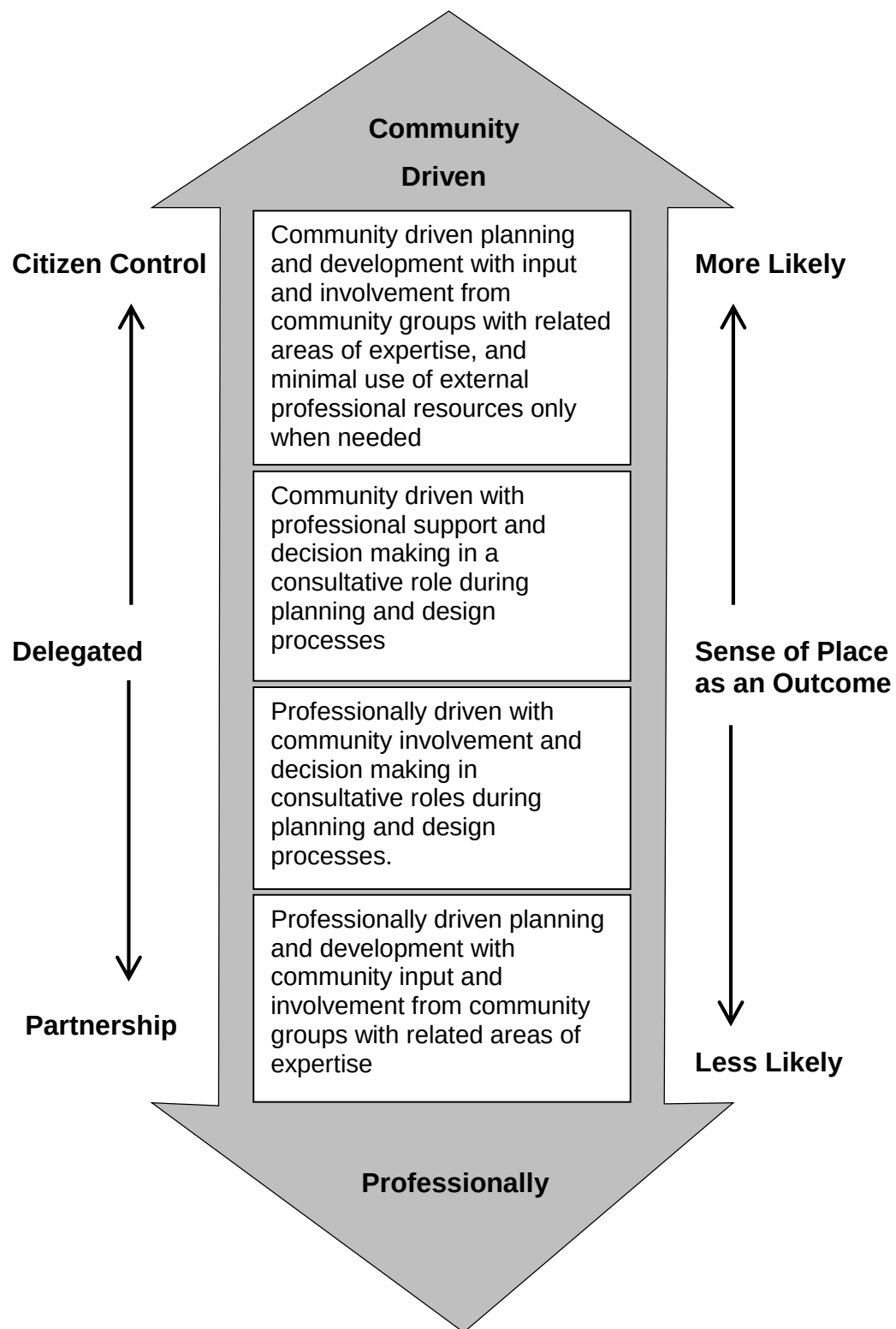


Figure 2 Continuum of community Participation in Placemaking and the Impact on Participant's Development of a Sense of Place (Ellery and Ellery, 2019)

The others discussed grassroots efforts to claim their rights in decision-making, which the power holders dominate. These grassroots efforts may work within the formal planning structure or appear as a protest and resistance of the community where they take actions with their own hands. Movements such as guerrilla gardening, DIY urbanism, cultural activism, social enterprise are examples (Acedo, Painho, & Casteleyn, 2017; Arroyo, 2017; Healey, 2015). Professionals and participation organizers are urged to embrace authentic public participation that is citizen-focused, placing citizen first before the technical or administrative process (Berner et al., 2011). Background check on participants' characteristics is necessary to gauge their understanding of participation and avoid low levels of engagement due to high level of dissatisfaction and frustration (Besley, 2012).

The public participation process needs to have a clear purpose and be contextually sensitive to offer evidence-based design guidelines for decision-makers. Research and practitioners have explored methods of participation, ranging from visual survey, focus group discussion, citizen polling and design charrettes to more technology savvy techniques such as computer simulation, gaming exercises, and mobile applications (Hou & Rios, 2003; Kamarudin, 2014). Nonetheless, as public participation is becoming more mainstream in professional practice, it has also become more protective to the exclusive and elite groups, rather than fully engaging the public and community to promote the public good. As a result, public participation has become a highly bureaucratic and standardized process that emphasizes rational discourse but overlooking the broader cultural, social, and political dynamics (Bryson et al., 2012; Hou & Rios, 2003; Sandercock, 2000).

According to Bryson, Quick, Slotterback and Crosby (2012), participation methods should allow for designing and redesigning, rather than merely following rigid, standardised methods. They introduced a cycle of public participation process that suggest three cyclic processes: (i) accessing and designing for context and purpose, (ii) enlisting resources and managing participation, and (iii) evaluating and redesigning continuously. Through this cyclic process, methods of participation undertaken can be reevaluated, further improved and customised to the specific context and community.

In the face of power and dominant social force, according to Schneekloth & Shibley (2005), there is no safe public space for dialogue as the official planners represent the state and power, local people tend to lower their eyes and fall silent when they are confronted with authority because they do not speak the same language (Friedmann, 2010). Hence, the ground on which participants and professionals stand must be levelled so that an authentic dialogue becomes possible. There are several views concerning creating the levelled ground, (i) planner's role needs to be revised where instead of leading the participation exercise, planners should act as facilitators for the participants (Rogerson & Sadler, 2011; Sandercock, 2004); (ii) the community need to lead the role in determining the discourse of planning the future of their area, rather than being directed by predetermined plans (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005); (iii) introduction of new actor or 'co-production development officer' that can operate between organizational structures to be on both sides of the government and the citizen (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012; Edelenbos et al., 2018).

Being caught in the capitalism framework, which emphasises public-private partnerships, the public has been rendered powerless and only worth as consumers. In places known to have a strong community of activists, the public such as community groups, voluntary groups and individuals often rise in actions to seek control over their lives and proclaim the power of citizenship (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005), using various means such as protest, demonstration, and public spaces reclamation (Rios, 2008). 'People want to be involved and valued, not isolated and bullied' (Ellery, Ellery, Mackenzie, & Friesen, 2017). Gallent and Ciaffi (2014) listed four drivers of community actions, as well as their initial and secondary actions (see Table 2 p.71).

Unlike the formal participation organised by government agencies or appointed parties, which is carried out at specific stages and may be bounded by specific agenda, community actions are more organic, where communities come together to achieve something. According to Gallent and Ciaffi (2014, p. 332), 'something can be immediate or long term. It can be something very basic, such as asserting and acquiring a right or complex and involving sustained action and engineering fundamental changes in physical or political environments. Community actions are more fluid in the sense that what may begin as a community action to improve the physical condition of their neighbourhood may evolve into higher levels of decision-making, such as shaping an urban policy (Beau B Beza, 2016; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014).

Table 2 Drivers of Community Action, Initial and Secondary Actions (source: Gallent and Ciaffi, 2014)

Community Action Drivers	Initial Reaction	Secondary Reaction
Reaction to context	Protest, lobbying, funding bids	Build and express consensus within community appraisals, statements and plans
Community building	One-off projects/events, forming local support groups, community infrastructure	Develop community vision as a focus for community building
Self-help	Running local services, community shops, local support groups, community buses	Secure funding by setting strategic priorities within a community plan
Taking control	Taking control of assets, developing plans which express opposition, developing plans which offer alternatives	Connect community plans to higher level strategies, find community voice, seek influence over public policy and planning.

Before any community action can occur, the community must first bring together people in the community and specific setting that might consist of heterogeneous and diverse groups (Beau B Beza, 2016; Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018). This effort requires self-organisation and self-reliance to mobilise from within; to identify issues that need to be addressed, plan actions to address the issue; as well as to measure internal capacities and external link to mobilize the actions (Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014). This form of participation is a shift from relying on government responsibilities into active citizen roles, which highlights the symbolic and ethical aspects of citizenship as well as heightens the sense of identity, sense of belonging and sense of community (Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014; Healey, 2015). According to Ellery et al. (2017, p. 8), in community actions, people are engaged to

pursue ‘a purpose in life using their cognitive, emotional, and physical energies, as well as become absorbed by and focused on what they are doing’. Contextual understanding of the insiders (local community) who are more in-the-know of the historical and relationship complexity within site, will make it possible for them to contextualise the change process more sensitively (King & Cruickshank, 2012).

The fundamental of community action and public participation is the relationship between the government and the citizen, as well as the interplay of power and capacity in decision-making. A number of researchers have pointed the need for both the government and the community to increase their capacities to be able to be engaged with the other productively (Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018; Edelenbos et al., 2018; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014; King & Cruickshank, 2012). Community members need to increase their skills to engage the government, such as by extending and developing networks, developing their boundary spanning capacities, as well as fostering representativeness by engaging other stakeholders and the greater population to increase ‘the sense of legitimacy’ (Edelenbos et al., 2018; King & Cruickshank, 2012). Community building is a process of learning and relearning again – learning about designing and enacting (King & Cruickshank, 2012), also learning about engaging the government (Edelenbos & Meerkerk, 2018; King & Cruickshank, 2012).

Edelenbos et al. (2018) advocated that interactions between community organisations and government institutions are not stable-type but are instead dynamic (Figure 3). They studied the interactive dynamics between citizen initiatives

and the actions of government institutions (politicians and civil servants included), and vice versa at the process level, focusing on the actors' attitudes and behaviours, through which four types of relationship have been identified namely; stimulation, avoidance, co-creation and co-destruction.

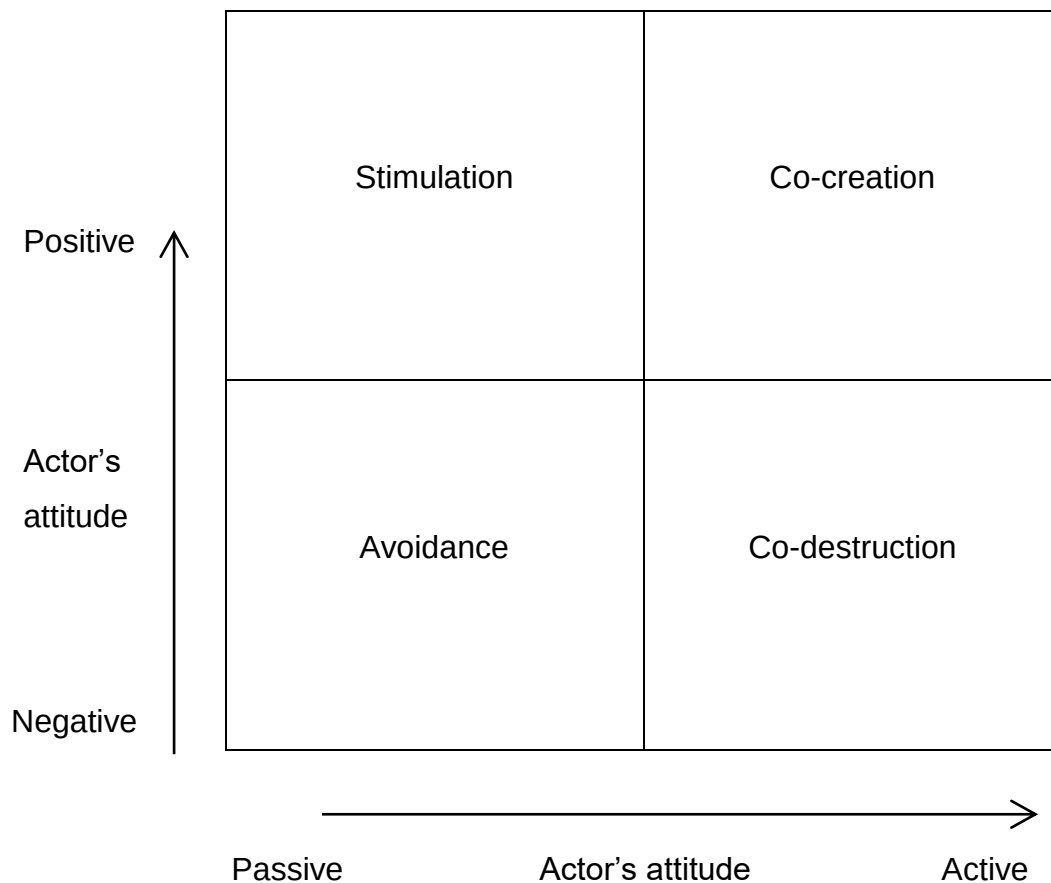


Figure 3 Typology of relationships between citizen initiatives and government body (Edelenbos, van Meerkerk and Schenk, 2018)

Stimulation is achieved when a self-organization initiative and/or a governmental body shows a positive attitude to the other but accompanied by passive behaviour. Co-creation is an active relationship within which the actors are engaged in developing a collaborative process. Avoidance is when actors are not open to

collaboration, which comprise a combination of negative attitude and passive behaviour. Co-destruction happens when each side is discrediting and damaging the efforts of the other with negative stances and active behaviour. It was concluded that a constructive interaction between the citizens and the governmental actors (stimulation and co-creation) is required to keep citizen self-organisation alive and sometimes to get it established in the beginning.

When the citizens are given a strong role by the city (local authority) in the city's physical and material shaping, they are set on an entirely new development trajectory – one that is characterised by self-determination. On the other end, local governance can become a nurturing framework for community mobilisation, providing the opportunities that make collective action worthwhile, assuring communities that their actions are supported by the government (Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014). Policies can be wiser when those directly impact play a key role in designing them (Edelenbos et al., 2018). Hence, there is a need to rethink the top-down solution – replacing it with a more balanced approach, where there is an increase in the community aspiration to do more and the state to devolve more, meeting at a mid-point (Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014). However, according to them, the wider structure of planning (and the government structure within which this is embedded) generates persistent friction with community ambition. Hence, it is important to determine the conditions where participatory has been successful by examining the power interplay and actors' motivation.

In situations where the relationship between the government and the community is

difficult (when the local state is receptive to sharing resources and devolving control), also in places where the communities are fractured along ethnic lines (in which providing opportunities for interaction becomes critical), an intermediary model might be useful (Edelenbos et al., 2018; Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014; Purdy, 2012). This is a more 'relational form of community action' referred to as boundary crossers or everyday fixers, who can operate at the border between organizational structures, both on the side of the government and the citizens (Edelenbos et al., 2018). Similarly, Bovaird (2007) suggested a new type of public service professional: the coproduction development officer, who can help to foster power-sharing between professionals and communities, who can also act internally in organisations (and partnerships) to broker new roles for the coproduction between traditional service professionals, service managers, and the political decision-makers. Active boundary spanning and effective facilitation can help initiatives endure and are also important for the legitimate and effective development of citizen self-organization.

King and Cruickshank (2012) listed 10 Gems that guide their facilitator role: (i) systems thinking – where change is required within and across system level; (ii) constructing of their perception of reality by the people; (iii) triple-loop learning and learning how to fish; (iv) prioritising using 'leverage' rather than 'importance'; (v) theories make good learning and negotiation tools; (vi) learning as a function of conflict and negotiation; (vii) espoused theory vs theory in use; (viii) dialogue vs discussion; (ix) frameworks as design and evaluation tools; and (x) networking. In short, it is important that the boundary spanner play a role to facilitate the communication between the government and the local communities, to build the

capacities of both parties. To do this, the boundary spanner needs to be on the neutral ground, allowing both parties to grow through a repeated learning process, which will eventually create trust among the parties involved (Gallent & Ciaffi, 2014), and avoid controlling the discourse.

To conclude, this subsection has discussed public participation from government-led participation to citizen-led community action. Fundamental to the discussion are issues of power distribution, the role of actors, the agenda of the participation exercise, as well as the relationship between the government and the civil societies/communities. The conceptualization of participatory placemaking will be the focus of the section, and the objectives of this thesis will follow this.

In summary, Section 2.1 has unpacked the three core themes of the study: (i) theories of space and place to understand the association of values, meanings and emotions to the creation of place, the structure in which place-based planning is practised through (ii) governance and collaborative planning, as well as (iii) participation and action of communities. This provides a theoretical understanding of participatory placemaking that is further explored in the next subsection.

2.2 Participatory Placemaking: Emotions and Governance in the Regeneration of Historic Urban Centre

The term placemaking stems from the concept of space and place where assigning meaning to place and the attachment people develop to it differentiates place from space or landscape. Critical to the discussion of placemaking is the scale of place

and the degree of control a person has in transforming space into place. Creswell (2012) provides an example of placemaking at the scale of a bedroom by a student rearranging furniture and putting in a touch of personalisation which turns it into his/her room. Cresswell also describes other scales of place where placemaking becomes more complex such as the urban space, the city, region and nation.

Theoretical discussion on placemaking extends across disciplines from engineering, economics, sociology and psychology, law and public policy, arts, education, music, architecture, tourism, to planning and geography (Arefi, 2014; Dupre, 2019; Mohammadzadeh, 2015; Sofield, Guia, & Specht, 2017; Strydom et al., 2018). The interpretation, trends and evolution of placemaking, which is a complex concept, will be deliberated in this section to further define participatory placemaking for this study by looking at the various definition, standards and approaches around the world.

2.2.1 Definition and Trends of Participatory Placemaking

Applicable in various fields, it is impossible to provide the most accurate definition of placemaking as it is by nature, 'a complex and often ethereal, an ambiguous and intangible concept with no real definition or consensus among academic or practitioner (Fincher et al., 2016, p. 519). Arefi (2014) narrates that placemaking is a contingent concept with gradations dependent on the people who create them. It is complicated from how places are conceived, perceived and lived, and it is multi-layered as it encompasses physical, social and political dimensions. The fundamentals of placemaking is about 'making and remaking of places, by people

in and of places at whatever context or scale' that emphasise the 'making/remaking' activities (Wight, 2010). It relates to positive trajectory of people taking actions together towards making good, true and beautiful (places) which builds the momentum of the sense of 'wholing'.

Several definitions are worth to discuss to better understand the concept such as by Schneekloth and Shibley (2005), who describe placemaking as a fundamental human activity of altering the surrounding into places to live in:

Placemaking can be defined as the ongoing work of transforming the places we find ourselves into places in which we can truly dwell as individuals and communities of people, while we change and maintain the physical world, we also create communities who share concerns, interests, hopes desires and fear. It is a fundamental human activity that consists of the daily acts of renovating, maintaining and representing the people-place context that sustains us and of special celebratory events. Placemaking not only makes or unmake places, but also it makes communities and connects people with each other, strengthen the possibility of active citizenship.

Schneekloth and Shibley's (2005) definition also highlighted several important keywords such as, physical transformation of place, (which can) enhance or disrupt existing identity, also relates to the making or building of community that share similar concerns and aspirations that foster active citizenship. Placemaking is connected to the role of individuals and community, taking control of the environment they live in. It also describes a notion of community building that is linked to positive outcomes like good behaviour and active citizenship. Active citizenship linked to placemaking is described as 'whole-making' by (Wight, 2010).

Placemaking has also been described as a responsibility carried by the government 'to identify, evaluate and respond to people's present and future need guided by universal principles of planning and scientific rationality'. Government-led placemaking is often influenced by the conditions and pressure that varies widely from country to country and from time to time (Arefi, 2014, p. 6). Arefi's (2014) definition connects to the notion that placemaking is an action taken by an entrusted party to make places for the people guided by a certain technocratic process and rational consideration.

Another popular definition of Placemaking is, 'a collaborative process of shaping the public realm to maximize shared value, facilitates creative uses that pay attention to physical, cultural and social identities that define a place and support ongoing evolution' (Project for Public Spaces (PPS), 2015). PPS locates public spaces as the heart of the community; hence, it is under the responsibilities of people within the community and the professional placemakers to collectively reimagine and reinvent the place to strengthen the connection between people and the places. PPS also highlights the need to protect the meaning and integrity of the term 'placemaking' as it has been used by 'planners and developers as a 'brand' to imply authenticity and quality, even if their projects don't always live up to the promise' (Fincher et al., 2016, p. 520). PPS stresses the importance of collaborative actions that must include the community or community-driven in making places, focusing exclusively on public spaces.

Placemaking had also been linked to facilitating democratic action and agency – a

way for citizens to participate in civil society as active social and critical participants in constructing their lives (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005). The concept stresses the element of direct citizen participation and a citizenry (or community) willingness to engage in 'bottom-up practices to make places' (Kalendides, 2018 from Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018).

2.2.2 Open-ended and Indefinite Nature of Placemaking

Although defining placemaking as an act of making places, the three definitions are given also highlighted the varieties of actors involved in the process, such as individuals, the community, the government, and the professionals within the spatial planning field. It has also highlighted the different motivations of actors to take part in placemaking processes such as community or individuals wanting to improve the environment they live in, the government to plan for the future needs and the developers who want to sell places. In broad terms, placemaking can be described as the (collective) efforts by groups or individuals to re-imagine their surrounding environment, which may include renovation, upgrade and maintenance of lived space to create a more attractive function, which contributes to the uniqueness of the setting supported by site-specific characteristics (Strydom et al., 2018).

It is an evolving field in academic research and industrial practice involving cross-boundary and transdisciplinary thinking (Alexander, Britt, & Barrella, 2014; Sofield et al., 2017). Within the field of the built environment and spatial planning, placemaking has been associated with the (re)construction of identity, image and sense of place (Cresswell, 2015; Downs & Tuan, 1978; Relph, 1976; Sofield et al.,

2017), creating quality places through economic strategies (Loh, 2019), social processes, popular resistance to authority, democratic practice (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2005), bottom-up community initiative, as well as a place-based, participative and collaborative approach in planning (Silberberg, Lorah, Disbrow and Naparstek, 2013 Ellery et al., 2017). In short, it could be concluded that theoretical trends of placemaking include characteristics such as 'physical construct, social construct, economic construct, a psychological dimension, as an environmental management tool, as well as an enabling tool for people empowerment through knowledge sharing and skills acquiring' (Strydom et al., 2018, p. 165).

In the US, the term placemaking is coined by PPS to describe a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public places, to improve the urban environment and the quality of life of the communities. It has become an institutionalized move with formal structures and annual budget commitments for grants and tenders for a wide range of place-making activities concentrated on selected target areas (Sofield et al., 2017). According to them, placemaking involves the coordination of sectoral policies, developing strong horizontal partnerships, and at the same time, an increase in the responsibilities of the locals. It has become a significant, institutionalized industry engaging professionals from a wide range of disciplines (from architects, planners, to sociologists, economists, artists, and others) with multi-million dollar budgets, but only infrequently are communities actually in control, despite the fact that public participation is well incorporated in the planning process. However, it has become a common perspective of the sustainable communities model in most global north Western context (Sofield et al.,

2017).

On the contrary, in some other countries, particularly where civil society groups are active, placemaking is community-initiated. Civil society and the community have some forces in manoeuvring the future of places (Hou & Rios, 2003). According to them, this type of placemaking fosters the 'pop-up' of not-for-profit organizations to voice community concerns and aspirations. Here, placemaking is created through a socio-political process, through which places are assigned with values and meaning by social actors, and this sometimes happen outside of the formal planning structure (Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-garcia, 2018). Hence, placemaking happens organically by the collective action of the community, with no specific allocation of budget, where the community source out available capacities within them and through networking to mobilize the process.

Although both models of Placemaking have the notion of place-based initiatives and the connotation of collaborative and participative approach, there is a difference in how each of the models works. In the formal model, placemaking is institutionalised within the planning practice, with a specific agency facilitating the process and allocated budget. In contrast, the later model grows organically from collective community actions, in which community building is at play. Though the formal intervention (top-down approach) may be successful in shaping places, there are instances that the effort is short-lived, as it fails to sustain itself in the long run.

2.2.3 Placemaking and urban centre regeneration

Several authors have suggested shifting the discussion of placemaking towards community-based and community-owned development to foster positive environmental behaviour. The values and meaning attached to a place can help instil environmental stewardship within the community, encourage collaboration in the development and management process, as well as enhance public support by reducing opposition to development (Mohapatra & Mohamed, 2013; Warren & Mcfadyen, 2010).

A person's awareness of place serves as a platform to understand the proposed changes to the environment, instilling the drive to be involved in the placemaking process (Mohapatra & Mohamed, 2013). Connection to 'their' place and 'their' community grows with the sense of ownership, belonging, and a strong sense of pride (Warren & Mcfadyen, 2010). This is similar to the notion by Tuan, claiming that the 'sense of self, whether individuals or collective, grows out of the exercise of power' (Downs & Tuan, 1978, p. 175). Erdiaw-Kwasie and Basson (2018) connected the concept of the sense of place to social sustainability as a refinement to socio-spatial planning, which he believed to contribute to the promotion of self-help spirit, transparency and accountability that leads to empowerment, capacity building, community control and ownership. Similarly, Knapp (2015) suggested that well-organized actions that build place attachment could create a reservoir of stewardship.

With a history of more than 40 years and drawing from examples of projects, PPS has conducted a lot of research on the way in which placemaking is beneficial to historic urban centre regeneration. PPS has introduced many toolkits and guides to the wider global audience through series of placemaking workshops taking place all over the world (including Malaysia), such as the 'place game' – a tool to evaluate public spaces, 'power of 10+' – a concept to evaluate and facilitate placemaking at multiple city scales, 'the place diagram' – a tool to judge a good or bad place based on four qualities: access and linkages, comfort and image, sociability and uses and activities, 'the placemaking process' diagram, and the 'LQC' project – Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper approach to public space transformation (pps.org website, retrieved 31/8/2019). Several other like-minded organisations have adopted these toolkits and concepts, such as Think City Sdn Bhd (in Malaysia), when experimenting with community-based projects within historic urban centres like George Town Kuala Lumpur.

The toolkits and concepts produced by PPS based on their experience carry the perspectives of placemaking from the 'boundary spanner' view, which is useful in community building through public space upgrading, events/activities, and physical and material improvements. For example, the placemaking process informs the cyclic process of re-evaluating short-term experiment to achieve long-term improvement. Having said that, the presence of a mediator between the community and the government is required in participatory placemaking through this perspective. This might be useful for areas where the placemaking process is new

to the planning system, where exploration of inventive participatory methods is crucial to expand the capacities of the parties involved.

2.3 Participatory Placemaking and the need to investigate the Global South context.

The direction of urban centre regeneration is shaped by the interaction between the state – private companies/market and the civil society. Both the qualities of places and spatial organisation need to be recognized and considered in governance efforts in relation to historic urban centre regeneration to achieve a better quality of life, social justice, environmental well-being and economic vitality (Healey, 2006c). To do this, the notion that a city comprises a complex mixture of nodes, networks, places and flows where multiple relations, activities, and values co-exist, interact, combine, conflict, oppress and generate creative synergy (Healey, 2006a; Sandercock, 2004) should be acknowledged and responded to, in the planning of an urban centre. Another factor to be considered is that urban regeneration also depends on the general economic trends at the local level, the broader region, and the trade-off between economic development and environmental protection (Newig & Fritsch, 2009).

Understanding of the term space and place, and their theoretical difference has led to the discovery of flaws in the practice of urban regeneration, on the occasion where the emphasis on space overshadow the sustainability of place (Relph, 1976). Place represents the local (tradition), while space represents the global (the modern), place is associated to the past, while space is the present and the future (Agnew,

2011). The conflict between place of local tradition and place for contemporary life has increasingly made placemaking a significant sites of political struggle, not just among the locals, but also a wide range of diverse stakeholders (Healey, 2006a, p. 315). The process of placemaking has the tendency to be manipulated by individuals or groups of people (Stokowski, 2002), allowing for identity to be (re)constructed, to highlight the ideologies of the actors (K. M. Dunn, McGuirk, & Winchester, 1995). As space and place are crucial to the existence and survival of man in this earth, by providing people with the feeling of belonging, security and identity, the significance of space and place is far greater than their superficial functions. Hence, safeguarding, creating and maintaining significant places from diminishing is an utmost important task, and is seen in the dynamic actions of individuals and groups of people in their quest to protect places against destructions (Downs & Tuan, 1978; Halpenny, 2010; Relph, 1976).

This chapter has demonstrated the growing literature of placemaking concerning the role of emotions and participation in urban regeneration. It offers a theoretical understanding of governance, collaborative planning, and public participation that are significantly important in exploring placemaking processes. In essence, participatory placemaking looks at the juncture between top-down and bottom-up approach, how the states devolve power to enable the community to do more to achieve their aspirations. Through this chapter, three dimensions of government institution and civil society relationship and power distribution that facilitate participatory placemaking in urban centre regeneration have been identified, namely; (i) Place governance structure and policies including the design and

practice of planning system, (ii) the capacity of local institution, civil societies and local community in mobilizing grassroots actions, and (iii) the existence of boundary spanner and the role they play.

Various experiences and models of participatory placemaking have emerged around the world, some embedded in the planning policy, such as in the Neighbourhood Plan in the UK, or through the role of non-profit organisations/boundary spanners such as the PPS in the US; some from the active role of the civil societies; while others grow organically through the actions of concerned communities. According to Gallent & Ciaffi (2014), there is a critical difference between the 'ad-hoc agenda setting and visioning that community do on their own, and the seeded community planning by the government', which they relate to the sustainability of the place. However, Healey (2006a) highlighted that these various models are very much dependent on how planning works and looks like in different countries. Local experience of community action and planning is embedded within different societies, political and government traditions, and urban settings.

The theoretical roots of participatory placemaking are known to be originated from the Global North Western region, which has been an urbanised region for so long time with universal 'western' representation. Whilst countries in the Global South are now facing urbanisation at an unprecedented pace and confronting challenges of a diverse and multicultural society where the representation of identity is a field of contestation. Malaysia is not just home to three major distinctive ethnic groups,

but is also a federation of thirteen different states with unique historical background in governance, economic and social demographic. Hence, the participatory placemaking scenario in Malaysia may differ from that being practiced in the western context as it confronts with the multicultural heritage of Asian Urbanism.

This chapter concluded that sustainable urban regeneration relates to a holistic framework, both in the technical process and emotional deliberation, shaped by the internal multi-cultural conflicts as much as the dynamic external economic forces, as well as the negotiations between various actors to (re)construct identity. This frames the discussion in the findings chapters.

This thesis investigates the way participatory placemaking is carried out in three historic Malaysian cities: Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. The thesis contributes to expanding the understanding of participatory placemaking in the Southeast Asian context by identifying the contextual factors driving this effort, focusing on governance and emotional geographies. The factors examined in this thesis include:

1. Urban centre regeneration agenda and the government-market-civil society relationship.
2. The structure of place governance, within which urban centre regeneration and participatory placemaking are introduced, the actors and the collaborative platform.
3. The initiator of participatory placemaking process, the way they define placemaking and its steering capacity.

4. The initiatives of public participation and community actions, the agenda and the methods adopted.
5. The outcome of participatory placemaking in contributing to the sense of place.
6. The motivation towards the sustainability of urban centre regeneration.

The key research questions that guide the way participatory placemaking is investigated in this study with a focus on governance and emotions, are as listed below:

Q1: Why is participatory placemaking process being initiated by the actor?

Q2: What are the agenda, strategies and process adopted in the participatory placemaking efforts?

Q3: How do the emerging models of participatory placemaking influence the sustainability of urban centre regeneration?

These questions have helped in the development of the aims and objectives of this thesis. The broad aim is to better understand the role of governance and the role of emotions in participatory placemaking and reflect its relation to the sustainability of urban centre regeneration. The objectives of this thesis are:

O1: To identify who/actor groups that initiate participatory placemaking process and the motivation behind the efforts by understanding the urban regeneration agenda and government-market-civil society relationship.

O2: To investigate the agenda, strategies and process of participatory placemaking by examining public participation approach and community actions or initiatives in the regeneration of the urban centre.

O3: To explore how different models of participatory placemaking are designed in Malaysia and their contribution towards sustainable urban regeneration by understanding the interdependence between policy, governance and emotions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology used for this study. The main objective is to discuss the key methods and approaches to conduct the study. It begins by outlining the philosophical underpinning of this research, the approaches, and processes used to conduct the study, as well as the techniques adopted to capture and construct the data. It also justifies the appropriateness of this research, the challenges faced during fieldwork, ethical considerations, and finally, it outlines the analytical framework underpinning the methodological position throughout the research.

3.1 Research Philosophy and Study Background

The methodology used for this study is derived from a strong foundation of an ontological research paradigm that takes on a constructivism standpoint, with the belief that reality is constructed by its context. Hence there could be multiple realities. According to Creswell (2009), constructivism adopts the view that people seek an understanding of the world in which they live and work by developing the subjective meaning of their experiences. Researchers taking this stance rely on the participants' views, which are derived from open-ended questioning. To develop an understanding of the situation being studied, researchers need to listen carefully to what people say or do in their life setting before scrutinising the complexity of the

available views.

This research's epistemological orientation is interpretivism, with the belief that social reality has meaning for human beings, in which human behaviour is a product of how people interpret the world (Bryman, 2016). Interpretivists are anti-positivists, and believe in the emphatic understanding of human action, hence, attempt to see things from that person's point of view. Positivism, on the other hand, applies an 'empiricist model of natural science to the study of society' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 124), hence, tends to 'emphasis on the explanation of human behaviour ... with the forces that are deemed to act on it' (Bryman, 2016 p.26).

There are several philosophical traditions in interpretivism, such as Verstehen, hermeneutic-phenomenology and symbolic interactionist. However, according to O'Reilly (2009, p. 124), many philosophical ideas are often seen together in one piece of work. Hence, the affinity between these philosophical traditions should not be exaggerated (Bryman, 2016).

As the literature review demonstrates, this research is concerned with the interaction between the roles of governance, participation and emotions to placemaking process, as well as their influence on the regeneration of urban centres. The thesis draws attention to the relationship between actors in the placemaking process to negotiate on the sense of place, which could be created through formal technical planning procedures and informal grassroots initiatives. The thesis attempts to reflect on the constructivist viewpoint, with the theoretical belief that urban centres are constructed by the multiple realities of its context, such as different social-

cultural settings, multi-ethnic society, distinctive local governance systems, local economic resources and topographical uniqueness. Moreover, the access to reality is socially constructed, in which people may have different languages, cultures and consciousness about their environment. Hence, by taking the ontological constructivism paradigm, combined with the philosophical tradition of epistemology interpretivism, the researcher explored how urban regeneration impacts the people-place relationship and how people-place relationship can navigate the urban regeneration agenda to be more place-sensitive.

According to Bryman (2016 p. 27), taking on an interpretative stance may result in the researcher coming up with 'surprising findings or seem surprising to other contexts' (apart from the studied context). Hence, it is inductive in nature. There are three levels of interpretations at work. Firstly, placing a social group's interpretations of the world around them into the social scientific frame (Bryman, 2016 p.28). Social interactions between the researcher and the respondents have allowed the researcher to grasp the respondents' interpretations of their place, aspirations, and motivations behind their actions in placemaking. Secondly, the researcher provides an interpretation of other's interpretation (Bryman, 2016 p.28). Here, the researcher interprets the respondents' interpretations by connecting to the context within which placemaking has taken place, for example, locally, the planning and governance structure, the nature of the government-community relationship and the inter-ethnic relationships as well as the connection to the global economic context. Finally, the third interpretation is the researcher's interpretation which is further interpreted through the concepts, theories and literature of a discipline (Bryman, 2016 p.28).

Here, the researcher's interpretations are further interpreted to the theories of collaborative planning, public participation, community initiatives and emotional geographies to understand its association with urban centre regeneration.

In terms of axiological purposes, this research is value-laden as it depends on the respondents' interpretations and beliefs. As with any interpretivism research, the researcher may have a bias in interpreting real-life situations due to former experiences or develop sympathy for the people being studied. With this in mind, careful considerations and awareness have been practised to maintain conscious and ensure that this research approach is valid for this thesis.

3.1.1 Qualitative Strategies of Inquiry

According to Creswell (2009 p.11), 'strategies of inquiry provide a specific direction to the research design', while a research design provides 'a framework for collecting and analysing data' (Bryman, 2016 p.40). The inquiry strategy adopted for this study is qualitative research because it provides a 'rich, thick description of particular cases and performs comparisons across research setting' (Lamont & White, 2009, p. 10). Lamont and White (2009, p.10-11) further described the qualities of qualitative research, which is deemed appropriate for this study, such as it allows the 'gathering of detailed data about the experience of individuals within a social context', 'allows the inclusion of subjective experience and cultural sense', 'allow flexibility and recursivity to the researcher, which is the result of a closer engagement to the studied groups' and allows the researcher to 'adapt to learning as the researcher become more knowledgeable'. Flexibility includes trying another

questioning method or another study group if the former questions do not work, or access to the former group was not granted.

3.1.2 Ethnography Approach

The ethnography approach is used in this research, with an overt and embedded participation of the researcher. Ethnography is a research method in which the researcher 'is immersed in a social setting for an extended period, observing behaviour, listens to and engages in conversations, as well as asking questions about things that the researcher is unclear about (Bryman, 2016 p.423). It also includes collecting related documents, understanding the culture and behaviour of the studied group in its context, and writing up a detailed account of that setting (Bryman, 2008 p.402). The research process of the ethnography approach is flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the field setting's lived realities (Creswell, 2009). As mentioned in chapters 1 and 2, three case studies have been chosen for this research: Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. The case studies' selection was finalised during the data collection stage after several considerations and changes to the initial plan were made.

Two changes have occurred during data collection—first, the change of case studies where Johor Bahru was excluded in exchange for Ipoh. Second, the change in the duration of placement in Think City where initially, the plan was for a one-month placement. However, the duration granted was on the project and program basis. Additionally, another placement at a different organisation (Arts-ED) was obtained, which was also on a project basis.

The decision to exclude Johor Bahru as one of the case studies was made after several visits and interviews with five respondents (refer to Appendix 3). The stage of ongoing projects in Johor Bahru, which has similarities with those in Kuala Lumpur, and its location, which is further away from the other case studies, has made the logistics difficult for follow up visits, resulting in the researcher to reconsider the context. The researcher's initial plan for a full one-month placement with Think City turned into program and project basis attachment. This is due to the organisation's commitment to the privacy of ongoing projects negotiations and the confidentiality of information regarding project fundings. Think City is a 'special-purpose subsidiary of Khazanah Nasional Berhad – Malaysia's strategic investment arm, formed to work on urban regeneration to create more people-friendly cities' ([https://Think City.com.my/think-city-story/](https://ThinkCity.com.my/think-city-story/)), with offices in Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Johor Bahru. Nevertheless, a good rapport with Think City was built during the placement period with KLCH and the follow-up visits through regular meetings, site visits, informal chats, and events attended, which they organised. This had allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of projects and the organisation's working culture from conversations and observations. Another addition is placement at Arts-ED on a project basis spanning to four months. Arts-ED is a community-based arts and culture education organisation based in George Town, Penang who also does cultural mapping and public engagement consultancy.

According to O'Reilly (2009, p. 5), ethnographic research properly begins once the researcher enters the field, through which he/she has gained access to the people and places being studied. To gain access to the studied group, the researcher

contacted each organisation's human resource department through email, stating the intention to research the placemaking process as a doctoral researcher, with at least one month of full attachment to the unit or department in charge. The researcher has also provided the research statement, stating clearly that the researcher will interview suitable respondents from the organisations, collaborators involved in projects observed, and other individuals recommended by the organisation. After the one-month attachment, there will be follow up visits whenever necessary. This act of openly explaining the intentions, purpose and use of the data is called 'overt participation' (O'Reilly, 2009). The list of organisations and the department the researcher was attached to in each case study, and the duration of placement is listed in Table 3 p.100.

There were two main considerations in selecting the organisations: first, the organisation is identified as one of the actor groups that conduct placemaking projects or programs. In this case, KLCH and ICC are local authorities that regulate development proposal and implement projects in which they have declared the commitments to the community-based approach. KLCH signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Think City in 2015 to create public spaces building from the knowledge, aspirations and ideas derived from the community (KL Mayor Speech during the MoU signing on 16/1/2015). The MoU was renewed in 2018. While ICC had announced a commitment to conservation-centric urban regeneration agenda and community-based tourism in the Ipoh Special Area Plan 2020. Arts-ED and Think City are two NPOs carrying out (or at least claimed) that they carry up a place-based approach in the urban space studies and small scale

interventions.

Table 3 Researcher's placement and position in each case studies

Organisation	Abbreviation	Department/Project	Case Study	Attachment date and duration
Kuala Lumpur City Hall	KLCH	Urban Design Unit (formerly known as <i>Bahagian Rekabentuk dan Estetika Bandar</i> - BREB)	Kuala Lumpur	14/11/2016 – 16/12/2016 1-month official duration – not including follow up visits
Arts-ED	Arts-ED	Pulau Tikus Market Place – Documents Public Engagement Process	George Town	7/4/17-18/8/17 On activity basis
Think City	Think City	Laman Tun Perak -Public Engagement.	Kuala Lumpur	10/3/2017 – 11/3/2017 2 days
		Documents staff training (KL and George Town staffs) on Cultural Mapping of Jalan Muafakat, JB, led by Arts-ED	Kuala Lumpur and George Town	16/4/17- 20/4/17 5 days
		Participate in Building Inclusive Community Seminar	Kuala Lumpur	23/5/17
		Participate in the Grant Talk	Kuala Lumpur	8/11/16
Ipoh City Council	ICC	Planning Department	Ipoh	1/6/2017 – 7/6/2017 1 month official duration – not including follow up visits

Second, the role of the researcher in the organisation. In all organisations, the researcher's role was assigned by the gatekeeper, namely, the human resource manager or the organisation's manager. In KLCH, the researcher was placed in the 'Bahagian Rekabentuk dan Estetika Bandar', BREB (Urban Design Department), in ICC the researcher was attached to the planning department, while in Think City and Arts-ED, the researcher was given the role to document projects or programs

organized by them. According to O'Reilly (2009), it is important to carefully consider the researcher's role, as it affects who we subsequently gain access to. The researcher feels that the role and task given by the gatekeepers were appropriate with the research, as it allows the researcher to gain significant access to project data and information and have the viewpoints of the regulators and the community-based organisations.

3.1.3 Case Study Selection and its Justification

The ethnography approach of the case study has been adopted for this research. According to O'Reilly (2009, p.23) in ethnography, 'a case study investigates a few cases or just one in considerable depth'. It differs from the case study methodology because, in ethnography, a 'case' implies the thing that is being selected (which could be a person, a group, an event, an institution or even a process), is in some ways seen as a case or instances of something else, broader or more general' (O'Reilly, 2009 p.24). The use of case study to generalise, or build theories, or see its relevance beyond the case by comparing several cases is described as collective and comparative case studies. For this research, three case study cities were compared to understand the participatory placemaking process, develop themes that form the theoretical basis to understand the participatory placemaking concept and draw conclusions on place-based models that result from localised social culture, economic and political factors. In addition, selecting several placemaking projects and programs in a single case study has allowed the researcher to give a comprehensive description or an in-depth story that has resulted in the emergence of numerous themes significant to the analysis of the participatory placemaking

process. As mentioned earlier, the cities and organisations for the case study have been selected because they advocate themselves as practitioners of the placemaking process.

Think City described their organisation as a practitioner of 'community-based' and collaborative approach to urban regeneration, currently having offices in George Town, Kuala Lumpur and Johor Bahru (Think City webpage). Arts-ED described their vision as 'to be the partner of choice for community-based arts and creative education in order to promote cultural sustainability and placemaking' (Arts-ED Penang webpage). These were the basis for selecting KL and George Town as case study cities. Ipoh, on the other hand, has been selected as a means for the researcher to have a deeper understanding of participatory placemaking that were organically initiated by the community, which was recommended by a respondent (Activist Landscape Architect, Ipoh, male, 50s, interviewed on 10/06/2017) through several engagements during meetings for Laman Tun Perak project with Kuala Lumpur City Hall (6/12/17 – 8/8/17). He who had worked on placemaking projects in KL, George Town and Ipoh described his project in Ipoh as a placemaking project.

3.2 Data Collection Techniques and Process of Data Collection

This section is devoted to discussing the techniques of data collection used to conduct the ethnography approach in this thesis, and the process in which it was conducted.

3.2.1 Observation

To get an in-depth understanding of placemaking practices in the cities of the case study from the viewpoint of the government institutions and the community based urban regenerators, the researcher planned to be attached to the local councils of KL and Ipoh for at least one full month at each organisation, however, in the actual fieldwork, it has stretched throughout the duration of the project. Follow up visits were arranged based on project meeting schedules, site visits, availability of the respondents for informal chats or formal interviews, as well as events such as the grand launching of a completed project.

Not having the access to a full one-month attachment to the NPOs, the researcher developed a relationship with them through regular meetings conducted by the local authorities, attended a series of activities and events conducted by the NPOs, arranged for formal interviews, as well as engaged in a series of informal chats during the events and activities. This has developed a familiarity and built trust between the researcher and the organisations, allowing the researcher to be partially attached as a rapporteur for Think City Cultural Mapping workshops and staff training held for five days from April 16-20, 2017, and public engagement for Laman Tun Perak held for two days from March 10-11, 2017, as well as Cultural Mapping and Community Engagement for Pulau Tikus Market Place, which stretched for four months from 7/4/2017 – 18/8/2017. Each engagement session with the market community was conducted three days, with an additional one to two days for Arts-ED engagement with other stakeholders or the project team.

An overt and embedded participation observation has been adopted for this research. According to O'Reilly (2009) and Creswell (2009), participant observation is the main method for ethnography, in which the researcher gets involved in taking part as a member of a community. While being involved, the researcher documents mentally and then in written form the theoretically informed Observation (O'Reilly, 2009 p.150). During Observation, the researcher recorded field notes daily in the form of a field diary, photographs, audio and video recordings, with the participants' consent. When permitted, photos were taken with images of human subjects in events with the public, but for this thesis, identifying human subjects was blurred using digital manipulation. In each case study, two physical projects were selected for more detailed observation to better understand the implementation of participatory placemaking (refer to Table 4).

Table 4 The stage of physical projects observed during fieldwork from 19/10/2016-20/8/2017.

Case Study	Project/ Events	Stage of Project during data collection Period	Date
KL	Laman Medan Tunku	Design, Construction and completed during data collection but Launching event was postponed.	14/11/16 – 8/8/17 10 months
	Laman Tun Perak	Planning, Design, Construction, completion and officiated by KL Mayor.	6/12/16 – 8/8/17 (officiated) 9 months
George Town	Pulau Tikus Market Place	Planning stage	7/4/17-18/8/17 4 months
	Armenian Park	Completed project Headed by GTWHI (2012-2015) Headed by Think City (2015-2016)	Total 5 years to completion
Ipoh	Sekeping Kong Heng	Completed project – but are undergoing continuous additions and small renovations by individual property owners.	
	Concubine Lane		
	Market Lane		

The decision on project selections was based on recommendations of the organisations to which the researcher was attached for placement. The progress stage of each project was varied. Concentrating on these projects had allowed the researcher to trace the process of negotiations between collaborators within the context of power, as well as the public engagement procedures conducted and the actions of community in response to the projects. Physically being in the project site location, the researcher was able to grasp the reality of social, cultural and political sense, which was further researched through secondary data.

Participant observation is concerned with 'what people do' and the meaning people attach to their actions. The field diary is a note or sketch to jot down the researcher's memory for future use. Field notes should capture the heart of the situation, and the participants' feelings as detailed, specific and concrete as possible, to evoke what is happening in the context and communicate the overall picture. The rough field diary notes were transferred into a digital version using the Microsoft Words application, and in some cases, the field notes were directly documented in the digital version. The embedded ethnography approach allowed the researcher to study and systematically record the process of placemaking from a naturalistic stance in a real context. Being embedded allowed for the recording of detailed descriptions of events, giving insights and understanding into the meanings of the events. The observations of the selected case studies and other related activities during the researcher's placement in the four organisations are summarised in Table 5 with the date listed.

Table 5 Detail of observations based case studies during fieldwork from 19/10/2016-20/8/2017

Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
KL	Laman Medan Tunku	Technical meeting in between departments within KLCH (landscape, planning, engineering) and other related government agencies like the electrical utility (TNB), and irrigation and drainage department (JPS), discussed design proposal for LMT and solutions to its implications on existing utility on site.	16/11/16 KLCH BREB
		Site visit - checked on issues discussed in the technical meeting: a feeder pillar was an obstruction to achieve barrier free walkway – it was decided instead of relocating the feeder pillar which was an expensive and highly technical option, the design of the walkway to be less rigid.	17/11/16 LMT
		KLCH meeting with Think City – discussed potential supports and stakeholders' contribution to the project.	28/11/16 KLCH BREB
		Submission for approval to carry out project from the management through One-Step Centre Meeting (OSC).	8/12/16 KLCH OSC
		Personal visit to LMT – hoarding have been put up, and the existing interlocking block has been cleared from the site but was done by a different department from BREB. A conflict between two departments in KLCH to act on LMT – a management meeting was conducted, and BREB was to proceed with the project	15/2/17 LMT
		Meeting with Think City and KLCH internal department – design is finalised. Think City sponsors street furniture (bicycle rack). Several business companies operating at the vicinity of LMT sponsors granite sitting, and Rotary Club was granted a space to relocate their time capsule within LMT.	3/3/17 KLCH BREB
KL	Laman Medan Tunku	KLCH BREB Site visit to finalise design.	7/3/17 LMT

Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
		Personal site visits to observe construction progress – material for walkway and ground over were laid.	13/4/17 KLCH LMT
		Technical meeting with consultants – detail of street furniture design and lighting were confirmed)	11/5/17
		Personal visit to KLCH and LMT for updates – construction was almost complete.	17/5/17
		Meeting within internal KLCH department – Launching of LMT postponed until the adjacent Laman Sultan Ismail beautification complete (another project lead by this KLCH team).	19/5/17
KL	Laman Tun Perak	Post-mortem meeting for the completion of Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman (JTAR) barrier free walkway project – a partnership between KLCH and Batu Road* Retailers Association (BARRA). During this meeting, a further beautification of JTAR was suggested and Think City was introduced as collaborator for this future project. *JTAR was formerly known as Batu Road.	2/12/16 KLCH BREB
		All three collaborators (KLCH, BARRA and Think City) went for a walkabout in JTAR to identify issues on site like vandalism and illegal extensions for merchandise display, as well as identifying potential pocket parks and space for alfresco dining (outdoor dining). Laman Tun Perak (LTP) improvement was identified as a potential project.	6/12/16 JTAR including LTP
KL	Laman Tun Perak	Meeting (KLCH, BARRA and Think City) to discuss Think City's proposal for future improvements of JTAR including public realm improvement along JTAR – 3 sites were identified: LTP, and areas in front of Pertama Complex and MS Gill complex. LTP project to proceed and Think City will lead the project (funding and consultants.	9/1/17 KLCH BREB
		Personal visit to KLCH for updates on the project: Think City decided to sponsor the project, Seksan Design was appointed as the landscape consultant, a visit to natural	15/2/17 KLCH BREB

		waterfall was conducted by the consultant with collaborators for design inspiration. Initial design was agreed among collaborators.	
Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
		Collaborators meeting – design finalised and project timeline discussed.	1/3/17 KLCH BREB
		Collaborators site visit to JTAR and Interior Design consultant was brought to discuss design options for merchandise display.	6/3/17 JTAR
		Laman Tun Perak -Public Engagement.	10/3/17 – 11/3/17 LTP
		Personal visit to LTP – existing tree trimming by KLCH landscape department, monitored by the consultant.	15/2/17 LTP
		Personal visit to LTP – hoarding have been put up and construction was ongoing. Some minor addition to the approved design such as additional walkway and a gazebo structure to be added.	13/4/17 LPT
		Personal visit to LTP – Current progress: ground levels, marking on landscape and hardscape area.	11/5/17 LTP
		Personal visit to LTP – Waterfall is taking shape, KLCH provides boulders – balance from other projects (manage to cut the cost of projects since Think City funding was limited).	24/5/17 LTP
		Meeting within KLCH department - the arrangement of LTP Launching by Mayor was discussed.	1/8/17 KLCH BREB
		The mayor officiated LPT in a small event with a performance by KLCH cultural group and food and beverages sponsored by BARRA.	8/8/17 LTP
KL	Other Activities joined during placement with KLCH	Participate in place performance evaluation called 'Place Game'. Parameter of assessment is similar to PPS model of 'what makes a Great Place'.	21/10/16 Think City Office at Ruang
		An event to demonstrate public space utilization using pop-up street furniture in Medan Pasar (a public square located across Think City Office at Ruang)	22/10/16 Medan Pasar

		Appreciation ceremony for collaborators of placemaking event held at Medan Pasar during KUL design month – an exploration of public space utilization with pop-up installation and event.	8/12/16 Auditorium Hall in KL Library
		Organised by KLCH Local Agenda 21 (LA21) unit, headed by the Executive Director, Project Management and Implementation walkabout with Bukit Bintang CE to identify issues and future improvement of Bukit Bintang shopping district.	16/12/16 Bukit Bintang
Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
		KLCH monitoring visit in China Town/Petaling Street area as the barrier free walkaway project is in progress.	21/11/16 Petaling Street
		BREB department meeting – report the progress of projects handled by all teams and coordinate the project team's workload.	25/11/16 KLCH BREB
		Site visit with LA21 unit to community garden projects – some developed well, some lacked management.	29/3/17 KLCH
George Town	Pulau Tikus Market place	Meeting with Arts-ED on the appointment to document public engagement process of Pulau Tikus Market place.	7/4/17 Arts-ED
		Kick-off meeting to establish a collaborative platform between Arts-ED, Penang Island City Council (PICC) and Pulau Tikus assemblywoman office (KADUN Pulau Tikus)	25/4/17 PICC
		Arts-ED team meeting – preparation to kick-off Pulau Tikus public engagement campaign – the team were briefed with individual task and area to be studied	28/4/17 Arts-ED
		Pulau Tikus market place public engagement kick-off campaign by giving out the flyers and little chats with market vendors and visitors, by Arts-ED and KADUN Pulau Tikus. Team members and volunteers were equipped with tag, small apron and bags to carry the flyers.	29/4/17 Pulau Tikus Market
		Coordination Meeting with KADUN Pulau Tikus, LLA Architect and Arts-ED to set clear brief for the project.	29/5/17 KADUN Pulau Tikus

Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
		Conduct survey to gauge market vendors and visitor's feedback (understanding about the project and their views on the future planning of the area) on the campaign and banners hanging all over the market and the street light.	30-31/5/17 Pulau Tikus Market
		Public Engagement and focus group discussion (FGD) with Pulau Tikus market vendors – FGD were done with specific groups in the market: the indoor wet market vendors, indoor dry market vendors, night hawkers, outdoor market vendors and food court vendors. It is also conducted in several languages ie: Malay, Mandarin, Hokkien and English.	14-16/6/17 Pulau Tikus Market
		FGD presents initial design ideas for Pulau Tikus market place to the vendors guided by information collected through previous surveys and FGDs. Received mix reactions as vendors were more worried about their individual stalls than seeing the bigger picture of the project. But, towards the end of the session, a common ground was achieved, and the project brief was drafted.	17-18/8/17
George Town	Armenian Park	Site Visit to Armenian Park accompanied by a George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) officer who explained the design details of the park reflecting local flora, the low height shrubs along the parameter to avoid blocking view towards the traditional shophouses, the Lebuah Achek mosque and the Syed Al-Attas mansion, and also the tactical material to ease movement for the blind.	13/3/17 GTWHI and Armenian Park
		Meeting Arts-ED and PHT – the neighbours to Armenian Park project – discussed the public engagement process for the project and the relocation of the flea market from the park to a different area. Meeting with PlanMalaysia (state planner) for further details on flea market relocation.	14 and 15/3/17 Arts-ED and PHT PICC
		Site visit and behaviour observation of Armenian Park – during the day park is used by passers-by to rest, in the evening, kids and	17/3/17 Armenian Park

		teenagers used for recreation and at early night teenagers are seen hanging out. In small groups.	
Case Study	Project/ Events	Observation	Date & Location
		Discussed the complex process of Armenian Park planning and construction, the transfer of project from GTWHI to Think City and changes in the design direction.	3/4/17 GTWHI
		Discussed the early process of planning, public engagement and design of Armenian Park with the former design consultant.	6/4/17 Penaga Hotel
		Discussed with one of the former Consultant Technical Panel for GWTHI Armenian Park project, an anthropologist, highlighted the historical link between Syed al-Atas mansion and the park used to house a mansion of a Chinese businessman – a good business partner to Syed al-Atas.	27/4/17 Constant Gardener Cafe
George Town	Other Observation during site visits to George Town	Penang Forum – A forum conducted to form collective actions opposing high density development proposed by the government at Pulau Jerejak. More than 200 people came and listened to the historical and environmental importance of the small island.	5/4/2017 Penang Institute
		Chingay Festivals – a traditional along Jalan Kapitan Keling –unique observation: the bamboo bearers are not just Chinese, but also Indian and Malay. The parade was also joined by performances by other races – like Banghra dance by Punjabi community and Kompang by Malay community.	17/2/17 Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling
		George Town World Heritage Site Celebration – celebration of the multi culture diversity through cultural performances at several locations from Armenian Park to along Jalan Kapitan Keling.	8/7/17 Armenian Park and vicinity
Case Study	Case Study		Case Study
Ipoh	Begin placement in ICC OSC meeting observation on several projects: Green Acres retirement home, and two housing projects.		6/6/17 ICC

Case Study	Case Study	Case Study
	E-filing system meeting: to coordinate between the department on the use of the system.	7/6/17 ICC
	Site visit monitoring for the conservation zone area concentrating on Sekeping Kong Heng, Concubine Lane Area: to identify illegal extensions on heritage buildings	8/6/17 Sekeping Kong Heng, Concubine Lane and Market Lane
	Discussed with Concubine Lane business operators on the effort to revive Concubine Lane from the state of deterioration, and a walkabout with the community representative to identify deteriorate buildings to be issued with warnings.	9/6/17 Concubine Lane
	Discussed with ICC architect on monitoring and enforcement in the conservation areas – the leniency during early stages was necessary to allow property owners to revive deteriorating areas. But stricter enforcement is needed now as the pressure to meet the demand of rising tourist in the area has threaten the authenticity of architectural styles in that area.	3/7/17 ICC
	Discussed with Market Lane business operators on the effort to conserve the authenticity of the area and the programs created by the local community to revive the traditions that are loss.	4/7/17 Market Lane
	Assessment as National Geopark status – ICC, Minerals and Geoscience Department and other agencies were taken to visit several sites such as Gaharu Tea Valley, Lubuk Timah and Gunung Mesah where the property owners explained the community-based effort to care and promote the area for tourism.	6/7/17 Lubuk Timah, Gaharu Tea Valley and Gunung Mesah
	Ipoh Cultural Parade at Jalan Panglima and Car Free Day at Jalan Tambun	23/7/17 Ipoh city
	Tour around the conservation zone with tour guide association member	5/7/17 Ipoh city
	Tambun Cave Art community outreach program – a research team from University Science Malaysia, Penang sharing the findings of research on the ancient art found on the cave with further description of the meaning by an aborigine.	1/7/17 Tambun Cave

3.2.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Asking questions that the researcher is unclear about is essential in an ethnography study (Creswell, 2009; Bryman, 2016). The techniques to 'questioning' in this thesis include formal interviews and regular informal interviews or chats. According to Fetterman (2010, p. 41) for ethnography, the informal interview is the easiest to conduct as it 'does not involve specific types or order of questions', and could 'progress as much as the conversation does' following the interest of those engaged in the conversation. Through chats, the researcher engaged with respondents, discussing deeper about projects, listening to their personal accounts, including their feelings of grievousness, frustrations, as well as excitement and hope. These chats were not recorded using a voice recorder but are documented in the field diary.

Semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders and the participants of the placemaking exercises were conducted to get a deeper understanding of placemaking process from various angles. According to Fetterman, (interview in ethnography) 'usually serve comparative and representative purposes, comparing responses and putting them in the context of common group beliefs and themes' (2010, p. 40). To gather descriptive data such as feelings, thoughts and memories, a set of questions were loosely predefined. Additional and unplanned questions were discussed during the interviews, allowing the interviewees to clarify their answers in a defined framework (Table 6).

Table 6 Key topics of investigation

Themes	Topic
Place and the Individual	Personal background of the interviewee Aspects of place meaning in everyday life of the interviewee
Collaborative Planning	How did the interviewee come to be involved in the project? Level of authority/role and involvement of the interviewee in deciding the types of intervention to the place How effective are the exercises in forming a consensus on decision-making and how was decisions being negotiated? Interviewee's feelings and experience during the exercise
The 'making' activities	Interviewee's feelings of being involved in the 'making' process, in terms of putting a personal touch to the physical environment and experience of constructing/creating Interviewee's opinion on the flow of ideas from decision-making to the actual making exercise and why? (Was the decision carried through?) Interviewee's experience in working with other people and dealing with amendments during the making process
Perception, Experience and Aspiration	The aspects that matters most in placemaking projects from the interviewee's perspective i.e.: place meaning, economic gain, aesthetic aspects, interactions between participants Would the interviewee willingly participate in future placemaking process and why? Interviewee's feelings and most memorable experience (both positive and negative) throughout the placemaking projects. Interviewee's opinion on the successfulness of the placemaking process and association to sustainable environment
Sense of ownership and stewardship	The meaning of the place to the interviewee after the placemaking exercise. Interviewee's drive to placekeeping and introducing the place to other people.

Semi-structured interviews with the Project Leader in the local authority were also conducted for LTP and LMT after completing a project (Table 7). This is to get their reflections on the placemaking process, what they aimed to achieve, the reality of the process and their suggestions for improvement in similar future projects.

Table 7 Key topics of investigation with Project Leader in Local Authority

Before the Commencement of a Project	
Themes	Topic
Perception of Placemaking Approach	The principles behind the placemaking approach that the interviewee believes as important Interviewee's methods/process in conducting placemaking What does the interviewee aim to achieve from the placemaking exercises? The advantages of a placemaking approach as compared to the traditional planning approach
Preparation and Recruiting	Interviewee's criteria in selecting collaborators Interviewee's role in the placemaking exercise Interviewee's expectations on the collaborators
After the Commencement of a Project	
Themes	Topic
	Challenges faced while conducting the placemaking exercises at decision-making and construction phase. Amendments made during the exercise and why? The most memorable experience (both good and bad) during the exercise. Improvement in the future undertaking of placemaking projects Interviewee's role in post-placemaking project.

1. Sampling and Sampling Techniques

Participants selected to take part in the semi-structured interviews were based on purposeful sampling in the prospective interviewees were identified before fieldwork begins. The groups interviewed in this research can be divided into three broad categories: the local authorities and government agencies, the stakeholders and the general public. A summary of the respondent is listed in Table 8, and a more detailed list is attached in the appendix.

Table 8 An overview of the total sample involved in the study during fieldwork.

City Authorities and Government Agencies	Other Key Stakeholders	The General Public and Local Communities
6 Local Authorities' Architects	3 Think City Economist/ Business	2 Academician - Planning
5 Local Authorities' Planners	1 Think City Geographer	1 Academician - Sociology and Anthropology
1 Planner, Federal Government - Town and Country Planning	1 Think City Cultural Studies	1 Academician Architecture
1 Penang Woman Development Department, PICC	1 Think City Architect	1 Academician - Landscape Architecture
1 PICC Licencing Department	2 Consultant Landscape Architects	4 Business Operators
1 GTWHI Planner	2 Consultant Architects	3 from Tourism Associations
1 GTWHI Landscape Architect	1 Consultant Conservationist	2 from Community Associations
	3 Arts-ED Sociologist	1 Planning Student
	4 Heritage Society Activist	
	2 Politicians	
16	20	15

A total of 56 people were interviewed, including six people in Johor Bahru. Five interview data from that case study were not used due to it being excluded from the study. However, data from one interviewee is (Think City Officer, male, 36, interviewed on 20/4/2017) considered valid and important. He was one of the main participants of the placemaking process in KL and George Town before being transferred to Johor Bahru in 2016. In total, 51 interviews were transcribed (refer to Appendix 3, p.384). It was difficult to categorise the interviewees based on

geography. Several interviewees belong in 2 or 3 case studies, having been involved in placemaking projects in different locations and hometowns. Purposive sampling was used to select participants who were based in KL, George Town and Ipoh.

Not all of the identified candidates were interested in participating when contacted through emails, phone calls and WhatsApp application. Hence, another recruitment method was used, namely, snowball sampling. The name and contact of potential interviewees were obtained through recommendations from the first round of interviewed participants. This method helps gain quick responses and direct the researcher to appropriate people involved in the placemaking process, especially the high profile interviewees, which was made possible to access through networking.

2. Procedures

All interviewees were given an information sheet describing the synopsis and focus of this research, together with a consent form before the interview. The researcher then provided a brief description to the interviewees on their involvement and how their data will be recorded, kept and used. The researcher would also entertain and answer questions from the interviewees if there were any. Recording of the interview began once the interviewee gave their consent. An interview log sheet was used to keep track of the interviews, such as the time, date, and the agreed location. The interview duration varies according to the topic discussed and the flow of the conversation, which were generally between 30 and 80 minutes. During the

interviews, notes on the session, such as the feelings arising from the topic discussed and topics that emerged from the interview related to the study, and the deeper understanding that was developed about placemaking process were documented. This helped the researcher improve interview questions for the next round of interviews and identify the case studies' emerging themes.

3. Practising Skilful Interviewing

The researcher tried to maintain a non-judgmental stance, remained alert to body language, and maintained eye contact with the interviewees throughout the interviews. The researcher tried to use simple words, provide interviewees with clear information, and be an attentive listener. Because of the open-ended nature of the interview, there is a tendency for the interviewees to deviate from the topic, where the researcher tried in a polite way to pull the conversation back to the discussion. Still, in some cases, the discussions were relevant when they touched on broader elements that may influence placemaking process.

3.2.3 Archival resources, reports and related documents on the context of the study

A range of different types of documents was obtained to further understand the context being studied. Documents were obtained through various means. Historical documents, reports on projects or programs, minutes of meeting, development plans, council newsletters and archival data were formally obtained from respective authorities and institutions such as KLCH, PICC, ICC, GTWHI, Think City, Arts-ED, PHT, Penang Institute and personal participants. Sensitive data, such as project

costs and internal technical issues, were carefully sifted and excluded from the thesis. However, if this information is published in external sources such as newspapers and magazines, it will be used. Other materials such as newspaper articles, brochures, pamphlets, flyers, maps and coffee-table books were also referred to during informal visits and fieldwork. These materials are crucial because by scrutinising them, emerging imageries and narratives about a place defined by the people working on the material could be identified.

3.2.4 Positionality

According to Venegas and Huerta (2010), there are challenges in conducting urban ethnography concerning the positionality of the researcher, such as his/her the ethnic or racial background, social position that might influence perception, and the 'insider/outsider' status, which might influence their sensitive nature to the studied location, as well as the 'newcomer status', which affects the access to their studied participants.

From the researcher on positionality: Let me outline all aspects of my identity while conducting the research with respect to my positionality. I was born in Malaysia, raised in Ipoh, and I am a Muslim woman. I'm of the Malay ethnicity, and I received tertiary education in architecture and urban design. Being a local, I have the advantage of understanding the language and local culture. Therefore, I can ask more insightful questions as I have the exposure to the context since an early age. Having an early childhood education in a multi-cultural Convent school, I am comfortable speaking in Malay, English and understanding some Cantonese words,

which has helped break the ice with Cantonese speakers. Generally, people were willing to talk to me freely, and being friendly to colleagues during my placement; I gained entry to several projects, invited to participate in meetings, site visits, seminars, events, offices, workshops and the assessment process for the Kinta Valley National Geopark nomination. There was a participant who prefers informal interview (conversation) and requested the conversation to not be voice recorded as a precaution to not leak sensitive information, because she tends to speak her mind transparently. Hence, the notes of the interview were documented in my field diary. Another participant, whom I felt was important, had refused to be interviewed, as he felt that he could not represent the organisation because he no longer worked there. Hence information needed was gained through reports of the activity of the organization instead.

The researcher's positionality based on projects selected in each case study is listed in Table 9 p.121. Being attached as a researcher in KLCH and ICC has allowed the researcher to access information directly through the system and daily practice in the work environment, which had made communication with people in charge of the projects and other matters related to the project more easily. Being partially attached to Arts-ED and Think City has allowed researcher access to specific project and event. To develop further understanding, the researcher had to observe the organisation practice and made inquiries on certain information. Being an independent researcher and participant in certain events, the researcher had to draw conclusions based on observation of the event and conversations with other participants and the organiser.

Table 9 Researcher's positionality for each projects observed during fieldwork.

City	Project/Activities	Positionality
Kuala Lumpur	Laman Medan Tuanku (LMT)	As a researcher attached to the department of Urban Design Unit in KLCH
	Laman Tun Perak (LTP)	
	Event: KUL Design Month (Placemaking Workshop)	As an independent researcher and participant of the event
George Town	Armenian Park	As an independent researcher
	Pulau Tikus Marketplace	As a researcher attached to Arts-ED to document public engagement process.
	Event: George Town Heritage Festivals	As an independent researcher and participant of the event
Ipoh	Concubine Lane and Sekeping Kong Heng	As a researcher attached to the planning department of ICC
	Market Lane	
	Program: Lembah Kinta National Geopark	
	Event: Car Free Day and	As an independent researcher and participant of the event

Having had training in architecture and urban design has also helped me understand the complicated terms and design processes. However, knowledge of planning and place governance was continuously obtained throughout the research. Engaging in conversations with planners in different departments at various local authorities allowed me to understand planning processes and enabled me to participate in several private project meetings, such as the One-Stop-Centre (OSC) and meetings with higher levels of management. This has significantly built my understanding of collaborators' challenges at the project implementation level and observed negotiations between subordinates and higher-level officers.

3.2.5 Research Limitations

Since ethnography research usually takes a long term, considering the time needed for fieldwork and its reasoning is important, especially when the researcher is a

newcomer (O'Reilly, 2009). From the day of Ethics Approval on 19/10/2016 to the last site visit to George Town, this fieldwork has taken ten months, which ended on 20/8/2017. The two local authorities' full placements had taken two months in total (one month at each local authorities). The attachment at KLCH was at the beginning of fieldwork from 14/11/2016 to 16/12/2016, and ICC was later, from 1/6/2017 to 7/6/2017 (considering a week of Eid holiday). During the remaining eight months, the researcher had to move between three case studies, as the engagements were on project basis. Hence there were time gaps, which the researcher had used to do contextual groundworks, interview respondents and follow up on projects in different contexts. The researcher had to establish a work base or accommodation in each geography. The researcher rented an apartment in KL and set a workspace in a family home in Ipoh. In George Town, the researcher either stayed with an Arts-ED colleague or booked a hotel room within the vicinity of Armenian Park and Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling. Regarding gaining entry to NPOs, the researcher was able to build trust while doing the placement at KLCH.

Another limitation was the language barrier. Although most of the respondents spoke either the Malay or the English language, there were two cases where the respondents depended on a translator to convey the true meaning of their description. Since the interviews were carried out in the recommender's presence, the language barrier issue was sorted. Another encounter of the language barrier was during the public engagement for Pulau Tikus Market Place. Being in a multi-cultural team (Arts-ED), translation to important arising matters was also done.

3.2.6 Ethical Considerations

As this research involves humans as a research subject, careful consideration of ethical issues was taken, both while undertaking the fieldwork and when making decisions on the subject matter to maintain this research's integrity. Matters related to gaining access, participant's consent, withdrawals, confidentiality and anonymity were at utmost importance. Hence, participants were provided with and asked to read two important documents. One, the summary of the research or the information sheet with the researcher's and the supervisor's contact details given; two, the consent form which informs participants of their rights to withdraw by 20/8/2017 (the end date of fieldwork), data that have been provided by the person would be destroyed. All data were treated as private and confidential. No request for any withdrawal has been made.

3.3 Approach to Data Analysis

This section discusses the approach to data analysis that was used to draw out the research themes to inform the writing process. According to Fetterman (2010), ethnography involves many levels of analysis, in which Bryman (2016), suggested at least three levels of interpretations. The nature of ethnographic analysis it that ideas build up throughout the study, which is 'as much a test for the ethnographer as it is a test of data' (Fetterman, 2010 p.93). Bryman (2010) described ethnography data as 'rich and thick'. Fetterman (2010) described the analysis of ethnography metaphorically as an act of the researcher 'finding a way through a forest of data, theory, observation and distortion', through which the researcher must make

complex choices between sets of interesting paths. According to him (Fetterman, 2010 p. 93):

'Choosing the right path requires discrimination, experience, attention to both detail and the larger context, and an intuition. The best guide through the thickets of analysis is at once the most obvious and most complex strategies: CLEAR THINKING.'

3.3.1 Transcription, Coding: Computer Software, Manual Post-It-Notes and Managing Data

In order to direct data generation techniques and analysis, the analytical framework built for this study connects the theoretical questions to the empirical analysis by summarising what is theoretically understood about the specific phenomena and what needs to be empirically examined (AlTarawneh, 2017). For this study, to develop a clear-thinking, it has to start somewhere. The set of processes that the researcher has employed includes reviewing literature from related fields such as urban planning, governance, public participation, community initiative and emotional geography, which have helped the researcher to identify knowledge gaps and develop the research questions

This study employed thematic analysis to analyse data, which involves searching across a data set to identify, analyse and report repeated patterns that had emerged (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Kiger and Varpio (2020, p. 847), thematic analysis is a method for describing data that also involves interpretation of the process of selecting codes and constructing themes. The flexibility to analysing qualitative data

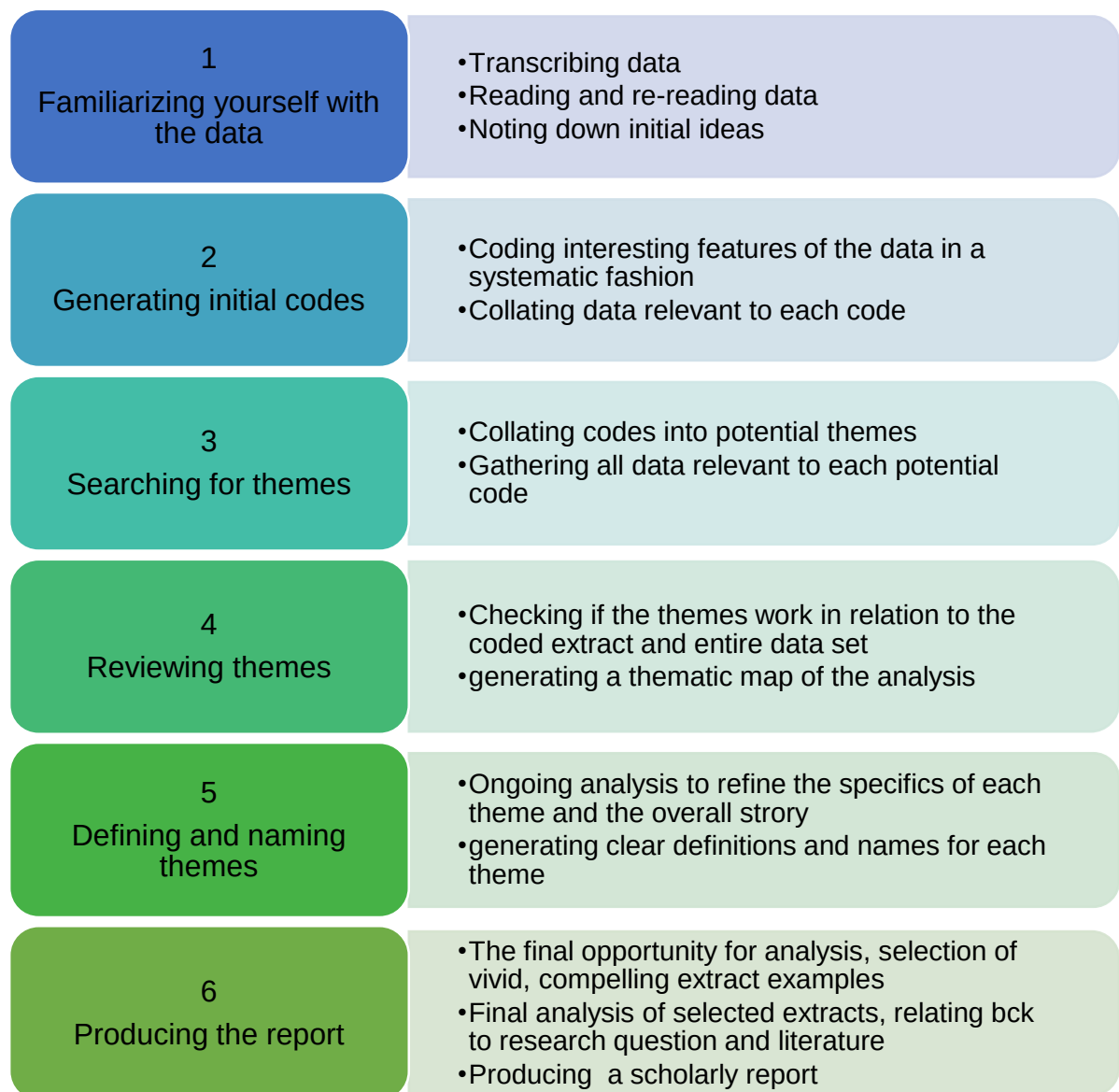


Figure 4 Six-step Process of Thematic Analysis. Adapted from (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

made it suitable for use with ethnographic research like this study. Kiger and Varpio (2020) claimed that the most widely-accepted framework for conducting thematic analysis involves a six-step process – that has been suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006): (1) familiarizing yourself with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes and (6) producing the report (refer Figure 4: The Six-step Process of Thematic Analysis).

However, it had been highlighted that the six-step process is not a rule but a guideline that could be flexibly applied to fit the research question and data, where moving back and forth through the steps are possible (AlTarawneh, 2017, p. 130).

For this research, interviews were transcribed, and the researcher reviewed the audio extensively to lay the data to be analysed. Transcriptions were done in mostly English (only two were in Malay languages), and the only selected transcripts in Malay were translated to English. To maintain confidentiality, names and identifying details were changed in the transcripts. The researcher used two coding methods: one, using the NVIVO 11 software, and the other is manual coding using the post-it notes. The software aided coding was useful in organising, categorising and reducing rich data. According to Bakri (2018, p. 131),

‘Coding is more than sifting, selecting, sorting, and synthesising important points and data; it is the beginning of the unification of ideas analytically... Coding methods... allows the discovery of patterns, which are usually difficult to identify from the interview transcriptions.’

The researcher attempted two coding techniques using NVIVO 11 software, namely, ‘open coding’ and ‘axial coding’. The open coding in which labelling codes to the text helped the researcher identify major issues that emerged in the data by referring to the categories formed by the codes. This technique was time-consuming, rigid, and ‘easily the data analysis process had extended the coding’ (Welsh, 2002), which brought little success in reducing the rich data. However, some emerging patterns were identified, helping the researcher to reflect. The sample of patterns that emerged from open coding techniques is shown in Figure 5, where the main

From the reflexive exercise and repetitive reading of the qualitative data, the researcher was able to identify pre-conceived categories, which makes more sense to reduce the rich data and attempt another set of coding exercise – the axial coding. The list of categories was more sensible (sample list of categories is shown in Figure 6), but it was difficult to compile the categories into core themes because 'it is difficult to show the whole model on the computer screen at once' (Welsh, 2002). Hence, a manual 'post-it notes' technique (Figure 7) was used, and the researcher was able to view the whole picture and the interrelationships of the codes at once (Welsh, 2002). In the next step, the researcher used selective coding (Figure 8), in which the core categories could be identified and was helpful with the building up of the storyline.

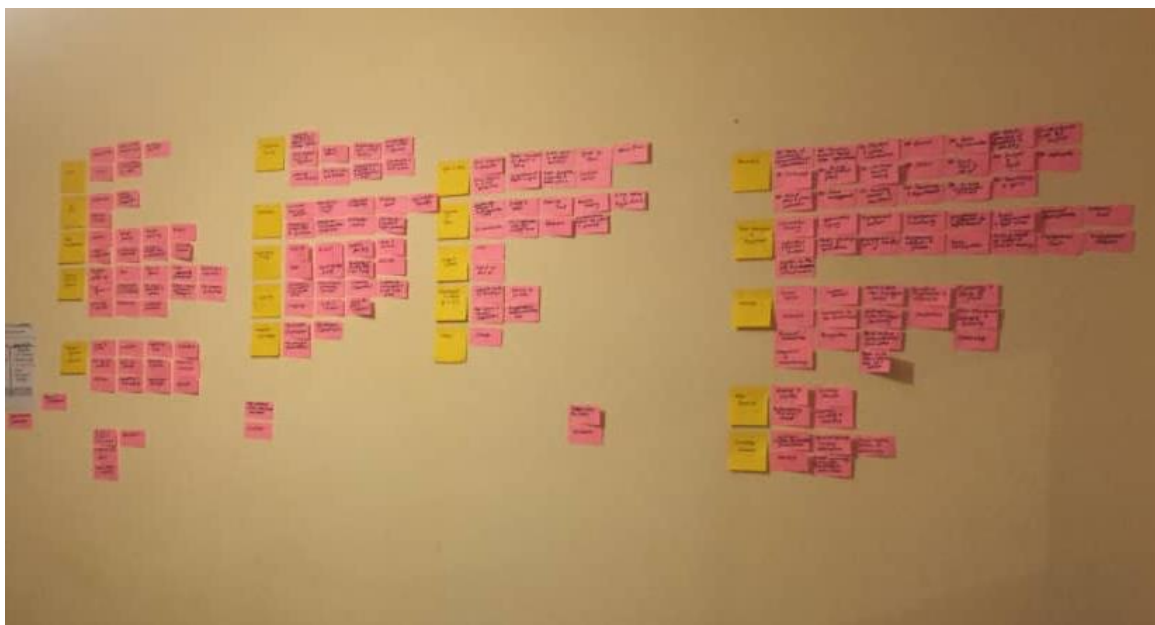


Figure 7 Post-it-note techniques to identify core themes.

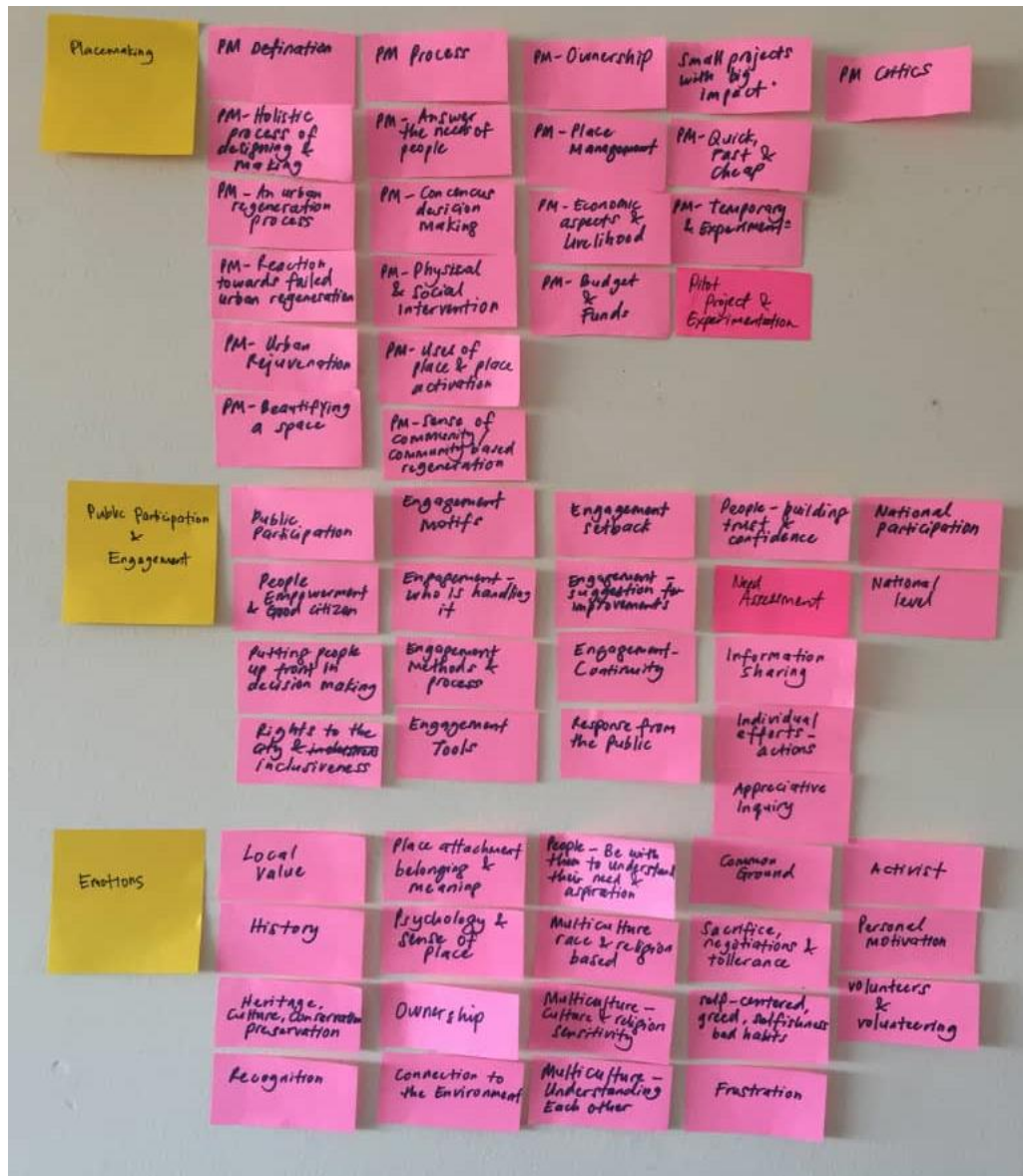


Figure 8 Selective coding used to build up story-line based on themes.

To manage other data sources, data from the field work diary were also transferred in the Microsoft Words processor as much as possible, for the ease of finding of field note entry in the future. The researcher also got herself familiar with other materials such as books, newspaper articles, brochures, and development plans, categorising them based on case studies.

3.3.2 Analytical Framework

Fetterman (2010) suggested several ways an ethnography researcher confront complex data and make sense of it 'piece-by-piece', through 'day-to-day' basis of incremental understanding of human interaction, and focusing on relevant as well as manageable topics, to refine the unit of analysis.

Fetterman (2010 p.94) suggested the use of triangulation to test out the validity of one source of information to the other, 'strip away alternative information and attempt to prove a hypothesis and ultimately to put the whole situation into perspective.' According to him, triangulation works in any topic, any level and any setting, and it improves the quality of data and accuracy of ethnographic findings (Fetterman, 2010, p.95). For this research, triangulation was carried out by analysing data from different data sources such as field diary, coded data from interviews, and materials such as books, newspaper articles and brochures. Online sources were also sought, especially KLCH, ICC, PICC, Think City, Arts-ED, PHT, GTWHI, and online newspaper portals such as The Star Online, The Malay Mail and The News Straits Times. Facebook or Instagram accounts of these organisations were also instrumental, especially concerning records of events.

This has enabled identifying trends and patterns, linking them to the theoretical views to help support explanations. Looking for patterns is indeed a form of analysis through which the level of understanding increases geometrically as the researcher moves up the conceptual ladder, mixing and matching patterns and building theory from the ground up (Fetterman, 2010 p.97). Writing things down is part and parcel

of ethnographic research, but the ultimate goal is to share what the researcher has learned with others. Hence, the researcher must move from writing things down to writing up the thesis (O'Reilly, 2010).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the overall methodological positioning and analytical strategies in the study. By unpacking the research philosophy, the chapter concludes that this research adopts an ethnography approach that is interpretivist in philosophy, qualitative in its strategy of inquiry, constructivist in standpoint and ontological in paradigm. This chapter has also justified the research approach in this manner, which is related to the discussion in chapter 2.

In addition, this chapter has also outlined the limitation of the study and identified the challenges that need to be taken into account when conducting fieldwork. The next three chapters will present the analysis of data from the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: KUALA LUMPUR, GEORGE TOWN AND IPOH

4.0 Introduction

Informed by the literature discussed in Chapter 2, the character of a place varies from one to another, because they are significant sites of political as well as identity struggle and contestation among a wide range of diverse stakeholders (Healey, 2006a, p. 315). Placemaking is a relatively new concept in Southeast Asia (Pak, 2018). In Malaysia, participatory placemaking is at its infancy, and very little is understood on its success and best practices (Razali et al., 2019). In the last decade, participatory placemaking approach is gaining popularity within the planning practice and urban regeneration of Malaysian cities, particularly within the conservation areas of historic urban centres.

This chapter introduces the context of this research, Malaysia, and the case studies: Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. The three case studies selected are cities where the local authorities have promoted commitments for place-based or community-based approach to revive the historic urban centre in the city plan and the mainstream media (see for example: “DBKL and Think City Join Hands to Realise Downtown KL’s Creative & Cultural District,” (Malay Mail, 13/02/15), ‘Making placemaking commonplace (TheStar, 8/10/2019). Within these cities, production of urban spaces commonly linked to placemaking approach such as pop-up urban spaces, pocket parks, back/front lane upgrading, creative art installation, as well as

artistic and cultural events organised by local communities are visible. Kuala Lumpur City Hall (KLCH) and Penang Island City Council (PICC) have established formal collaboration platforms with Think City - an organisation promoting placemaking and community-based urban regeneration approach, to revive urban space, while Ipoh City Council (ICC) had taken actions to support community-based efforts such as encouraging small business entrepreneurs to operate in old shophouses in the historic areas by introducing special guidelines for hipster cafes and introduced the car-free day to encourage community activities and street utilization. The growing momentum of participatory placemaking approach in these three case studies had seen urban spaces being activated and became lively with the surge of small scale economies, had brought life back to the historic urban centres, which are worthy of further investigations in order to draw understanding on the emerging models and factors that contribute to its success. As a multicultural society, places in Malaysia context is in a constant contestation of identity representation, ethnicity and politics.

Divided into three sections, the chapter begins with the general information about the country, its history, demography, governance and urbanisation. The next section explores the three case studies, discussing urban governance, policy framework and urban regeneration features in the three cases. This will be the basis to further understand various community-based urban regeneration efforts in these cities, despite being guided by the same national planning policy. The final section is the conclusion of this chapter.

The Formation of Malaysia In the Malay language, the word government is termed

as 'kerajaan', which denotes a system of identity and allegiance to the Malay royal court, with the ruler known as 'Sultan' (Sidaway et al., 2004). Before the formation of Malaysia as a federation of 13 states and federal territories, the different states in then Tanah Melayu were ruled by the Sultans, believed to be the descendants from several ancient 'kerajaan' in the Malay Archipelago, such as Majapahit, Srivijaya and Gangga Negara (Sidaway et al., 2004). The present remaining Sultanate monarchy is closely associated with the Malacca Malay Sultanate. The term Melayu or Malay has an ancient history associated with a larger Malay Archipelago, described by Reid (2001, p. 297) as such:

'Ptolemy, the second century (CE) Egyptian geographer, inserted the toponym 'Melayu Kulon'...on the west coast of his Golden Khersonese, thus somewhere near the southern border of Burma today. The 12th-century Arab geographer Edrisi also reported 'Malai' as a large island off southern Asia full of gold, spices, elephants and rhinoceros. In Chinese records... in the 7th century, 'Malayu' appears as a more specific kingdom to the north of Srivijaya...The Tanjore inscription of 1030 and Marco Polo around 1290 also identified 'Malayur' as one of Sumatra's ancient kingdoms...'

During the Malay Sultanate era, citizenship rights were under the purview of the Sultan through *jus sanguinis*: citizenship conferred by the Sultan that in return demands loyalty from the citizen. The concepts of 'Daulat' and 'Derhaka' are very significant in the Malay-world view, as they control the relationship between the ruler and the citizen (Kheng, 1988, p. 3). The Sultan is believed to have an impeccable pedigree, as descendants of Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Kida Hindi of India, and Nurshirwan of Persia. They acquired extraordinary power with such ancestorship, known as 'Daulat' (Kheng, 1988). On the other hand, the term 'Derhaka' carries the meaning of 'rebellious, disobedient and treacherous'.

The Straits of Malacca is one of the most important trading routes connecting the East and the West (Qu & Meng, 2012). Its high economic potential appealed to the surrounding countries/empires and stronger nations for trading activities. According to Hazmi (2012, p. 109), after the fall of the Malacca Sultanate in 1511, regional empires and their western rivals competed for the supremacy of the Straits of Malacca. The latter claimed victory. From then, the Malay world fell into centuries of Western colonisation until it gradually gained independence in the 20th century (see figure 9).

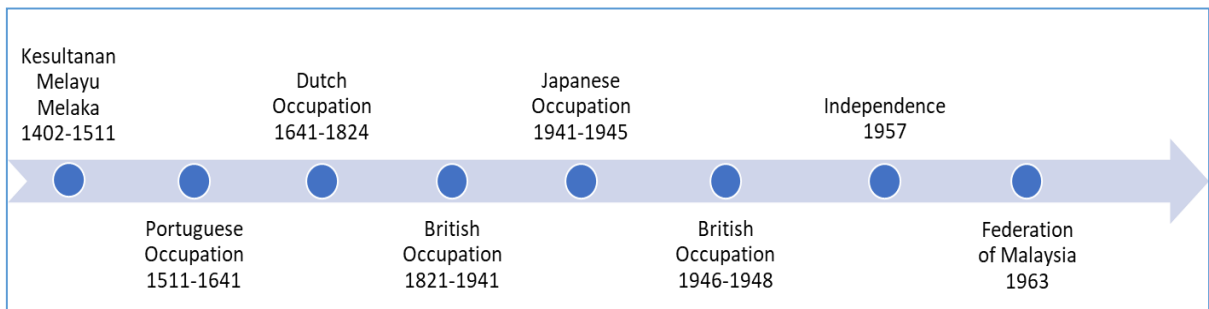


Figure 9 From the Malay Sultanate to the Federation of Malaysia (Author's construct from various resources)

To gain independence, *Tanah Melayu*, which has become home to the Malays and the Chinese and Indian immigrants, was obligated to inherit the British concept of citizenship by birthright: *jus soli*. To accommodate the new political system and citizenship, the power of Sultan and the Malay/Bumiputra rights as the son of the soil were compromised to acknowledge the new multicultural society, which was bound by a 'social contract' (Kheng, 2005; Saad, 2012). Malay Sultans from the nine states laid out seven sacred mandates that must be fulfilled to form a federated state. They must be reflected in the Malaysian Constitution (Department of

Information Malaysia, 2013, p. 15). The seven mandates are:

We remind our descendants of the seven matters as long as you are united and hold fast to these, you will be at peace and prosperous:

First: *We named the land you stand upon and the sky you uphold as Persekutuan Tanah Melayu – Federation of Malaya (presently known as Malaysia).*

Second: *We declare, and we keep for you, and we grant you to declare and save for your children and grandchildren, apart from the mountains and the hill, the lakes and the forest, Malay reserve land of up to 50%, and the rest you shall gain together with other races.*

Third: *To protect you and your descendants and your rightful belongings, we established the Royal Malay Army Regime to fight internal chaos and external threats.*

Fourth: *We maintain and secure the ‘kerajaan’ and ‘kedaulatan’ of the Malay Royals as rulers.*

Fifth: *We declare Islam as the Federal Religion*

Sixth: *We declare Bahasa Melayu (Malay language) as the National Language.*

Seventh: *We entrust the Malay Royals to protect the privilege of the Malays and the legal needs of other ethnic. (Added later the special rights of the people of Sabah and Sarawak).*

Since its independence, Malaysian economic and social development been in a struggle, particularly regarding maintaining ethnic stability (Jenkins, 2008). The search for Malaysia's national identity has been an ongoing quest, with the debate to accept the concept of ‘Malaysia’s diverse society with Malay privilege’ or construct a new identity of an egalitarian ‘Bangsa Malaysia’ (Kheng, 2005). What constitutes Malaysian identity has been a continuous contestation of symbols and representations, both materially and socially. For example, architects have

embarked on experimentations towards the search for a national identity since the independence (Surat et al., 2010), while socially, although ethnic division becomes stronger, there are also assimilated hybrid groups of the Chinese and Indian communities, known as 'Baba Nyonya Peranakan' and 'Jawi Peranakan' (Daniels, 2005). Nonetheless, Malaysia's progress towards modernization should be accompanied by a mindset and soul of all the ethnic groups joined in togetherness to develop the country. National patriotism must be strengthened to ensure long-lasting peace, freedom and prosperity (Mohd Nizah et al., 2012).

4.1 Malaysia Country Profile

Located in the Southeast Asian region, Malaysia is situated with Thailand in the North, Singapore in the South, and Indonesia in the East and the West. Divided between Peninsular Malaysia and West Malaysia, the country is a federation of 13 states and three Federal Territories (Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Labuan) (Figure 10). Each of the States is ruled by a Raja or a Sultan or a Governor (appointed by the King), while the King rules the Federal Territories. The difference between the Sultan, Raja and Governor has its historical underpinning to British colonisation, through which the states were categorized as the Straits Settlements, the federated, the un-federated and an autonomy state – Johor.

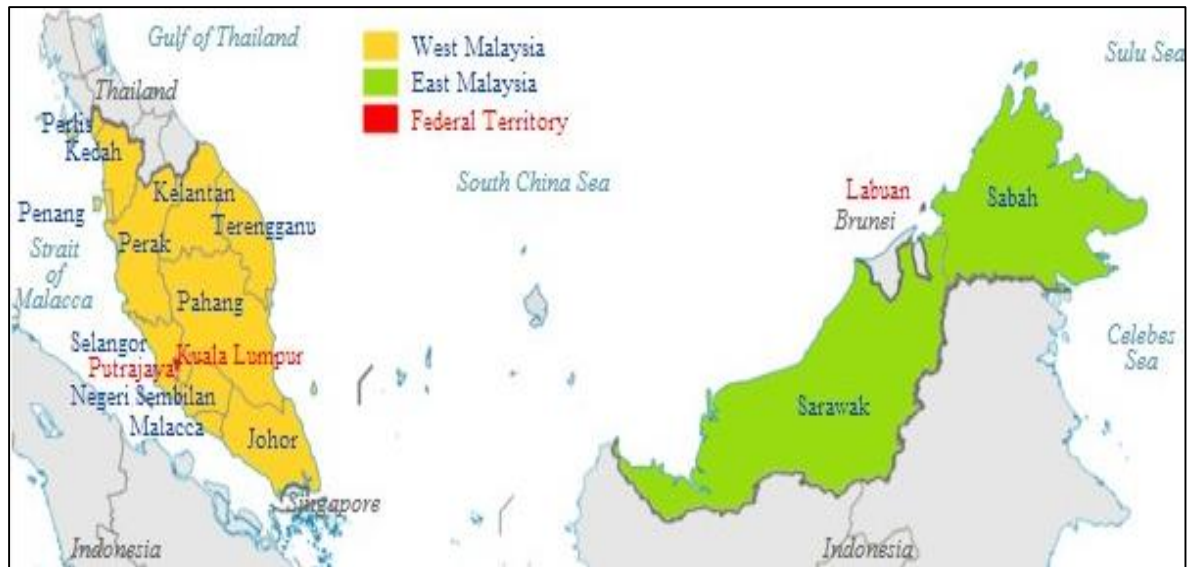


Figure 10 States in Malaysia (Source: Malaysian Government webpage retrieved 31/08/2019)

The federated and un-federated states and Johor (a total of nine in number) maintain their inherited Malay Sultanate monarchy until today, which ‘constitutes almost a quarter of the world’s monarchies, and continue to exercise considerable influence in Malaysia’s political life’ (Andaya, 2018). The Raja and Sultans are the state religious leaders of Islam and head the customs and practice of the Malay culture in their respective states. On the other hand, the current ruler of the Straits Settlements (Penang and Malacca), Sabah and Sarawak (in west Malaysia) are known as Governors. All nine Malay Rulers and the four Governors are members of the Conference of Rulers. Every five years, a King or Sultan is elected to the throne, carrying the title Yang di-Pertuan Agong, through an exclusive voting system by the Raja and Sultans, excluding the Governors (Keepers of the Ruler’s Seals Official Webpage, retrieved on 31/08/2019).

Malaysia practises a parliamentary democracy system under the rule of

constitutional monarchy with the principle of separation of power. The administration has three branches, namely the Executive, Judicial and Legislative Power. The King is the Head of the Federation (executive power), the Prime Minister is the head of the Government of Malaysia (judicial power), and the Attorney General is the head of the Federal Court (legislative power). The King appoints the Prime Minister from the winning party in the general election. This administration system operates uniformly across the country. At the state level, the Sultan/Raja is the Head of State, the Chief Minister, appointed by the Sultan/Raja (with advice from the Prime Minister), is the head of the state government, and every state has its own legislative chamber (Malaysian Government webpage retrieved 31/08/2019).

In terms of governance, Malaysia adopts a three-tiered system, with the Federal Government at the top, the State Government in the middle, and the Local Authority at the bottom. The office-bearers of the first two tiers are elected every five years through general elections, while the Local Authority's leadership is through the appointment by the State government, with approval from the Sultan/Raja (Jenkins, 2008).

It is vital to have a strong grasp of the administration and governance system practised in Malaysia, as it is linked to power relations and the local government's institutional capacity, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. The federal government has the ultimate authority, where policies drafted at the Cabinet-level may have significant impacts on the state and local jurisdiction. Hence, the Local Authority's power capacity in city planning and service delivery is bounded by and sometimes

in conflict with the State Government and the Federal Government. However, in states ruled by Sultan/Raja, another power dimension exists, through which the hierarchical state power to the Local Authority could be negotiated. In cases of power abuse by the elected government, 'many Malaysians look to the Sultans as an alternative source of leadership' (Andaya, 2018).

4.1.1 Urbanisation and Ethnic Relation in Malaysia

Urbanisation is a process of continuous concentration of population (Tisdale, 1942) in urban and metropolitan areas, which is vital to the development and modernization of society (Masron et al., 2000). Urbanization progresses in two ways: multiplication of concentration points and the increase in the size of individual concentration (Tisdale, 1942). Large migration to cities from rural areas to look for employment has resulted in urban slums, poverty, health and nutrition problem, safety issues, as well as food and water scarcity due to inadequate planning (Sukhdev, 2013). In Malaysia, urbanization is on the increase after the 1957 independence, from 25% in 1960, and is expected to exceed 70% by 2020 (Siong, 2008). The urban population average growth rate, and the population spread (including) ethnic-based, are uneven from one city to another. The population is higher in urban areas than rural areas (see figure 4.1.1b, Masron et al., 2000 DOSM, 2016).

According to (Masron et al., 2000), the main factor of population concentration in the urban and surrounding areas is the better-socio-economic level, including better healthcare facilities, educational institutions, employment opportunities and other

infrastructure facilities. The economic transition from agriculture and mining to industries and services, has helped Malaysia enter the services stage beginning the twenty-first century, which fosters rapid growth of urban towns and expansion of the middle-class ranks (Balasubramaniam, 2007).

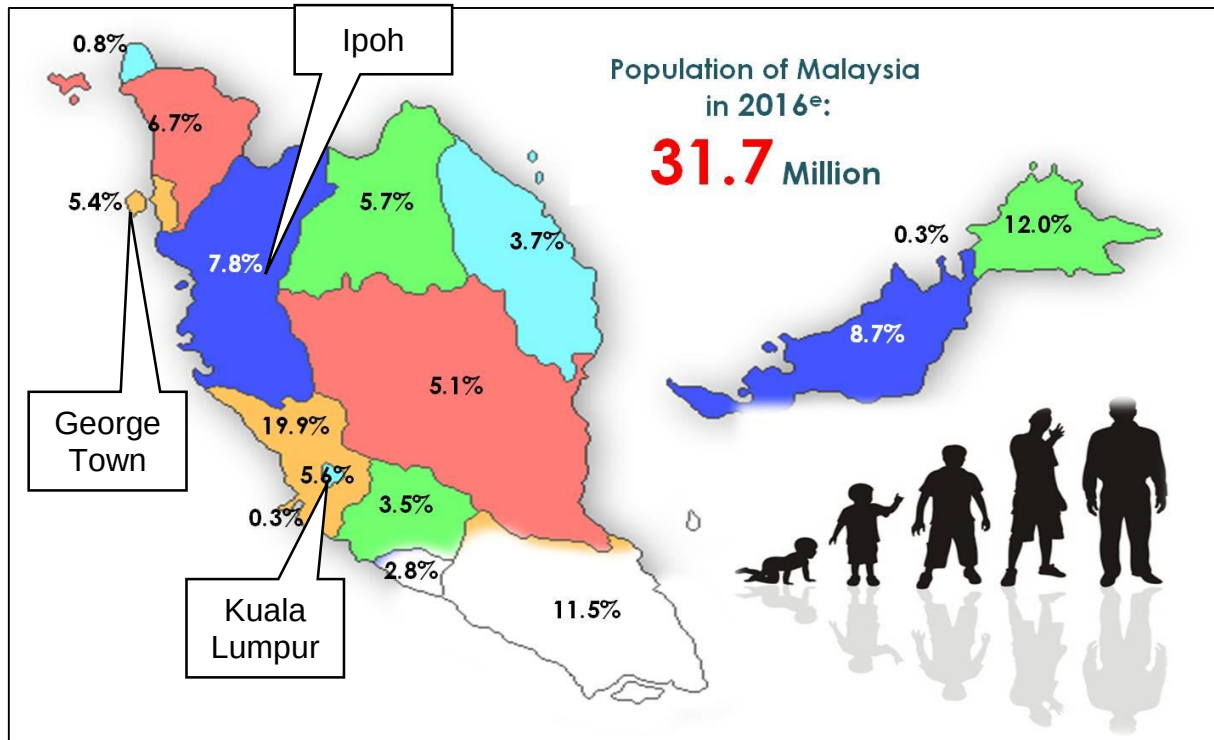
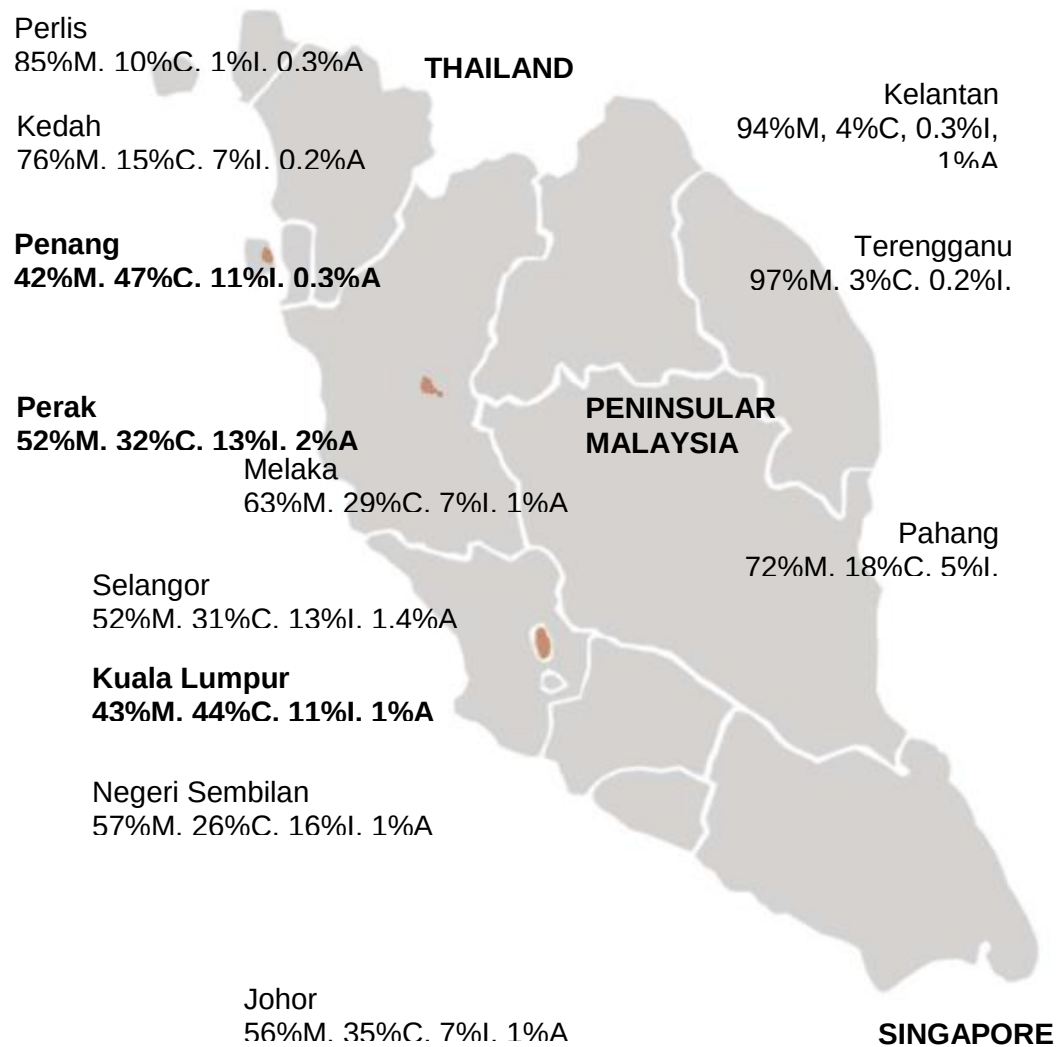


Figure 11 Total Population by State in 2016 (Source: Department of Statistics Malaysia webpage, retrieved 31/8/2019) and location of the Case Studies.

Malaysia population was estimated at 32.6 million in 2019. It comprises 90.2% citizens and 9.8% non-citizens (Department of Statistics Malaysia, hereafter DOSM, webpage retrieved on 31/08/2019). The country major ethnic groups consist of 69.3% Malay/Bumiputera, 22.8% Chinese, 6.1% India and 1% Others. According to Yeoh (2013), ethnic composition in all Malaysian states based on DOSM data in the year 2000: the Malay population in the east coast (the less urbanised states like Kelantan and Terengganu) is more than 90%, while in more urbanised states such

as Penang and the federal territories, the Chinese population is slightly higher than that of the Malays (see figure 4.1.2a Yeoh, 2013).



Ethnic - M: Malay, C: Chinese, I: Indian, A: Aboriginal

Figure 12 Adapted from Ethnic Composition in the Peninsular Malaysia States (Yeoh, 2013)

Enloe (1975) claimed that the imbalance of ethnic composition and urbanization across the country reflects the history of the British authority. In states with higher economic values, the stronger and most direct were British authority. The more

exposed the cities were to overseas immigrants, which consequently impacted the city growth. Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were designated the Straits Settlements by the British and were directly administrated by London before independence. Second on the scale were the federated states consisting of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang; and the least was the un-federated states, namely: Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu. Johor, on the other hand, remained as an autonomous state (Enloe, 1975). Challenges of urbanisation in Malaysia come with the economic and rural-urban structure but above all, between ethnic groups.

According to Nakamura (2008), the term 'race' was used to discuss class differences in Malaysia because it embodies power relationships. He further stressed that it would be difficult to shake off racial discourse and categorisation from the minds of Malaysians. 'Race' uses biological differences to exclude others from privileges, establish who can be imported and exported, who are immigrants and who are indigenous.

These interracial challenges have a historical connotation to the influx of the Chinese immigrants for tin mining and the Indian immigrants for rubber plantation during the British administration. Although there were records of earlier immigrants that came for trading activities and political ties as recorded in scriptures such as *Sejarah Melayu* (Hazmi, 2012; Yuanzhi, 2001), the impact on large migration was really felt through the labour import. This was described by Gordon (1968 adopted in Yeoh, 2013, p. 122), stating: 'it was the British who allowed the wholesale

penetration of the Malayan mainland by aliens, aliens in nationality, language and culture, without any policy of assimilation'. To allow immigrants in the cities, the local Malays were pushed to the rural areas where their economic activities revolved mainly around small-scale farming, far removed from the colonial economic activities (Husin et al., 2012; Siong, 2008; Yeoh, 2013). Chinese dwellings later developed into small towns and cities, while the Malays were largely marginalised in rural areas. This living pattern that lasted until independence has resulted in the urban-rural gap with a racial connotation (Alatas, 1977).

As the geographical location determines the access to major economic activities and sharing of the nation's wealth (Husin et al., 2012), urbanisation in Malaysia must be planned with precautions in order to maintain inter-racial peace and harmony (Siong, 2008). Factors such as ethnic composition and economic variations in urban-rural areas are critical (Yeoh, 2013). An imbalance may lead to racial conflicts, which Malaysia has witnessed in the major racial riot of May 13th 1969, with hundreds of people killed in clashes between the Malay and the Chinese ethnic groups (Siong, 2008). Provocative issues related to Malay dominance (Bumiputera rights) played by the opposition party were pointed out as the cause of the riots (Awang-Rozaimie et al., 2012). The effects of the May 1969 racial riot has the Malays and the Chinese feeling insecure, not only by realistic threats (namely economic), but also symbolic ones (namely socio-cultural) as mentioned by Noor and Leong (2013).

In response to that, two significant efforts have been initiated by the government. One, the introduction of the *Rukun Negara* (National Principles of Malaysia), the oath of national ideology meant to bond Malaysia's diverse population. Five principles of the oath are: (i) believe in God, (ii) loyalty to the King and the country, (iii) upholding the constitution, (iv) the rule of law, and (v) good behaviour and morality (Perdana Leadership Foundation webpage, retrieved 13/9/2019). Cresswell (2015) mentioned that for a nation to hold its inhabitants together, it must act as a place – a field of care, where strategies like national ideology, flags and anthems are commonly used for the creation of imagined communities in which people believe themselves to be connected and belong to the nation.

The government's second effort was to abandon the fairly laissez-faire policy (Noor & Leong, 2013). It introduced policies addressing interracial issues known as the National Economic Policy (hereafter NEP) in 1971 (Awang-Rozaimie et al., 2012). NEP aims to restructure society to achieve social integration, eradicate absolute poverty irrespective of race, and eliminate the identification of race by economic function. The Malays were encouraged to migrate to urban areas in order to be economically and intellectually competent with the Chinese living in urban areas (Jomo, 1989). Some critics (Jomo, 1989; Noor & Leong, 2013; Siong, 2008) argued that the NEP had related the national identity with a strong Malay political and cultural dominance. According to Jomo (1989), communications across different ethnic groups in Malaysia has been reduced to polite half-truths, reinforced by the legal prohibition of discussion on designated 'sensitive' issues'. He feared that this 'culture of silence' with inter-ethnic compromise based on fear will only provide

superficial calmness over powerful and dangerous undercurrents that can only lead to disaster. The Chinese and Indians fear of the restriction on their economic interests and cultural rights due to the fact that the Malays monopolised the public and government sectors (Chee-Beng, 2000). On the other hand, the Malays fear of Chinese dominance in the economic sector and their educational success, as symbolic threat to gain prominence and control over their land (Noor & Leong, 2013).

4.1.2 Policy Framework and Urban Regeneration

With its 60 years of independence, Malaysia has gone through two key development eras. The national policy has since progressed from the NEP (1971 – 1990) to Vision 2020 (1991-2020). Vision 2020 was announced in 1991 by Tun Mahathir Mohammad, who was the 4th Prime Minister. It is a 30 year-plan that envisions Malaysia of becoming a developed nation in accordance to 'our own mould', described as: to be developed along all dimensions: economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally (Economy Planning Unit webpage: retrieved 13/9/2019). Transformasi Nasional 2050 (TN50) was devised to supersede Vision 2020 in the year 2021, with the aim of becoming among the top 20 nations in economic development, social advancement and innovation. However, TN50 did not materialise when the opposition party (Pakatan Harapan), historically, won the majority of the seats in the 14th General Election in May 2018, ending the 60 years of Barisan Nasional government. A new government was installed, and at the time when the thesis is written, no new agenda has been announced. The development of national policies is described in Table 10.

Table 10 National Policy and Economic Development

Period	Era	Economic	Emphasis	Events/Incident/Issues	Ref.
	Malay Sultanate Era	Trade and Agriculture	International port linking the West and the East – Melaka at the Straits of Malacca. Islam has spread throughout Melaka when the Sultan embraced Islam.	Portuguese invasion in 1511 and spread of Christianity, Dutch invasion followed after but was concentrated in Melaka. Sultan of Melaka retreated to neighbouring Malay kingdom in present day Indonesia. Malay ruler of Perak state had an audience with the Sultan and requested for his son to be the Sultan of Perak.	
1786-1957	British Colonialisation	Tin and Rubber exploitation, Agriculture	The foundation of the current urban system. Basic infrastructure such as transportation and utilities were laid to support commercial, financial and economic functions.	Attracted massive Chinese and Indian migration to urban areas, working in commerce and trade. Pushing the Malays to rural areas, to be involved in agricultural sector.	(Siong, 2008)
1957-1969	Independence	Agriculture and rubber industry	Agriculture and rural land development projects. Mid 1950s – rural urban migration of Chinese farmers to Chinese New Villages, as a way to cut food and medicines supplies to the Communists.	Urbanisation at a slow pace. Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). Large forced migration of Chinese population to urban areas. Increase in urbanisation in some states, widening the gap between the ethnic groups and urban settlements.	(Siong, 2008)

			1969 – May riot	Racial riot.	Soong, 2007
Period	Era	Economic	Emphasis	Events/Incident /Issues	Ref.
1970 - 1990	National Economic Plan (NEP)	Manufacturing and industry	Eradication of absolute poverty irrespective of race, and elimination of identification of race by economic function. Restructuring of the society.	Rural Malays were encouraged to migrate to urban areas, resulting in a reduced Chinese majority. Increase in the urbanization tempo for all ethnic groups, with the Malays having the fastest rate of urbanisation. NEP was introduced with the aim to enable the Bumiputra community to compete intellectually and economically with the more successful minority Chinese and Indians.	Agus 2002 (Siong, 2008) (Youth and Sports Ministry , 2018) (C. Lee & Chew-Ging, 2017)
1991- 2020	Vision 2020	Manufacturing industry and services	To be a developed nation, in accordance to our own mould.	Public-Private Partnership Development are often developer-oriented and profit-making	(Youth and Sports Ministry , 2018)
2021- 2050	Transformasi Nasional TN50, which was suspended when the Opposition party won the GE14 in 2018		To become a top 20 nation in economic development, social advancement and innovation	Vision shaped by citizen's aspirations and guided by clear targets.	(Youth and Sports Ministry , 2018)

Author's construct adapted from Siong (2008); Soong (2007); Lee and Chew-Ging (2017), and Youth & Sports Ministry (2018)

Urbanisation in Malaysia has progressed from government-led efforts through the NEP to public-private partnership in achieving Vision 2020. Urbanisation accelerated in the 1970s, due to a large expansion in the industrial sectors (Kozlowski et al., 2017), mobilizing labours in the production of manufactured goods for exports, rather than merely supplying industrial raw materials for the Western industries, similar to what has happened during British colonisation (Siong, 2008). Federal bureaucracies have had a significant control on urbanisation (C. Lee & Chew-Ging, 2017), mostly concentrated in major cities such as Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru and George Town (Siong, 2008). In the years that followed, these major cities were unable to cope with the agglomeration, traffic congestions and environmental problems, which has resulted in the deterioration of the urban environment and quality of life (Kozlowski et al., 2017). This has led to urban expansion through the development of new towns in the mid-1980s (Siong, 2008).

According to Siong (2008), there were four categories of new towns introduced to disperse congestion in urbanised major cities (1981-1985), namely: 'urban new towns within cities, new towns of urban fringes, rural new towns and new towns of specific resources such as petroleum. With the official proclamation of the Town and Country Planning Act 172 in 1976, structure plans begin to be implemented to guide developments in towns and cities. The growth was in speed to provide the infrastructure and facilities for the new population. Concurrently, in other six major cities (Kuala Lumpur, George Town, Johor Bahru, Ipoh, Kuching and Kota Kinabalu) urban renewal programs took place (Siong, 2008).

Rapid urbanization occurred from the year 1991 onwards, with the construction of urban megaprojects in and around the national capital, Kuala Lumpur, such as the Kuala Lumpur City Centre with the iconic Petronas Twin Towers, a new Kuala Lumpur International Airport in Sepang, Kuala Lumpur Central transport hub connecting various modes of train lines, and a new administration centre Putrajaya. These high profile infrastructure projects with mega characteristics has Malaysia described as 'an infrastructure-driven economy' (Bunnell, 1999). The Petronas Twin Towers has increased Malaysia's visibility globally, holding the 'world's tallest building' title from 1998 – 2003, and until today is the world's tallest twin towers. It is a significant marking of Kuala Lumpur specifically, and Malaysia is more generally joining the 'fray for competitiveness with other global cities' (Yusoff et al., 2014).

The national move towards a developed nation has seen new urban lifestyles being embraced in other Malaysian cities as well. Following that, policies to guide urban development, known as the National Urban Policy (NUP), was introduced in 2006. A regional spatial planning framework for Peninsular Malaysia, known as the National Physical Plan (NPP), was also introduced in 2005. Both these plans aim to coordinate the country's overall development to achieve Vision 2020 and establish an efficient, equitable and sustainable framework in the social-economic-physical development planning and spatial planning (National Urbanisation Policy, 2006; National Planning Policy, 2005).

As discussed in Chapter 2, profit-making rapid urbanization and aggressive urban regeneration are known to be insensitive towards traditional and historic urban core

(Kozlowski et al., 2015). Places imbued with heritage values were unsympathetically demolished to make way for new urban structures. In Malaysia, the repeal of the Control of Rent Act in 1997, after 30 years of implementation, has harmfully affected the fate of historical buildings. The Control of Rent Act was introduced in 1966 (Act 56) to address housing shortage during the post-war period by regulating and controlling the rental of premises built before January 31st, 1948 (Atsumi, 2003; Mohit & Sulaiman, 2006). According to Mohit and Sulaiman (2006), the rental of the controlled premises was 'virtually' fixed. These premises could only be developed after being 'decontrolled', which is a tedious and complicated process. Hence, the act has indirectly contributed to conservation by limiting the rights of the owners to renovate. When the act was repealed, owners were known to have carried out indiscriminate renovation works to increase the property value and enable higher rents, resulting in the change of property use, also greatly affecting heritage conservation (Atsumi, 2003; Mohit & Sulaiman, 2006).

On March 1, 2005, a new National Heritage Act (Act 645, hereafter NHA 2005), was introduced to 'provide for the conservation and preservation of the national heritage, natural heritage, cultural heritage, tangible and intangible, underwater cultural heritage and treasures as well as related matters' (National Heritage Department webpage, retrieved 13/9/2019). With the enforcement of the NHA 2005, two acts were repealed: the Treasure Trove Act 1957 and The Antiquities Act 1976. A brand new department, known as the Department of National Heritage (hereafter JWN), was established under the Ministry of Information, Communication and Culture or MICC (now transferred to the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, hereafter

MOTAC). Preservation of heritage becomes a joint jurisdiction of both the Federal and the State Government (Mustafa & Abdullah, 2013). Apart from strengthening, conserving and preserving national arts, culture and heritage, MOTAC's mission is to 'drive tourism and culture sectors as the catalyst for sustainable economic growth' (MOTAC webpage, retrieved 13/9/2019). Between 2006 and 2010, 63% of the allocated RM442.2 million was spent on preserving and conservation of cultural heritage (Mustafa & Abdullah, 2013).

However, within this period, three major events have had the effectiveness of the NHA 2005 in protecting the cultural heritage questioned. First, in 2006, the demolition of Bok House in Jalan Ampang, the last remaining grand mansion along the 'millionaires' row' built in 1926; second, in 2007, the National Leprosy Control Centre in Sungai Buloh built in 1930 was saved from redevelopment when the Ministry responded to the public appeal to protect the last remaining innovative and internationally replicated humanitarian leprosarium model; and third, in 2009, the demolition of a century-old Pudu Jail to make way for Bukit Bintang City Centre (BBCC), a 'world-class integrated development' (Hashim, 2017). The introduction of the NHA 2005 was timely as threats of insensitive urban regeneration on heritage sites were on the increase. A decade after its implementation, efforts to list buildings, structures, natural sites and tangible heritage become more systematic and comprehensive. However, the challenges to balance between market forces and heritage preservation still persist.

Apart from the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) and the National

Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645), another important act concerning urban regeneration is the Local Government Act 1976 (Act 171), hereafter LGA 1976. The LGA 1976 was installed after the suspension of local elections and the completion of investigation on local governance system by the Royal Commission lead by Senator Athi Nahappan (Hussain & Brahim, 2006; Rahman et al., 2013). The investigation findings were published in 1970, in a report of the 'Royal Commission of the Enquiry to Investigate into the Workings of Local Authorities in West Malaysia' or commonly known as 'Athi Nahappan report', suggesting for a formulation of an act. However, it did not support local election abolishment. Under this act, the restructuring process of the local government in Peninsular Malaysia was carried out, which include the establishment of three types of city council entities: city council, municipality council and district council; laws involving the formation; the function and main power of a local authority, reduction in number by merging the existing local authorities; and introduction of uniformity of the power and laws of construction works and regional planning (Hussain & Brahim, 2006).

In the LGA 1967, the local authorities' roles were also described, which among others: the responsibility to perform urban planning and management functions, the power to plan and provide public utilities, and power to impose certain kinds of taxes (Siong, 2008). However, with the suspension of local elections, the act's implementation was seen as an affirmation of the power of the federal government over the state government and the local authority. Although the local government is placed under the state jurisdiction, the state government must abide by the federal government authority in accordance with Act 81, which sets out the obligation of the

state towards the federal government, including ‘to ensure compliance with any federal law applying to the state’ and ‘not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the federation (Rahman et al., 2013). This flow is explained in Figure 13.

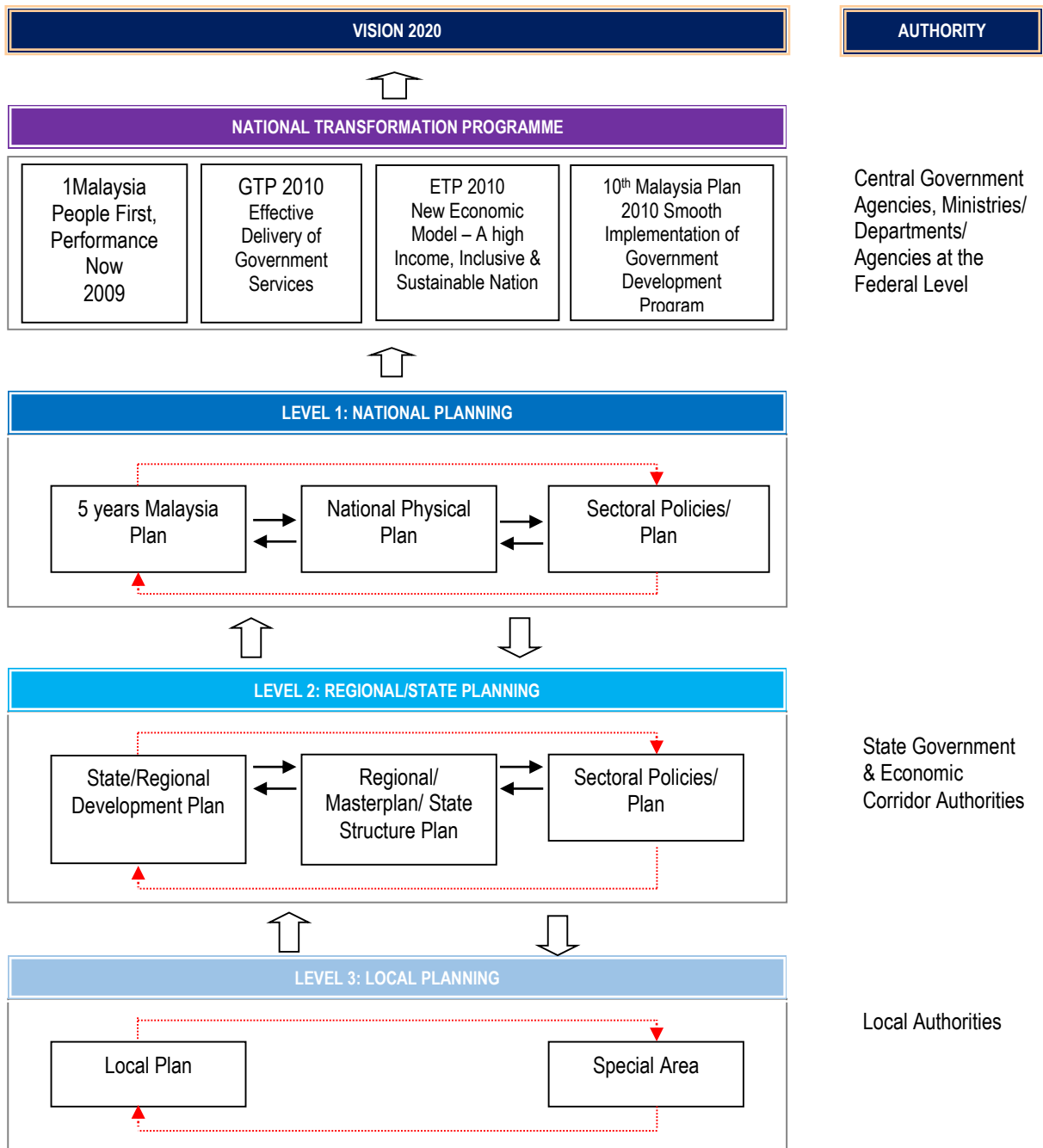


Figure 13 Malaysia Development Planning Framework (Source: National Physical Plan 2)

To complement national agenda and policies, medium-term (five-yearly) development plans have been formulated since the 1950s. It is a government's mechanism to mobilise resources to achieve socio-economic or development goals (C. Lee & Chew-Ging, 2017). According to them, the development plans are drawn based on developmental needs in response to domestic economic, social and political changes, as well as external developments such as the global economy. These development plans have been evolving. The earlier plans (from 4th to 6th Malaysia Plan) were concentrated on urbanisation addressing new towns and regional planning. Within the 7th Malaysia Plan Putrajaya and Multimedia Super Corridor township were built, the 8th Malaysia Plan addressed national integration with the introduction of the National Physical Plan and the National Land Use Policy (Siong, 2008).

The 9th Malaysia Plan's core component is urban regeneration with new public infrastructure projects constructed through Public-Private Partnership (PPP). The Private Finance Initiative (PFI) was introduced through which the government provides indirect financial support through the Employees Provident Fund (EPF). In return, the Private Sectors have a greater responsibility in the financing, constructing, managing, maintaining and operating facilities and services to the public throughout the concession period (Khaderi & Aziz, 2010). The 10th Malaysia Plan's core component is to create vibrant and liveable cities and rectify the various loopholes in the PFI that was highly developer-led. A number of federal agencies assigned to explore community-based urban regeneration of derelict urban spaces were set up in the North (Think City) and Southern Corridor (IRDA). Currently, the

development plan in implementation is the 11th Malaysia Plan that focuses on the shared responsibilities of the public sectors, private sectors and the citizens, in creating competitive cities and regional economic corridors.

4.1.3 Governance and Spatial Planning

As discussed in the previous subsection, the Malaysian government system is divided into three levels. In preparing the blueprint for the national spatial plan, a top-down government administration is practised with the federal government at the top hierarchy. The federal government formulated the policies and directions of the national physical plan. The state government has the right to determine the types of programmes and policies deemed suitable for their local governments by preparing a structured plan. On the other hand, the Local Authority has the power to provide basic facilities and services and maintain infrastructures. The Local Authority translates the State's structure plan into a physical plan, commonly known as the Local Plan. More specific area planning on special areas such as the historic core is presented in the Special Area Plan (Hussain & Brahim, 2006). Different localities may produce other types of plan deemed suitable for their areas, such as the special area plan (for heritage areas) and several other guidelines, such as the urban design guidelines and the strategic heritage masterplan. The government hierarchy and the development plans under their responsibilities are further described in Table 11.

Table 11 Planning Administration.

			Planning Administration		
Plans	Coverage	Form and Content	Admin Level	Members	Function
National Physical Plan	Peninsular Malaysia	Strategic policies to determine general directions and trends of national physical development	National Physical Planning Council	Prime Minister, Related Ministers, Chief Minister	Promote town and country planning as an effective instrument to improve the physical environment towards achieving a sustainable development
Regional Planning			Regional Planning Committee	Federal, and State Officials and LPA	To devise a comprehensive regional plan to guide and coordinate development of the region
Structure Plan	State	Policies and general proposals and use of land.	State Planning Committee	Chief Minister, Related Exco members , related agencies	To regulate, control, plan and co-ordinate all development activities in the State
Local Plan	District	A detailed map and written statement of proposals for development and land use	Local Planning Authority	Members of local authority	To regulate control and plan the development, land use and buildings within its area
Special Area Plan	To be determined	General masterplan and the management of development proposal	Local Planning Authority	Members of local authority	To regulate control and plan the development, land use and buildings within its area

Source: Author's construct derived from various sources including Ahmad, Mohd, Maidin, Zainol, & Noor (2013).

A development plan is crucial, as after the plan is gazetted, it has a legislative weightage. It is the blueprint having a huge role in the development control system, through which the outcome of an application for planning permission is determined. In cases where development plans are not gazetted, control on development by the authority lacks a legally binding mechanism, and it becomes more difficult for the public to stop unsustainable development. At the time when the fieldwork was carried out, the local plans for Kuala Lumpur City Hall (KLCH) and Penang Island City Hall (PICH) have not been gazetted. One of the reasons why the local plans were not gazetted was that the state government did not approve the local authority's local plan. Ipoh City Council (ICC), on the other hand, has had their local plan gazetted, and was going through the 8th amendment cycle on the plan. At the project implementation level, in cases where the local plan is not gazetted, the public needs to be informed about the development proposal on a particular site prior to the issue of development order and construction works could take place. This is done by the local authority through publicity, placing banners or putting up signboards that provide information on the type of development, the height and the projected density. However, only specific stakeholders are permitted to file an objection to the project, namely the site's immediate neighbour. It is usually at the project implementation stage that the general public, especially the communities in the area, understands the impact of a development proposal.

Public participation is a crucial element, especially in preparing the local plan. It is a statutory requirement under the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 and The Environmental Impact Assessment Order 1987 (Abdullah et al., 2015; Omar & Hoon

Leh, 2007). By definition, it is a two-way communication or means of interaction to encourage public participation and gain input or feedback, through which their concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental decision-making (Omar & Hoon Leh, 2007). However, the current practice of public participation in the planning process is argued to be selective (Abdullah et al., 2015). The methods used are passive in nature, lacking transparency to the public (Omar & Hoon Leh, 2007). Omar and Hoon Leh (2007) reported that public exhibition and public hearing after development plans are prepared are the commonly used public participation method. Nonetheless, in the 9th Malaysia Plan, the focus group discussion technique is practised.

However, interviews with stakeholders and focus group discussions are often only with selected people, usually community leaders and business leaders (Abdullah et al. 2015). Continuous improvement on the best mechanism for effective public participation that provides the communities with access to information, and having their voices heard from the beginning of the planning process, is necessary (Omar & Hoon Leh, 2007).

This section discussed Malaysia's country profile and the history of Malaysia's formation – a country with multicultural and ethnic diversity, and the policy framework guiding urbanisation and urban regeneration of Malaysian cities. The section also highlighted that each city in Malaysia has a unique composition of ethnicity, economic resources and local government system inherited from both Malay Sultanate era and British colonisation. The next section will provide an

overview of each case studies investigated in this study.

4.2 Introduction to the Case Studies

Three case studies are discussed in this thesis: Kuala Lumpur (interchangeably used with KL), George Town (interchangeably used with Penang) and Ipoh, situated in the north and middle region of Peninsular Malaysia more urbanised section of the country (refer to Figure 11, p.141). Kuala Lumpur is Malaysia's capital city and was the federal administrative centre (1896-1999) before relocating to Putrajaya. George Town was historically one of the Straits Settlements during British Colonisation and was once a bustling port city (1786-the 1960s) before the free port status was revoked in 1969. Port Penang was then relocated to Butterworth. Ipoh, situated in the Kinta Valley of Perak, was once the largest tin-producer of the Malay Peninsula (1884-1960s) before the decline of the world in the mining industry. At their respective glorious times, all three states received an influx of immigrants, who shaped the present multi-ethnic society. The different urban regeneration approach of each city, concerning the social, economic and environmental aspects, will be described more explicitly in the next section.

4.2.1 The Capital City of Kuala Lumpur

Kuala Lumpur's humble beginning can be traced back to the 1820s, as a Malay Sumatran settlement on the Klang River banks. The settlers were known to grow crops, gather jungle produce, and mine tin ore using traditional methods, all of which were done on a small scale, providing only a small yield. Later in 1857, Raja

Abdullah, a Malay chief, recruited 87 Chinese miners to mine in the upper valley, using the open-cast mine method, which was more effective and energetic (Gullick, 1994). The jungle settlements then grew into a village and later developed into a town. Situated at the confluence of two rivers (the Gombak River and the Klang River), Kuala Lumpur gained its name literally from the muddy site upon which it sits, where *Kuala* is a Malay word for junction or estuary, while *Lumpur* means mud or muddy (Gullick, 1994).

During the British colonisation era, Kuala Lumpur was made the capital city for the Federated Malay States. After the nation's independence, it became the capital city of Persekutuan Tanah Melayu and a Federal Territory after the Sultan of Selangor in 1974 ceded it. The historic core of Kuala Lumpur, where Merdeka Square is located (Figure 14), had witnessed the historical event when the Union Jack was officially taken down. Since then, Kuala Lumpur underwent rapid urbanization, which has resulted in massive traffic congestions in the city, deteriorating the urban quality of life. Entering the new millennium, the federal administrative centre was later relocated to Putrajaya.

As a federal territory, Kuala Lumpur is governed directly by the Ministry of Federal Territories (hereafter FTM). Moving Kuala Lumpur towards a world-class city has been the federal government's agenda, a drive reciprocated by the Kuala Lumpur City Hall (KLCH). KLCH aims to create a sustainable KL city by ensuring the balance between physical, economic, social and environmental development (Kuala Lumpur City Plan 2020, 2012).



Figure 14 Historic Core of Kuala Lumpur: Merdeka Square, the Sultan Abdul Samad building and the Masjid Jamek, located at the convergence of the two rivers – the Gombak River and the Klang River. Picture source:istock.com/razaklatif (2020)

To achieve a world-class city standard and propel the country's economy further, in 2010, the then Prime Minister Mohamad Najib Razak launched the Economic Transformation Program (ETP). Greater Kuala Lumpur (KL) and the Klang Valley (KV) have been identified as one of the twelve National Key Economic Areas (NKEA). While the other 11 NKEAs are industry-focused, Greater KL/KV is a unique geographical focus, believing that cities and urbanization plays a critical role in shaping and driving a country's economy (PEMANDU, 2010).

Four dimensions have been identified to deliver the Greater KL aspirations:

D1: Greater KL/KV as a magnet attracting 100 of the world's most dynamic firms within priority sectors, while attracting the right mix of internal and external talents.

D2: Greater KL/KV is connected to Singapore via a high-speed rail system, building greater connections through the integrated urban mass rapid transit system.

D3: Greater KL/KV has the creation of new places through the revitalization of the Klang River into a heritage and commercial centre; greening of Greater KL/KV to ensure every resident can enjoy sufficient green space while creating iconic spaces and attractions

D4: Greater KL/KV enhanced service through the creation of a comprehensive pedestrian network.

High profile projects such as the River of Life (ROL, Figure 15), the Heritage Trail and Taman Tugu were launched in 2012 and the Mass Transit System in 2011. A handsome sum of RM4.4 billion was allocated for the ROL project to transform the Klang and Gombak River into a vibrant and liveable waterfront with high economic values (Dunn, 2011; Mohamad Rozaly et al., 2017). Running across 19 hectares of river reserve made up of 11 precincts, the centre of ROL is the historic core (Precinct 7). The Heritage Trail project was launched in the same year to leverage the city's iconic places and buildings (with some of more than 100 years), to create iconic spaces and attractions (StarProperty, 2018). The acceleration of urban centre regeneration coupled with the construction of mixed development high-rise and commercial buildings has increased in the speculative market, causing an oversupply of properties, including residential, offices and commercial buildings. According to the National Property Information Centre (NAPIC), 'there were 29,227 overhang residential units in Malaysia, with KL as the second-highest, and it is estimated to take two years to recover (Mahalingam, 2019).



Figure 15 Masjid Jamek, located at the convergence of the two rivers. – a staircase believed to be part of the original mosque structure, was unearthed during River Life Project construction. The stairs are speculated as an important place of human activity and the landing spot for sampans (small boats) – the primary mode of transport in the past (The Star, 28/10/2014). Picture source: istock.com/katerynakukota (2020).

In efforts to enhance the vibrancy of urban spaces within the historic core of Kuala Lumpur to promote liveability, KLCH collaborated with Think City through an MoU signed in 2015 with the focus on placemaking that builds upon community knowledge, aspirations and ideas. Through this MoU, series of urban space activation projects were explored such as Laman Tun Perak, Laman Medan Tuanku, Medan Pasar and laneways improvements such as Lorong Bandar 13 that were also completed before major events such as Southeast Asian Games 2017 and World Urban Forum 2018. In 2018, the MoU was renewed for a duration between 2018 to 2021 with the agenda to drive the urban transformation of downtown KL as the country's vibrant creative and cultural district (KLCCD, Figure 16). The goal was to attract new investments in creative industries, where the built heritage, and

developments. These high-density developments have slowly encroached into the historic core and other culturally/ethnically significant lands such as Kampung Bharu (the Malay Agriculture Settlement, MAS). Tremendous pressures for speculative development have not only posed threats to historic buildings (for example, Bok House and the one century-old Pudu Jail) but have also displaced original communities, affecting the social aspects of the Malaysian townscape. The voids left by the local people are fast regressing into neglected havens for foreign workers (Mohamad Rozaly et al., 2017). In KL, two striking social groups co-exist the multi-ethnic locals and the immigrants with various social status.

Homelessness was a huge issue with an estimated 1,500 – 2,000 people in 2016, a threefold compared to 600 people in 2014, according to a study by KLCH (Li, 2018). As a result, homeless centres were built and managed by various government agencies. For example, the homeless centre built in Jalan Pahang was through a Corporate-Social-Responsibility (CSR) partnership between FTM, KLCH, and Malaysian Resources Corporation Berhad. Others, such as Anjung Singgah and the Medan Tuanku shelter, are owned by other government agencies. The NGOs in KL are actively involved in caring for the homeless and the less fortunate by supplying food and providing free education. For example, the Buku Jalanan (Street Book) Chow Kit (BJCK) taught homeless/poor children to read and learn Mathematics and English. There are also various kitchen soup and events conducted by volunteers, such as the Kechara Soup Kitchen Society and Pit Stop Community Café that provide free food for the homeless and the urban poor.

In short, urban centre regeneration in Kuala Lumpur is framed by speculative market forces, the federal government's strong power capacity (over the local authority), and the locals' gentrification with the areas filled by immigrants and an increasing number of homeless in the city. Hence, KLCH adopted the idea that projects within the historic core need to consider homeless-proof and anti-homeless design. In the effort to bring back locals to the historic core, Think City had announced grant openings to encourage local based business to operate and occupy the old shophouses.

4.2.2 George Town, Penang, a World Heritage Site

George Town is also known as Penang, the capital of Pulau Pinang, situated on the north-eastern tip of Peninsular Malaysia. It was founded in 1786, when the Sultan of Kedah ceded the island to Francis Light, on behalf of the British East India Company, in return for the favour in helping the Sultan fight against Siam, presently known as Thailand (Bakri, 2018; Jenkins, 2008).

On July 7, 2008, George Town and Malacca were jointly inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHS), as 'The Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca', based on the embodiment and embedded Outstanding Universal Values (OUV)s of cultural diversity in the living and built heritage in both cities (George Town World Heritage Incorporated, 2013). The gist of the OUVs that earned them the WHS status includes that both cities: 'are the most complete surviving historic cities on the Straits of Malacca', the 'living testimony to the multicultural heritage and tradition of Asia with the coexistence of distinct faiths (both tangible and intangible), which is a

testament to the religious pluralism in Asia. A range of exceptional architecture of shophouses that reflect the coming together of cultural elements from elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago and from India and China with those of Europe to create a unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in the East and Southeast Asia (George Town World Heritage Incorporated, 2013).



Figure 17 Aerial view of some parts of George Town World Heritage Site (GTWHS) with the rich architectural styles of shophouses and the sea at the background. Picture source: [istock.com/TSYew](https://www.istock.com/TSYew) (2020)

After much debate and studies by various parties like Penang Heritage Trust (PHT), academicians, Badan Warisan and the State Government during the preparation of the dossier, the boundary of George Town World Heritage Site has been agreed is pictured in Figure 18.



Figure 18 Locations of projects observed in George Town are marked on the map. Armenian Park is located within the World Heritage Site, while Pulau Tikus market place is situated outside the outer ring, but the area is known to house a great number of heritage buildings and pre-war structures. Some pre-war structures had received restoration grants from Think City in 2015. Map adapted from ©OpenStreetMap contributors. Inset map: George Town World Heritage Site (GTWHS) and the buffers zone, adapted from George Town Strategic Master Plan 2014.

One significant street that strongly professed such multicultural diversity and living in coexistence is Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, also known as the Street of Harmony (Picture 19), situated at the core of the urban centre.

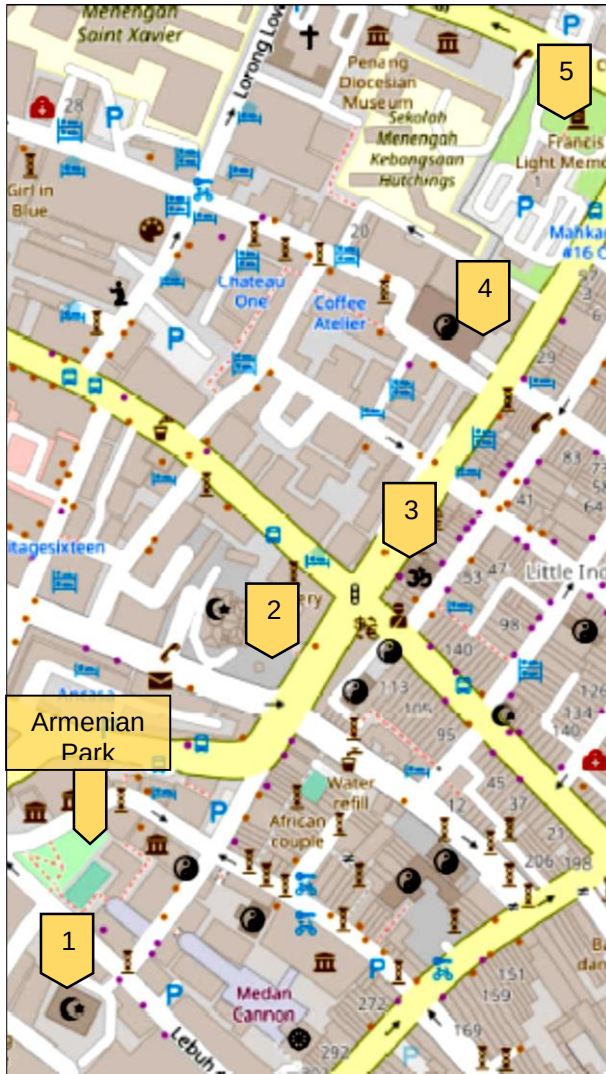


Figure 19 Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling also known as Street of Harmony where multi-cultural society co-exists (map sourced from OpenStreetMap contributors)



5. St. George Church
Source:istock.com/Ravindran (2017)



4. Quan Yin Temple
Source:istock.com/MarcPo (2018)



3. Sri Mahan Mariamman Temple Source: Aida (2016)



1. Lebuh Aceh Mosque
Source: Author (2017)



2. Kapitan Keling Mosque
Source: Author, 2017

Along the street five religious beliefs are practised in their respective well-conserved buildings, namely; the 1803 Kapitan Keling Mosque of the Indian Muslim community, the 1833 Sri Mariamman Temple of the Indian Hindu community, the 1800 Goddess of Mercy Temple (Quan Yin Temple) of the Chinese community, the 1808 Masjid Lebu Achech of the Malay community, and the 1818 St George Church of the Christian community, which is the first Georgian Palladian Anglican Church built in Southeast Asia (Chin et al., 2008 retrieved on 15 May 2019).

Penang civil societies' tremendous efforts and collective actions, coupled with the strong support from the previous state government, and later the federal government, has led to the inscription. What begins as grassroots efforts to protect heritage buildings from destruction, resulting from the repeal of the Control of Rent Act 1997 and pressure of speculative development, has turned into a stronger move and the joining of forces by various parties. According to Cheng, Li, and Ma (2014), the WHS listing has revealed the 'vibrant civil society network with distinguished capacity that has made heritage conversation an issue for public discourse and policy'. NGOs such as Penang Heritage Trust (PHT), Aliran, the Consumers Association of Penang (CAP), Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysia), Friends of Penang Botanic Gardens Society, and Suaram, are some huge names in Penang and known nationally, having a loud voice in the media.

In 2005, a loose coalition of NGOs in Penang, known as Penang Forum, was formed to collectively pursue the discourse of heritage conservation/preservation, sustainable future and participatory local democracy to safeguard George Town

from unsustainable development (Penang Forum, 2005). Apart from NGOs, Non-Profit-Organisations (NPOs) such as Arts-ED and Think City Sdn. Bhd. are noteworthy organisations actively involved in bottom-up community-based projects.

Penang civil society's history can be traced back to when Penang was known as the Prince of Wales Island, following the transfer of administration from the Sultan of Kedah to British Malaya in 1786. According to Cheng et al. (2014), the earliest form of civil society is the 'Kapitan System'. Each Asian ethnic group was represented by a leader, known as 'captain', with a delegated judicial and coercive power in his community. Later, the culture of civic resistance using publication as a platform to expose corruption, malpractice and incompetence in governance developed from the works of James Richardson Logan through The Pinang Gazette, as well as the Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia (Cheng et al., 2014, p. 624). Penang voluntary sector has a strong foundation in socioeconomic capacity and geopolitical identity, comparable to those observed in developed countries. Hence, it is unique among developing countries (Cheng et al., 2014). According to Jenkins and King (2003), the tension between the voluntary and state sectors has intensified since achieving the WHS status. One side fighting to preserve Penang historical identity and having fears that distortion of cultural values might occur in response to commercial motivations, while the other aims to boost cultural tourism in any way possible.

In the past two decades, rapid economic growth has attracted professionals, middle class and skilled workers, who Jenkins & King (2003) described as 'consumers par

excellence with tastes that influence how urban areas are shaped, contested and changed', into George Town. Large scale modern developments with hotels, serviced apartments, and commercial development within the historic core has slowly crept into the fabric of the historic urban centre and encourage speculative development that inflates land values. Socially, local people have driven away because they can no longer afford higher market rates (Said et al., 2013). Physically, large scale buildings of modern commercial development have resulted in a homogeneous and monotonous architecture that disrupts unique townscape qualities and further eliminates the identity of the place (Jenkins, 2010; Said et al., 2013).

In conclusion, urban regeneration in George Town, Penang is framed by three factors, namely: the protections of cultural heritage and the environment, developer-friendly state government, and the pressure of the tourism-based market on heritage conservation.

4.2.3 Ipoh, the Old Town Attraction

According to a Malay legend, Ipoh was founded in the 1500s by a sea-captain of Sumatran Malay origin, who made his way up the Kinta River and built settlements along its banks. Dato' Panglima Kinta is said to be the Sumatran's descendant (Majlis Bandaraya Ipoh, 2016). Ipoh is the capital of Perak, one of the nine states that inherited the Malay Sultanate monarchy. According to a chronicle, the present Sultan of Perak is a descendant of the Malacca Sultanate (Ismail, 2015), which can be traced back to 1528 (sultannazrinshah.com webpage, retrieved 13/9/2019).

The current Sultan of Perak, who is also the current Deputy to The Yang Pertuan Agong (the King), is respected and admired for his many attributes, particularly academic and leadership. The Sultan holds a bachelor's degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) from the University of Oxford, a Master's Degree in Public Administration (Kennedy School of Government), and a Doctorate in Political Economy and Government, both from Harvard University (sultannazrinshah.com webpage, retrieved 13/9/2019). Among His other duties include the current Chancellor of the University of Malaya; a Trustee of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, University of Oxford; Honorary Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford; Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College and St. Edmund's College in Cambridge. An avid reader, His love for book has had him spotted in many occasions at local bookstores, and his willingness to queue to buy books is admired by the public (Andaya, 2018). He has authored several books related to the Malay Sultanate monarchy and Malaysia economic history. The Sultan also has a reputation for 'speaking his mind on matters of governance, judicial independence and maintenance of multicultural society' (Andaya, 2018).

Ipoh grew from a village settlement into a town in the 1880s, as a result of the booming tin mining activities in its surrounding areas (Tate & Chan, 2016). By 1890, it has 340 houses and a population of about 4,000 (Khoo and Lubis, 2005, pp. 188-190). The Old Town was officially established in 1892 after a third of the town's wooden buildings were destroyed in a great fire, and it was then rebuilt following a gridiron structure with shophouses reconstructed using bricks (Wee Lim Hew, Yoon Kin Tong and Guan GanGoh, 2014). The historic core of Ipoh old town is shown in

Figure 20.

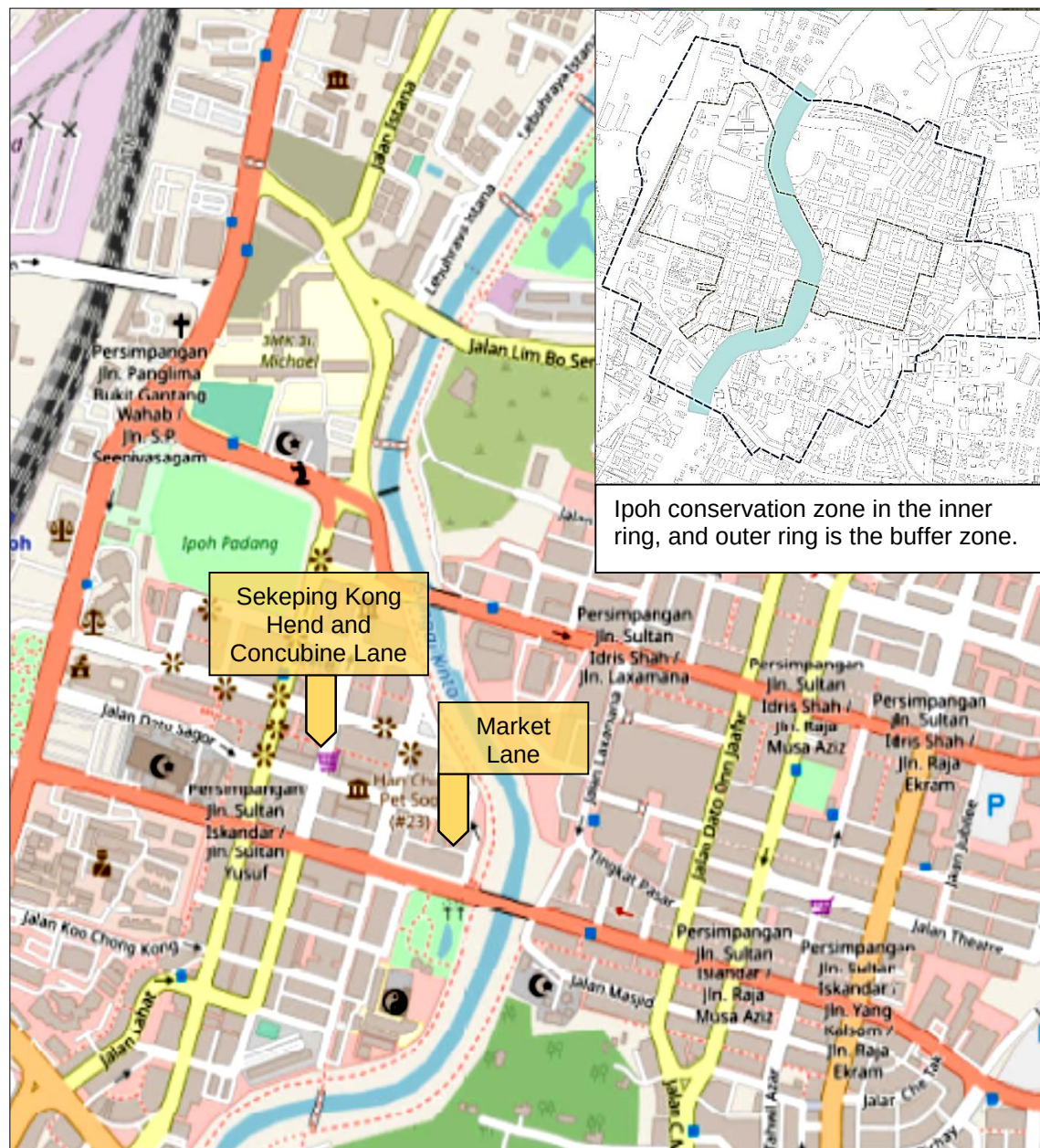


Figure 20 picture of Locations of projects observed in Ipoh are marked on the map. Sekeping Kong Heng, Concubine Lane and Market Lane are located within the conservation area. Map adapted from ©OpenStreetMap contributors. Insert map of the conservation area in Ipoh old town and the buffer zone (adapted from Ipoh Local Plan).

Known as the 'silver city' or 'the city that tin built', geographically, Ipoh sits on the Kinta Valley (Figure 21), with floors made of old alluvium rich with sedimentary tin ores, surrounded by scenic tropical karst of limestone towers and mine ponds from

the remains of the tin mining sites (Leman, 2013; Muhammad & Komoo, 2003). Spanning an area of 2000 square kilometres, covering three towns, namely Ipoh, Batu Gajah and Kampar, Kinta Valley limestone towers formed a magnificent cave system, which has naturally preserved historical records and heritage values from the geological, archaeological, historical, cultural and biological aspects (Leman, 2013; Muhammad & Komoo, 2003).



Figure 21 Ipoh city situated in Kinta Valley surrounded by limestone hills. Source: [istock.com/Ankorlight](https://www.istock.com/Ankorlight) (2018).

The richness of its nature can be seen, for example, in Gua Tambun, with a naturally preserved prehistoric rock art dating back to approximately 4,000 – 2,500 years ago (Goh et al., 2019) pictured in Figure 22, through a preserved vertebrate fossil in Gua Naga; in Gua Tempurung, which is a historic former mining site and was once used

as a sanctuary during the World War II (Mohamad Sidi Daud, 2017), the pencil rock monument and hot springs of Gunung Dato', as well as in the Buddhist and Hindu cave temples located within Gunung Rapat, with their magnificent stalagmites and stalactites (Muhammad & Komoo, 2003). The only known surviving tin dredge in the country is in Tanjung Tualang (Leman, 2013). Apart from that, there are various waterfalls and rapids, such as those found in the Kampar River, Lubuk Timah, Ulu Kinta and Ulu Chepor, within the vicinity.



Figure 22 Some of the geo-sites promoted as Kinta Valley National Park such as Gua Tambun (1) with prehistoric rock art (2), Gaharu Tea Valley (3) and a theme park – Lost World of Tambun built within the limestone cave area. Source: Author, 2017.

Ipoh town deteriorated rapidly with the decline of the tin mining activities in the late 1980s, and it was nicknamed the 'sleeping' old town. Ipoh City Council (ICC) and the State Government have been looking for ways to revitalize the old town. With advice from local and international consultants, two significant types of development were pursued: heritage and nature. Conservation centric urban regeneration and entertainment-focused development, such as the Movie Animation Park Studio (MAPS) and water theme park, were then introduced, with ICC showing an example by restoring the historic British Administration District in the old town. However, a bulk of the old town properties are privately owned, requiring a joint effort with their respective owners to restore their properties.

At the same time, the Minerals and Geoscience Department Malaysia (JMG) has taken steps to promote Kinta Valley as a National Geopark, a desperate move to protect the natural environment from being destroyed by the large scale and rampant quarry. Limestone quarrying activities, which gained popularity due to its economic benefits, have posed significant threats to Kinta Valley's unique natural environment, raising public concern. Research activities such as a detailed geological mapping for each geo-site; documentation of its history, culture, socioeconomic and archaeological aspects; as well as other research works within different fields were carried out as part of the preparation for the nomination. According to Leman (2013), Kinta Valley Geopark 'could become Malaysia's first geopark established through a "bottom-up" initiative by incorporating various keen stakeholders and providing a small budget to establish the management unit and necessary infrastructures'. On 25 October 2018, the Sultan of Perak graced Kinta

Valley's declaration as the National Geopark geology site (The Star Online, retrieved on 13/0/19).

Unlike KL and George Town with a speculative market pressure for the consumer society, Ipoh has a more relaxed market pace. The local people of Ipoh are often described as the 'money-minded people', 'old-fashioned, 'like value for money' (Artisan Homemade Bread Owner in New York Times, 04/03/2018), and known to have a preference for a 'budget-friendly lifestyle' (Shasswini Chandran in the Star Online, 2/10/2018). From a developer's perspective, 'Ipoh is a conservative market with homebuyers wanting to see a completed project before investing' (Star Online, 2/10/2018). Although Ipoh is the third-largest city in Malaysia after Kuala Lumpur and George Town, property price in Ipoh is comparatively cheap as 'it ranks at the tenth spot in Peninsular Malaysia, only ahead of the less urbanised states of Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu' (Chairman of Perak Chapter of Real Estates and Housing Developers' Association in Ipoh Echo dated 1/6/2012). According to Knox (2005), the relaxed pace of life and conviviality are both unfriendly to big business and globalisation, hence, facilitating the insider/local people's social construction of place. The slower the market pace and the fewer changes on the physical landscapes mean there is an increased ability of the place to retain a distinctive sense of place and sustain its social life.

With all discussed above, it can be concluded that urban regeneration in Ipoh is framed by a relaxed market pace, attitude of the locals who have a preference on an affordable cost of living, as well as geographical limitations on building heights

of both alluvia floor plane (dangers of sinkhole) and due to aviation air path.

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the first section of this chapter laid the overview of Malaysian history, the shift from a monarchy to a democratic parliament government, urbanisation in relation to social and economic development, and finally, the policy framework in relation to urban regeneration, development plan and spatial planning. Aggressive urban regeneration in the more urbanised states like Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Johor Bahru, as well as urban sprawl with the expansion of new towns beginning the 1990s, has led to the sanctioning and enforcement of the National Heritage Act in 2005. This symbolizes the increase in public awareness of the threats of uncontrolled and insensitive development. With the traditional practice of public participation embedded in the planning process, which provides limited access for the public to voice their concern and aspiration for the future of the cities, the grassroots begin to mobilize through civil societies and community groups to speak louder, so their voice in planning for the future are heard. The second section provided an introduction to all three cases studies, covering their brief history, economic background and urban regeneration approach. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5, 6 and 7.

CHAPTER FIVE

ACTORS, POWER RELATIONS AND GOVERNANCE IN PLACEMAKING PROCESS

5.0 Introduction

As the overall research goal to achieve a better understanding of the participatory placemaking process in the global south through three interconnected themes mentioned in chapter 2, the three following chapters: chapter 5, 6, and 7, offer the analysis of participatory placemaking in the urban centres of Kuala Lumpur, George Town, and Ipoh. As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.1.3), collaborative planning and public participation are the two essential foundations in participatory placemaking enabled by the changes in governance styles that support place-based policies. The former will be discussed in this chapter, while the latter, in the next chapter.

The way participatory placemaking is enabled in a locale was investigated through collaborative planning analysis by discussing the governance, actors, and collaboration platforms. There are four sections in this chapter. After the introduction, the following section explores the entry point of participatory placemaking in the regeneration of urban centres by examining place governance, the structure of authorities involved in conducting the process, and the way placemaking is understood in each case study. The second section identifies the actors involved, their roles and responsibilities, and the power capacity in steering

participatory placemaking. The third section examines power relations and negotiations between actors to advance their agenda in the placemaking process at the project level. The purpose is to understand power distribution and network power that emerges in the collaborative process, identify challenges in the implementation of placemaking project, and the actors' actions to overcome these challenges.

The final section concludes by reflecting on place governance, the actors involved, their capacity, and the challenges in implementing participatory placemaking at the project level within urban centre regeneration at all case study sites. The purpose is to identify similarities and differences in collaborative planning patterns at different places and the outcome of participatory placemaking formed by different governance configurations.

5.1 Place Governance and Urban Regeneration Agenda in Each Case Studies

Placemaking discourse in Kuala Lumpur, George Town, and Ipoh is uniquely shaped by the urban regeneration agenda, the structure of place governance, the actors, and their capacity linked to each city's political and social demographic. To develop an understanding of the implementation of the placemaking process at the project level, it is essential to unfold the governance framework within which the collaborative processes are enabled. As a key actor in urban governance, the local government institutions' capabilities and roles are crucial in coordinating public and private interests. Urban governance in locales within the same (national) political

culture may differ due to the competing purpose, goals of the city's policies, and actors' participation as determined by the specific configurations of governance processes (Pierre, 1999).

A local government in Malaysia falls under the Ministry of Housing and Local Government jurisdiction, as stipulated in the 1976 Local Government Act. With the suspension of the local government election in 1966, the local citizen loses their rights to decide on whom or which political party should represent them at the local councils (Manaf, Mohamed, & Lawton, 2016). As the subordinate to the state and federal government, the local authority is tied by hierarchal bureaucracies, limiting their ability to engage freely with the community and are often criticised for delays in service, weak policy implementation, and poor attitude (Manaf et al., 2016). The mayor is appointed by the state government for a 3-year term, with the primary role to lead the city council. The mayor also holds the executive power in the city council, but the state government determines the appointment of the executive committee and the number.

The decision-making process of the council is through a committee whose members are selected by the local authority. The number of department branches and units may vary in different local councils, which may also change over time. Still, the portfolio of these branches will cover the three main roles of the local authority, namely: to plan and spur development of the city, to control development planning and enforcement of policies, as well as to provide infrastructure, amenities, and services to its citizen. Different needs in the localities are reflected in the department

structure in the local authority. For example, in KLCH, there is a unit called Unit Rekabentuk dan Estetika Bandar (BREB) in English: Design and Urban Aesthetic Unit, which as the name implies, oversees urban design projects, while in PICC, there is a Heritage and Conservation Department that is in charge of controlling conservation and development proposals within the conservation area. With regards to the urban regeneration agenda, the planning department is in charge of preparing development plans and manage development control, while different departments carry out the implementation of the project according to their respective expertise. For example, the landscape department for parks and landscaping, the engineering department for road works, and the architecture department on buildings matters.

The urban regeneration agenda in each case study briefly discussed in chapter 2 is further elaborated in this section. The focus is on understanding the way these agendas shaped the implementation of the placemaking process, the structure of the authorities enabling this process and the types of projects defined as placemaking. During fieldwork, it was apparent that decisions made at the project level, following a series of community engagements, meetings, and focus group activities conducted by relevant departments in the local authority, were not guaranteed successful implementations of placemaking projects. It is often subject to approval by the higher management in the local authority, who, more often than not, are constrained by regulations, a larger urban agenda, and 'the rule of the game'. Hence, there is a need to revisit the past that shaped the current situation and the ongoing conflict within multi-level governance and horizontal state tradition,

which produce different policy choices and outcomes, as mentioned by Pierre (1999).

5.1.1 Kuala Lumpur towards a World-Class City

The Federal Territory of KL covers 243sq km, with a population of 1.67 million people in 2010, composed of 91% Malaysian citizens (38% Malay, 43% Chinese and 10% Indian), and 9% non-citizens (Census 2010). The primary economic sector in KL is made up of business services, finance, insurance and property estate, followed by wholesale trade, retail, food and beverage, as well as hospitality. The structure plan highlighted a significant drop in the number of people living in the city between 1991-1997. The depopulation's main attribute was the exhaustion of affordable housing and not due to the lack of job opportunities.

The urban regeneration agenda for KL is propelled towards achieving standards at par with developed countries. Kuala Lumpur strives to attract local and global talents to live, work, and play in the city. Demands for efficient infrastructure and facilities accelerate urban development and city-centre regeneration, favouring a mixed development of highrise and commercial buildings. There are 'some 40 malls expected to be ready between now (2019) and 2020 in Greater KL alone' (Kumar, 2019). KL metropolitan city is administered by a regulatory body known as Kuala Lumpur City Hall (KLCH). Unlike other states in Malaysia, KLCH reports directly to the Ministry of Federal Territories (FTM), who appoints the Mayor. The function of FTM is similar to that of the state government in other Malaysian states; to coordinate planning and development in its jurisdiction.

In relation to urban regeneration, FTM coordinates the economic development and urbanisation plans for KL through several flagship projects, hiring international consultants such as AECOM as the lead consultant for the ROL project and Grant Associates UK as one of 11 consultants for the TRX City. KLCH, as the local authority and the landowner on behalf of the public, is put in a power struggle between being a subordinate to FTM and managing urbanism aspects, such as servicing and protecting citizens' interests, especially when there is public disapproval on some aspects of projects by FTM.

In 2015, a memorandum of understanding was signed between KLCH and Think City Sdn. Bhd., to work closely on 'placemaking' projects, described as 'building upon local community knowledge, aspirations and ideas to create public spaces that promote a more livable city' (KL Mayor speech during the MoU signing, 16/1/2015). Through this MoU, a series of space activation projects were implemented, namely: cultural events in Medan Pasar and Micro-housing exhibitions for the World Urban Forum 2018, upgrading of several back lanes, Arts-on-the-Move in Masjid Jamek LRT station, Laman Tun Perak pocket park and Laman Medan Tunku park. KL speeds the journey out of the developing world where 'architecture and urban design becomes a symbol of national transformation' (Bunnell, 1999).

In an opening speech for the Urban Design Idea Exhibition organised by Think City on 20/07/2017, the Deputy Director of Kuala Lumpur City Hall called for various actors' involvement in creating a socially sustainable and liveable city through collaboration in the tangible and crucially, intangible aspects of development.

'There are so many aspects to be considered for the city to be liveable... another aspect that we keep forgetting is the need for a space to have a soul and create a sense of belonging for the space to be meaningful. Kuala Lumpur City Hall could not do it all alone. I often tell my friends, the city is enlarging and has outnumbered the caretakers. We are focusing too much on the tangible or physical aspect of the development. Eventually what we have now are concrete jungles without soul and a sense of belonging. The city needs helping hands from the communities, agencies, professionals, NGOs, universities, and developers to collaborate with us. To explore, especially the intangible aspects of development, which is the more crucial ingredient in sustaining the liveability of the city.'

Her speech called for greater involvement of the general public from all sorts of fields and backgrounds, strengthening the city's soul, feeling belong, and working in togetherness on the intangible aspects of city-making. She also highlighted the reality faced by KLCH, who are outnumbered incapacity to manage the fast-growing city.

In short, the placemaking process in Kuala Lumpur is framed within an urban regeneration agenda that is highly federal-led, with highly speculative development pressure leading to inflating land values and an increase in the rich-and-poor gap of the globalised and multicultural city inhabitants. The conflict between the governing body (KLCH) and the higher Federal Territory Ministry (FTM) in authority makes the responsibility to manage the city a struggle of power.

5.1.2 George Town, Penang towards a Sustainable World Heritage Site

The east coast of Penang Island, where George Town is located, covers 119sq km with a population of 520,242 people, consisting of 93% Malaysian citizens and 7%

non-citizens (Census 2010). The citizens' ethnic composition comprises 42% Bumiputera, 41% Chinese and 10% Indian. The primary economic sector in George Town WHS is commercial based, which includes retails, offices, leisure and entertainment, wholesale, restaurants, cafés and food courts. A demographic study by Think City between 2009 and 2013 saw a population drop of 20%, which resulted from a significant number of traditional families moving out from the waterfront areas, jetty communities and tourists' precincts in the years following the inscription of WHS.

The urban regeneration agenda for George Town is driven towards achieving a sustainable World Heritage Site. Development based on tourism and the maintenance of heritage values must be in balance. Penang's strong network of civil societies has continuously built public awareness to safeguard the cultural heritage and the built environment. These efforts bore fruits when more local heritage buildings such as the Khoo Kongsi, the Lebuah Aceh Malay Mosque, the Kapitan Keling Mosque, and the middle-class homes in Muntri Street and Armenian Street were restored by the local community, the respective associations or properties' caretakers and the property owners. In some cases, like the Kapitan Keling Mosque and middle-class homes, the conservation projects collaborated with Think City, receiving partial fundings and consultation from conservation experts having a network with the organisation. In fact, some of these conservation works, such as the Cheong Fatt-Tze Mansion, also known as The Blue Mansion, have received international awards. Pressure from the tourism industry has forced the state government to find ways to strengthen it to be at par with the international standards

and place the agenda as the primary economic source in the Penang Structure Plan 2020 (PSP). Four programs and projects have been identified to realise Penang's tourism potentials: Private Sector Investments, Historical Heritage Products, Eco-tourism, and Malaysia My Second Home program.

According to Jenkins and King (2003), there is still a lack of understanding among the general population on what entails heritage conservation. Due to this, conservation has not been included in many regeneration projects, resulting in the demolition of old buildings and loss of heritage values (Said, Aksah, & Ismail, 2013). In 2009, Khazanah Nasional Berhad (Khazanah), by the Malaysian government's investment arm, set up Think City Sdn. Bhd - a non-profit organisation (NPO), to play a role in the urban regeneration of the WHS. RM20 million was allocated to Think City by the Ministry of Finance to launch the George Town Grants Program (GTGP), embracing the concept of community-based development. The GTGP is a public grant program providing financial support to individuals or organisations who aim to improve the city either through the physical improvement of heritage buildings or through cultural activities that strengthen community ties (Think City Website). Think City acts as a boundary spanner between the local government and the community, with the ability to reach out to the community while sitting on the same platform with decision-makers to plan for the WHS future.

Think City builds capacities by the partnership with local organisations and international companies, such as Penang Heritage Trust on heritage and conservation, Arts-ED on cultural heritage and cultural mapping, and George Town

World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) on heritage management. On the international front, it collaborates with organisations such as PPS from the US on placemaking, Capire from Australia on community engagement, Ausheritage from Australia on conservation in the historic core, as well as the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) on heritage management and master planning of the WHS. The partnership between Think City, AKTC, and the state government was strengthened by signing a 3-year MoU through the George Town Conservation and Development Corporation (GTCDC) to provide technical assistance for the protection, development, and enhancement of George Town WHS. Through GTCDC, a Strategic Master Plan (SMP) was produced. Apart from that, significant projects in the heritage zones such as public realm improvements, namely the Armenian Park and backlanes, Esplanade drainage and subsoil improvement, China Street Ghaut streetscape upgrading, and restoration of the Fountain Garden, were identified (the Malay mail online, 21/12/2018).

The emergence of Think City has marked a strong entry of the placemaking process in the WHS urban regeneration that begins with the GTGP. However, an earlier community-based approach could be traced back to the works of the Arts-ED and Penang Heritage Trust (PHT). Arts-ED engaged youth and young children on place-based arts and culture programs by involving local community members to build awareness of culture and heritage. While PHT significantly contributed to the WHS nomination documentation, promoting heritage conservation, aside from facilitating cultural educational programs and public awareness programs.

In conclusion, the placemaking discourse in George Town is framed within an urban regeneration effort with a robust conflicting agenda between the state governments' mega-development for tourism, conservation of heritage values by the local and international organisation for tourism industry, as well as local community's resilience to the increasing cost of living and tourism market pressure within the heritage sites. One of the two parties in conflict is the developer-friendly state government, which holds the legitimate power in managing the state and often steer the developments towards high profile projects. Most of the state government's mega project proposals, such as Pulau Jerejak redevelopment to a high-density resort island, the Penang South Reclamation (PSR), and the Penang Transport Master Plan (PTMP) are outside of the WHS protected areas boundary. However, it is often under the scrutiny of Penang civil societies or non-profit organisations (NGOs). Penang NGOs are known nationally as vocal and vibrant civil society networks advocating for participatory governance. They are committed to protecting the natural environment and heritage to ensure its sustainability for future generations.

5.1.3 Ipoh towards a Sustainable, Dynamic, and Progressive City

Ipoh town covers 255.2sq km, with a population of 4,644 people in 2010, which is composed of 93% Malaysian citizens (19% Malay, 65% Chinese, and 16% Indian), and 7% non-citizens (Census 2010). The main economic source for Ipoh is the commercial sector, consisting of retails, wholesales, services, businesses, hospitality, as well as food and beverages. The Ipoh Special Area Plan 2020 highlighted that the current trend in Ipoh population drop would continue if there is

no strategic economic stimulation in future development. The SAP 2020 provides an alternative to increasing the population to 23,550 residents in 2030 through the 8 Entry Point Projects (EPP).

EPP1 Conservation of heritage buildings and monuments

EPP2 Conservation-centric urban regeneration of heritage zones, such as in Jalan Dato' Maharaja Lela, Jalan Panglima, Lorong Panglima and Jalan Bijih Timah

EPP3 Green network development along the Kinta River

EPP4 Heritage Trail from the Kinta River to the New Town

EPP5 Little India Cultural Zone

EPP6 Brownfield development in train-line reserve (Keretapi Tanah Melayu reserve), Kampung Kuchai and Kampung Jawa.

EPP7 Upgrading of traffic, circulation and green networks, as well as improving the image of the town.

EPP8 Upgrading of infrastructure and utility.

The urban regeneration agenda of Ipoh is directed towards improving the quality of life of its people through the upgrading of its physical infrastructure, conservation of heritage buildings and monuments, as well as introducing a higher density development in the buffer zone of the heritage area. A conservation-centric approach is adopted, believing that it will tempt local Malaysian tourists to stop for a short stay, as Ipoh is strategically located between two major cities (Penang on the north and KL on the south). It is also targeting to attract tourists from neighbouring countries, such as Indonesia, Singapore and China. Ipoh and Kinta Valley's tin mining history has a strong cultural link with China, as most tin miners were originally from there during the British occupation.

To pursue the conservation-centric regeneration, a series of dialogues between the council, property owners, stakeholders, state government and project custodians such as JMG has been conducted (refer Star Online coverage on Panglima Lane 30/8/2010, 9/10/2011, and 12/9/2011, see also Goh et al., 2019 and Leman, 2013 for Kinta Valley National Geopark). A respondent (Activist Landscape Architect, Ipoh, male, 54, interviewed on 10/6/2017) who pioneered the conservation of an old hostel for theatre performers (Sekeping Kong Heng) in the old town with controversial architectural tectonic, recounts the dialogue with the state government:

'They (the government) came and consulted us (the creative industry people) on how we can activate the little corner in Ipoh. So, when the opportunity came up, the block belonging to the Straits Trading Company (a very big tin mining company) was for sale, just based on blind faith we bought it over, thinking how we can use something like this as a catalyst to generate the economy, especially in the city centre where the old town is forgotten, buildings are dilapidated, nobody has any pride in the city anymore.'

Sekeping Kong Heng, which has won an international accolade as 'the world's top 10 industrial-chic hotels and hostel by The Guardian' (the Edge Property online, 25/4/2016), is fast becoming a new attraction in Ipoh and able to entice crowds to the old town area. Ipoh town began to get worldwide attention, getting several recognitions such as the 9th best city to retire in the world (US News and World Report, 2013), the 3rd Cheapest City to retire in the world (US News and World Report, 2013), the 4th Best Country to retire in the world (Time Magazine, 2014), the 6th Best Place to Visit in Asia (Lonely Planet, 2016), the 9th Best Region to Visit

in the World (Lonely Planet, 2017) and the Best Local Government in Malaysia (Ministry of Housing and Local Government of Malaysia, 2017).

The Kinta Valley's natural landscape, surrounded by limestone hills forming magnificent cave system, rivers, hot springs, lakes and ponds shaped by the mining dredging activities, is also seen as an asset by the government. For a long time, these sites were managed by small scale business communities in isolation from one another. Simultaneously, in many years, the state government has allowed for unsustainable large scale and rampant natural resources utilisation through the limestone quarry. A respondent (Activist Landscape Architect Ipoh, male, 54, interviewed on 10/6/2017) described that 'the easiest way for the government to generate money is to mine and sell sand in Sungai Perak and Sungai Kinta, also to mine limestone hills and sell to Kuala Lumpur or Selangor for the construction industry'.

To protect the Kinta Valley limestone hills from further destruction, the Minerals and Geoscience Department (JMG) Perak started the efforts in 2014 to get the limestone network of Kinta Valley listed as a UNESCO World Heritage for Natural Site. But first, it needs to be listed as the National Geopark. According to a respondent (Politician Ipoh, female, 42, 13/07/2017), the agenda to be listed as a national geopark is crucial, not only to protect the natural resources but also to create job opportunities for the local community, promote local products, and rejuvenate nearby towns such as Ipoh. The state of Perak is already the proud home of the Lenggong Valley, a WHS situated 100km from Ipoh, where an 11,000-year-old

skeleton was discovered. Another dossier has also been submitted to list the Royal Belum State Park in Gerik as a WHS.

In short, the placemaking process in Ipoh is situated within a conservation-centric urban regeneration agenda framed by a larger community-based Eco-tourism agenda, that places people's wellbeing as its main objective. As Ipoh is a low-density city with the locals having a preference for an affordable cost of living, the citizens are known to be resistant to speculative market forces. Having said that, the urban regeneration agenda proposed by the government suits the citizens' lifestyle, and this maintains a mutual understanding of economic development. The project implementation, geared towards a conservation-centric development, has opened up avenues for community engagement. Hence, the urban regeneration efforts, pioneered as a top-down exercise by ICC, were subsequently joined by business and property owners bottom-up initiatives motivated by the success stories of heritage tourism trends in George Town and Melaka.

5.2 Actors in Collaborative Planning, source of power and Placemaking Process

The previous section provides an overview of the case studies' contextual characteristics, within which the placemaking approach is practised. The nexus of the government-private/business companies-civil societies and the nature of their relationship strongly influence the placemaking process and the agenda of the urban centre regeneration.

This section discusses the relationship among the actors involved in the placemaking process at the project level and their encounters with the actors at the urban governance level. The actors' roles and their source of power greatly influence their steering capacity in the placemaking process, affecting a project's outcome. As these actors repetitively convene in several other partnerships, a new type of power, known as the network power, developed; as a result, allowing a flow of power-sharing among the actors (Booher & Innes, 2002). Network power contributes to constructing shared meaning, fostering cooperative efforts among actors, and advancing the participatory placemaking process.

With reference to the discussion in chapter 2 (section 2.1.3), to reach a higher level of urban governance based on co-governance, sharing and cooperative spirit, the actors should comprise of representatives from these five groups: (1) citizens, entrepreneurs, digital innovators, urban regenerators, and urban innovators; (2) public authorities; (3) businesses; (4) civil society organisations; and (5) knowledge institutions, including universities, schools, and cultural academies (Iaione, 2016).

The spectrum of actors in the placemaking process is described in both vertical and horizontal levels called Type I and Type II governance by Hooghe and Marks (2003). A vertical level (Type I) refers to the connection of particular actor groups with higher or lower capacity in a collaboration, which a respondent described consisted of 'stakeholders from top to bottom, from organisations to stakeholders' (Tourism Manager Georgetown, male, 41, 16/03/2017, Academician-Consultant Planner, male, 44, 27/05/2017). Horizontally (Type II) describes the variety of actors in the

community, including representatives of the community in the form of associations, groups and individuals such as property and business owners, tenants, host community, society groups, professional organisations and individuals (Think City Penang Officer 1, male, 43, 22/07/2017).

Several respondents say that ‘everyone has the responsibility to play their role in developing the city to make good, liveable and sustainable cities (ICC Planner 1, male, 50, 23/07/2017; Think City Penang Officer 2, male, 45, 14/03/2017 and PHT Activist, female, 52, 15/03/07). In defining ‘everyone’, the public organisation–private corporations–community nexus is most mentioned by the respondents. A public organisation is generally described as the government, including the federal, state, and local government and other government agencies that provide services to the public. On the other hand, private Corporations is described as profit-making motivated companies, such as developers, investors, and business corporations. In defining community, several respondents have highlighted three community groups: the ‘host’ community (Conservation Consultant Penang, female, 52, 21/07/2017), the general community (Think City Penang Officer 1, male, 43, 22/07/2017), and groups or individuals with similar interest or roles.

5.2.1 The Local Government

The local government is identified as the main actor in the placemaking process by several respondents (Think City Penang Officer 1, male, 43, 22/07/2017; Academician-Consultant Planner, male, 44, 25/07/2017; and Arts-ED Culture Activist 1, female, 54, 27/03/2017). The local government's power capacity is tied to

its rights to establish and enforce laws and regulations (Purdy, 2012) while providing services to the public in both physical and social aspects (Manaf et al., 2016). The local government's source of power is legitimate authority, bestowed with the 'power over' (an authority to dictate and gets to decide on an issue), 'power to' (the capacity to move action), and 'power for' (an authority to sanction the participation of the marginalised). The legitimate authority power is crucial for the government to fulfil its role and responsibility in its physical and social services, including planning and controlling development according to the Town and Country Planning Act 1976, structure plan, local plan and area plan.

From one of the respondent's points of view, the visions and plans for a city and its implementation are made up of several stages: the thinking process, the construction, the programming, and the project's maintenance. It involves a lot of work that could be shared among the actors (PHT Heritage Activist, female, 52, 15/03/2017). Some projects require strong institutional involvement (apart from the government) during the thinking process, and most importantly (thinking) about programming and maintaining the project (Think City Penang Officer 2, male, 45, 14/03/2017). The thinking process is crucial in planning, both at the macro-level city planning and the micro-level intervention projects in a specific place. Hence, having various actors' input in this stage critically stretches the angle of discussion (PHT Heritage Activist, female, 52, 15/03/2017). This acts as a 'check and balance' tool, enhancing the legitimacy of the decision made (Stokowski, 2002).

As a regulator, the local government controls and enforces the law. Ideally, strict law

enforcement with hefty fines is needed to get the public's compliance (Think City KL Officer 1, male, 41, 31/03/2017). Law enforcer should be clean from corruption avoid manipulation by investors (Academician-Consultant Planner, male, 44, 25/07/2017). In providing social services to the local communities, the local government is responsible for providing necessary infrastructures, such as street lighting and road repairs, and assisting in and facilitating community programs (Manaf et al., 2016). However, some arguments arose on the communication effectiveness between the local government and the local community to genuinely understand its needs.

'So, yes, they can maintain and sustain the physical. But why did they (the government) lose the other part of their role? The placemaking part? Why? Because they became bureaucratic and they are not from that place... Even when you are maintaining the physical, you don't want to interact with the people, I would say, there's no placemaking, there's only space maintenance.'

Arts-ED Culture Activist 1, female, 54, (27/03/2017)

'Each culture has their own response to space...Planners are starting to communicate with the community... but how the planners then translate what was being said? They find nice sites and want to make it prettier for people to come and enjoy, but that prettiness might be devaluing for the community that is there... Those things keep happening to meaningful places. Placemaking, if the planners do come and talk, they are not talking to the community... They are not seeing what it is like, so it's failing.'

Conservation Consultant Penang, female, 52, (21/07/2017)

In a historic urban centre, creating meaningful places becomes challenging, as there might be conflicts between the demand from the tourism industry and the needs of the local community. Hence, communication with the 'right' people in the community,

such as the host community and the community interpreters that understand the local cultural practices and meaning, is imperative to balance both pressures.

5.2.2 Private Companies, Property Owners, Business Owners

Private companies with substantial capital and resources play an essential role in developing cities. In fact, private companies were encouraged by the federal government to play an active role with the launch of Vision 2020. Most respondents acknowledged the capacity of private companies. Still, they were also cautious of developer-oriented development risks with the sole interest of encouraging consumption at the cost of environmental sustainability and cultural heritage conservation.

'It's good to get some private corporations (involvement). It's not just about funding, but also networking and their human resources... For example, if we want to construct a park and have the material, we do not have the human resource to construct. So, maybe through collaboration with other (private) organisations, they could send in their contractors to help us with no charges.'

(GTWHI Officer 1, male, 34, 26/04/2017)

Capitals such as tangible resources (financial, people, technology and supplies), and intangible resources (knowledge, culture and capabilities), can put an actor at an advantage in using resource power to influence other actors for their benefits. This increases the dependency of different actors on the resource-powered actors in a collaborative process (Purdy, 2012). Some civil society groups do not favour a close relationship between the local government and the developers. Several respondents described such relationships might lead to developer-oriented

developments, placing profit-making before the public's interest (Homestay Owner Ipoh, male, 65, 13/07/2017; Museum Curator Ipoh, male, 75 14/07/2017). A government system that is friendly to developers creates a 'capitalism framework that gives priorities to people with the capital but freeing them from social responsibilities because there is no mechanism to hold them responsible' (Academician-Consultant Planner George Town, male, 44, 25/07/2017). According to Purdy (2012), actors with financial resources often behave as if they hold power, while those lacking them typically feel disempowered, even if they have alternative sources of power available. Interviews with a few business owners have revealed two important dimensions of profit-making, first is strict money monitoring in private companies to ensure the full utilisation of the money spent, and second, is to get a return on the investment made, with no hesitation to cut corners as a last resort.

'To be honest with you, the dollars and cents count, otherwise, you can't move. So, I try at best to keep the old, but then you need to cut some corners you see. Fortunately, they were not strict then, but now they are cleaning out our net, those council guys.'

Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60 (9/06/2017)

In the context of historic urban centres, conservation and preservation of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage need to be considered in new developments or interventions. New developments must be carried out with careful planning and not in haste, and profit from the 'tourism industry should be able to subsidise conservation' (PHT Heritage Activist, female, 52, 15/03/2017).

'Actually, it is not about dealing with the changes, but dealing with the people who are in a hurry to make changes. So, these are the politicians and the businessman. As soon as something is not going according to their economic indicators, they feel it's time to change... they are not looking at social indicators, and they are not looking at environmental indicators.'

Arts-ED Culture Activist, female, 54 (27/03/2017)

'I think this type of gentrification is never easy. Mass tourism is definitely a problem like we have seen in Melaka, Penang, and now we see it in Ipoh. People who have certain influence and power, who own properties, and local authorities with bylaws to abide by and property owners should be more enlightened. If all of us are enlightened, we can take on the pressure of this mass tourism that is coming in. But if we are not enlightened, we do the wrong things. We might destroy the heritage. I am very, very disappointed with Concubine Lane. It has lost its character. We are partly to blame for it, but it's beyond our control. I would do it differently. I would at least curate the tenants. I would not allow the tenants to do the type of things they are doing—turning it into a theme park. Re-reveal all the interesting parts of the buildings, of course, the colour they use I will control. Those are things needing a lot of education and awareness.'

Activist Landscape Architect Ipoh, male, 54 (10/06/2017)

Understanding heritage conservation and new interventions in historic urban centres are somewhat inconsistent between property owners, business owners, architects and civil societies. This is reflected in the physical setting's renovation. Some promote building preservation - bringing buildings back to their original condition, and some believe in adaptive-reuse - incorporating new architectural style in the old buildings. Some respondents saw the need to curate property owners' ideas, highlighting that it should be the government's responsibility. An imbalance in power distribution, where the economic indicator is deemed more important than the environmental and social indicators, might lead to unsustainable development and

loss of heritage values in historic urban centre development.

5.2.3 The Community

For this research, the community refers to the host community, including residents or business people and community associations. In reality, this community is 'demographically multicultural with the features of difference, otherness and plurality' (Healey, 2006b; Sandercock, 2000, 2004). This 21st-century community is complex, diverse and dynamic (Meadowcroft, 2007).

In defining the community, respondents often described the rich but conflicting characters within members in the community such as host community – tourist community (Conservation Consultant Penang, female, 52, 21/07/2017; Academician Landscape Architect, female, 37, 19/05/2017) the local community – immigrants (Think City Penang Officer 3, female, 34, 18/12/2016; Think Squad/Student, female, 32, 7/8/2017), Malay community – Chinese or Indian community (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 27/7/2017), and the property owner – tenants (Arts-ED Cultural Activist, female, 54, 27/3/2017). Conflicts within the community members raised the issue of whose voice, needs and aspiration should be addressed. Achieving a consensus, especially in a multicultural community, is challenging and time-consuming (KCLH Architect 2, male, 35, 1/8/2017). 'It is a big and tiring work because you need to achieve a common ground, a common say between people with different priorities' (Academician Landscape Architect, female, 37, 19/5/2017).

There are two different views on how to work with the community mentioned by the interviewed professional placemakers. The first (mostly from the local authority respondents group) favours working closely with the community's formal associations. They see the formal associations representing strong and united communities. The members place their full trust in the association leadership (KLCH Architect 2, male, 35, interviewed on 1/8/2017; Think City Penang Officer 3, female, 34, 18/12/206). Engaging with the community becomes something that could be selective in terms of which associations and groups to work with to speed things up (KLCH Architect 2, male, 35, 1/8/2017):

'In the future, we need to connect with the community through associations because we could get reliable information from them since they are the representative of the community. They could be our speakers to their members. We don't have to approach each individual ourselves. The key connector will be the association. But, there will be a problem if the association disagrees with us. Then, we need to find another complying association.'

The second view is mostly from the community-based institutions or urban regenerators (Think City, Sekeping Kong Heng Group and Arts-ED), stressing the importance to identify the 'social leader' or the gate-keeper of the community, especially for places where formal associations are non-existence or places where the community groups are in conflict with each other. A baseline study to identify the community's composition is needed and not relying solely on any formal data provided by the associations or the local authority.

'The moment we do a project, we map people, and the need for the project. Like Chowrasta, we do have different types of people (in the marketplace). Different places have different combinations. I would generally tell you that we will find out who the social group leader is, not the formal leader. We also look

deeper, we hear from them, you know, the people.'

Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40, (14/3/2017)

'Community wise, you would start with bigger associations, everything from clan associations to - depending on the context, whatever board, down to wakaf. These are obviously very important institutions that need to be engaged in the process for multiple reasons. One of which is that they obviously are there by the masses, leading, or maybe potential catalytic revitalising projects. So that's very important.'

Think City Penang Officer 1, male, 43, (22/7/2017)

The role of a community association, such as resident and retail associations, is to represent the collective voice of individuals in the community, making it stronger and louder. The voice of an association appears as though a consensus has been achieved by its members, deserting the thought that there might be a silent minority. The associations make it easier for the local authority to disseminate information by shifting the responsibility of reaching individuals in the community to the association. In fact, some respondents made it sound as though the local council will only entertain community issues through associations because the basis is more concrete, 'even to oppose the local plan, should be made through association because it is more concrete' (ICC Planner 1, male, 55, 8/6/2017).

'When we have meetings with the council, state government and all, they said instead of dealing with individuals; they asked us to form a committee. An ad-hoc committee. They (the members) decided that I should be the chairman because I own more properties and could ease communication. I could speak loudly – of course, we had a lot of negotiations and bargaining. That is how the association was formed.'

Property Owner Concubine Lane Ipoh, male, 60 (9/6/2017)

'I think residence associations are a great idea because... the thing with community groups is that people who are interested in something that gets involved... It's not just a normal person... It's maybe not even 10% of the population.... They can apply pressure to get things done the way they wanted to be done, but they need guidance.'

Think City KL Officer 1, male, 41 (31/3/2017)

The most crucial role of a citizen is to build a sense of ownership and belonging among the community members. The absence of community ownership often leads to failure in sustaining projects, especially those projects initiated by the local authorities or other outside parties. The business community in the historic core is more motivated to maintain and promote their area to attract more visitors because it brings profit. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

In gentrified areas where community ownership is lost, efforts to rebuild the community are sometimes initiated by the local authority or community-based institutions or urban regenerators. These efforts come in different names, such as space activation or 'placemaking'. Think City Officer, male, 36 (20/4/2017) mentioned that some of the 'placemaking' projects in George Town did not sustain, as 'too much dependency on the community was not practical because tenants change, circumstances change.' Community preparedness and willingness to take part in a placemaking project is crucial. Some respondents believe that placemaking projects can be successful and sustainable if the community either initiate the project or participate in the projects from the early stages (ICC Planner 3, male, 55, 8/6/2017):

'When certain things are not sustainable, it means that the surrounding people are not prepared to receive new things or the programs. One example of a sustainable project is pasar karat (vintage market) in Ipoh Old Town, which started naturally by them (public/community). The council came in to assist by providing a better place and environment. It is successful and continuous. The community has participated at an early stage.'

Some activists who work with the community stressed the importance of letting the community resolve internal issues before helping them with the technical issues. Allowing the community to resolve their internal issues instils a sense of belonging across community members, such as the youth, women, children, elderlies, immigrants and ex-pats, through their collective efforts. Some respondents suggested empowering the community to plan for their neighbourhood, which will build a sense of ownership. This could be done by providing channels for their involvement throughout the planning process (Think City Penang Officer 2, male, 45, 14/3/2017), which include crowdsourcing for budget (Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40, 14/03/2017) and amplifying of community voice by having a representative from the resident association as an official in the local council (Think City KL Officer 1, male, 41, 31/3/2017).

'For a more evolved placemaking, maybe you would expect the community itself have to find some way, like, even like crowdsourcing, like what we're doing now. Because it's a collective effort.'

Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40 (14/3/2017)

'It is based on the community's needs and efforts, to wanting to be part of the urban improvement program. We believe that if people need some kind of improvements, they have to be part of that process and take ownership of it. In the form of improvement, the driver should be the community themselves, that is one of the things that we try to encourage.'

Think City Penang Officer 2, male, 45 (14/3/2017)

Engaging the local community in the placemaking process may bring out tacit knowledge about the place, as experienced by the local people who live, work and have a close relationship with their physical environment. This helps other actors understand the place from their perspectives to induce social values in placemaking and decision-making (Petts & Brooks, 2006; Rydin, 2007). However, the community sometimes lacks technical knowledge, especially in environmental planning and policy, which deters their active participation in planning for their place. Empowering the community also comes with opening individuals' minds through the willingness to learn and being educated formally and informally.

5.2.4 Community-based Institutions and Urban Regenerator

The role of community-based institutions and urban regenerators in the placemaking process is receiving more attention in Malaysia, often labelling themselves as non-profit organisations (NPOs). According to Hou and Rious (2003), community-based efforts may evolve from a grassroots movement, protesting in resistance to the government, towards a movement helping to revitalise local communities from economic and social decline. Often, on the latter, these institutions collaborate with the local authority through small scale and quick-win community-based projects aimed to uplift public spaces.

Think City and Arts-ED are two known advocates of placemaking efforts during fieldwork. The former view placemaking as space activation through programs/events and/or physical intervention, and the latter view placemaking as a holistic urban regeneration process. These institutions often actively promote their

efforts through social media. Having institutions such as Think City is advantageous because with their ability to engage both the community and the local authority, Think City acts as a neutral party, creating a level platform for two-way communication, especially when there are conflicting parties. This is the reason an NPO is sometimes sought after as partners in a collaboration. According to a respondent:

'In 2010, a state-run company, the George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), was registered. While this position gave the management office a locus standing within government, it faces some difficulties in functioning as an independent body being chaired by the Chief Minister and administered by a Municipal Officer. Bureaucratic limitations often tie down efforts to manage, monitor, and promote the site, and political authorities tend to further fuel investment trends. To their credit, the GTWHI has tried to circumvent this problem by collaborating with NPOs and corporate partners to outsource projects that are beyond their resource capacity.'

(Arts-ED Cultural Activist, female, 54, 27/3/2017)

Community entrepreneurs advocating arts and culture programs play a role in building communities while offering venues to promote cottage industries or home-based products. For example, the once run-down bus depot, Hin-Bus Depot in George Town is now an uplifted popular venue for the pop-up market, art gallery space and is also used to host resident artist. Happy Eight hotel group turn derelict structures into rentable accommodation while promoting art fusion of the old and the new in the architecture and interior space.

5.2.5 Educational Institutions or Educational Volunteer

Knowledge institutions, including universities, schools, and cultural academies, are important actors in the placemaking process. Their leading role in research and publication helps to create awareness and educate all layers of the community. Publication in journal articles is a credible source of information and data, useful when debating specific issues. Books, magazines and newspaper columns are the everyday source of information. Brochures disseminate information in a compact and handy form, especially for tourists and travellers who need a brief introduction regarding an area of interest. While across the board, knowledge building is much needed, from empowering the youth for the continuity of culture and heritage, exposing necessary technical knowledge to the community, and incorporating new skills to gather tacit knowledge for professionals and people in power. The youth 'need to be exposed to the traditional arts, culture and heritage to appreciate the older generation's struggles and their sense of existence in the place' (Hotel Managing Director Market Street Ipoh, male, 54 July 4, 2017). Learning should also be extended outside of the classroom into the 'real world', connecting the youth with their surrounding environment and other people in the community.

'The youth learning activities and the process is a platform for interconnectivity and enriches their skills, such as research, photography and communication skills. Through various programs, the youth will understand who they are, their roles and how they are connected with the community, all of which will guide them to be a better citizen.'

Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40 (14/03/2017).

Respondents from academia called for creativity in education and industrial exposure for future planners and designers to meet the new 21st-century society's

challenge. The current planning education approach is blamed for failing to respond to the city's increasing cultural diversity. Planners are unable to analyse issues from a multicultural perspective or to design participatory exercises that bring racial and ethnic groups into the planning process (Sandercock, 2000). New skills must be incorporated into education to make planners more sensitive to cities' emotional economies as to the political economies. To become more alert to city senses, citizens' desires as they are to the infrastructures, and curious about the spirit of place as they are to the capital economies (Sandercock, 2004).

'To do something different, you must start with educating the young people in a different way. People who are in the industry long must show the way for young people and give them the opportunity to learn. All these little community projects that I am trying to start are also part of my teaching methodology. You don't just lecture students, but get them involved, build together so they will feel, 'hey, we can actually create our own project'... Things like that need to go into our education system, empowering the young people to get away from their constrained (learning) environment.'

Activist Landscape Architect Ipoh, male, 54 (10/06/2017)

'I believe in anything for the good of the students and the good for the students is not just within the university's four walls. It has to be extended more outside.'

Academician Planner, female, 58 (2/8/2017)

The property owners in the heritage zone recognised that lack of knowledge, education, and conservation exposure had led them to carry out insensitive renovations and interventions.

'We need the guidance from MBI (ICC), we need the education

from Badan Warisan Malaysia (The Heritage Trust of Malaysia), we really need that, because we don't have that. We have the ambition, but we don't know the correct way: materials to use and all that. Like me, when I put the steel I-beam, I don't know if I did the right thing or not.

Property Owner Concubine Lane Ipoh, male, 60 (9/06/2017)

A planner at ICC agreed that it is essential for the public to be educated as much as it is crucial for the council to make a vigorous effort in educating them (ICC Planner 1, male, 50, 23/07/2017). Speaking based on the experience of engaging the public for ideas to revitalise a market place, one of the respondents expressed her frustration with the lack of knowledge and awareness of the people involved to 'see the bigger picture', to think beyond self-interest, and more towards collective needs. She related this attitude to the level of awareness and the education system of professionals that professed to work in a silo:

'...you see, they cannot make decisions because their level of awareness and how they were educated...the (current) education only educates people to work in silo. They can only think about themselves... they cannot envision the market as an entity itself. It takes the market to attract people, not your store... someone has to go and give some education. Placemaking, when you are not (part of the team), and it's not part of the education or a real kind of daily inculcation through media, then you have to think of a way to make them aware.'

Arts-ED Culture Activist, female, 54 (27/03/2017)

Purdy's (2012) framework in assessing power in collaborative governance includes knowledge institution in the resource power group. Evident based research and debate could become tools in rationalising decisions, which could side on any actors

based on how it is used or manipulated. State governments have a research wing such as Penang Institute (Penang) and Institut Darul Ridzuan (Perak) acting as the think tank in developing new policies. NGOs and governments that have linked with universities shown to help both parties in research, project experimentations and promotions, such as the early promotion works on Gua Tambun Rock Art were by Universiti Sains Malaysia, and Kinta Valley Geopark, was through a collaboration with Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

5.2.6 Civil Society Groups

Civil society groups play a crucial role in ‘check and balance’ decision-making by raising concerns about the impacts of unsustainable development on the environment and liveability of a city. NGOs contribute in the sense they provide different perspectives to look into in developing a city. A respondent mentioned that in advancing their concern, NGOs should establish a good relationship with the government: ‘there is a danger that they might be working in collision with the authorities, and that’s not going to be very nice...they have to sort of balance it off’ (Politician Penang, male, 62, 4/4/2017). ‘What the NGO does is that we try to offer a critique, perspective, and sometimes you see in the article’ (PHT Heritage Activist, female, 52, 15/03/2017). ‘At some point, we do the challenge (the government) because as an NGO, intervention does not mean intervene as in just one way. We also challenge certain things we see are not right, or maybe you should think about’ (Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40, 14/4/2017).

The tug-of-war between conserving and develop puts tension in the relationship

between the NGOs and developer or private companies, and sometimes, the government, which is generally perceived as developer-friendly. Some respondents acknowledged that the NGOs' voice represents society's interest, but with a reservation, being too accommodating to the NGOs' demands may curb economic development.

'Generally speaking, the NGOs are more likely to speak for the community than the government would. But having said that, a lot of NGOs have a specific agenda. Let's say they want to take care of the environment, and so they don't want any kind of development. But development is necessary. So if you listen to that one NGO, it's going to cost you big.'

Think City KL Officer 1, male, 41 (31/03/2017)

Civil society groups' influence and power are stronger today than before, as they have strengthened their bargaining position with significant moral, financial and knowledge resources (Sending & Neumann, 2006). The use of technology has significantly increased the ability of NGOs in presenting data to the public.

'The NGOs, bringing their drones and all and make our lives miserable. I'm telling you some guys are from here, who reside overseas, but they never cut ties. They have a very powerful voice. The linkages that we have outside Malaysia is solid. Very, very strong, so the state government is very careful about it. You cannot monkey around with your policies.'

Politician Penang, male, 62 (4/4/2017)

Contextual issues and geography are two determinants of NGOs' involvement in the placemaking process. For example, in George Town, Penang, NGOs with concerns on heritage conservation and environmental protection such as PHT and Sahabat

Alam, are firmly established NGOs who made their presence known. Their link with overseas groups has amplified their voice. In 2008, with an increased network between the NGOs, Penang Forum was founded by 40 Penang-based NGOs. Currently, it has a representative in the Penang Island City Council as a city councillor. In Ipoh, NGOs such as Kohijau, Ipoh City Watch, the Lions Club and Perak Heritage Society are actively pursuing discourse on environmental sustainability, albeit taking on a friendlier relationship with the local government.

The source of power of the NGOs lies in the discursive legitimacy, which Purdy described 'the ability to represent a discourse or speak on behalf of an issue in the public sphere'. Discursive power is strongest when the value represented is widely shared (Purdy, 2012).

'Civil societies are those who have the public interest, but some will say, 'oh, you guys are just NGOs.' They don't understand what public interest is.'

Activist, George Town, male, 70 (4/4/2017)

However, although the civil society groups sometimes fight for the local communities' interest, they 'cannot claim to be representing them (in their neighbourhood), because they are not members of the local residents' association' (Penang Heritage Trust Vice President, female, 52, 15/03/07). In conclusion, six main actor groups are identified to collaborate in a placemaking process in the case studies. However, the combination of actors in each case studies might differ based on the locale characters, as well as the relationship between the government, private companies and the citizen. This will be further discussed in the next section.

5.3 Mechanisms Enabling Placemaking Process in the Current Planning Framework.

Based on the description of actors and their source of power discussed previously, this section discusses the mechanisms used by the actors to collaborate in placemaking processes, bounded by the current planning practice, looking at how power shapes collaborative process and its outcome. This is to recognise the actors' efforts within their capacity or beyond to make the collaboration a success. This section speaks on two theories of power to discover the relationship between power source and power use in a collaborative governance process. First, power refers to a variety of different capacities and effects, the ability to achieve some end (power to act), and control over others (power over), as described by Dovey (2002). Second is the power in a collaborative process, looking at three types of power orientation mentioned by Purdy (2012) and network power described by Booher and Innes (2002).

According to Purdy (2012), three types of power orientation is determined by the context, process and resources, namely: own gain (power over), mutual gain (power to), and altruistic gain on a continuum (power for). 'Power for' with the concern for others' interest would emerge with good communication, trust, and shared goals. Booher and Innes (2002) network power refers to an alternative form of power that arises from consensus building and other forms of collaborative planning. Purdy (2012) claimed that analysing power in a collaborative process is challenging, and should be accompanied by an understanding of the political, economic, and social aspects, as well as the structural, relational and cognitive aspects of power. The two

frameworks referred to in analysing collaboration in the placemaking process at the project level are Booher and Innes's (2002) DIAD Model, and Purdy's (2012) Framework for Assessing Power in Collaborative Governance, both of which have been discussed in Chapter 2.

There are a number of projects observed during fieldwork, as mentioned in chapter 4. These projects were selected based on respondents' recommendation during the researcher's placement in three case studies. The respondents have described these projects as adopting the placemaking process or labelled as a placemaking project. The list of projects observed during fieldwork, brief description, and the projects' stage are listed in Table 12 and Figure 23, also in chapter 4.

Table 12 Physical Intervention and Programs observed during fieldwork (19/10/2016 – 20/8/2017)

	Kuala Lumpur	George Town	Ipoh
Physical Intervention	Laman Medan Tunku: Upgrading project of an underutilised parking space into a pocket park at the Laman Medan Tunku monorail station, neighbouring to the Kuala Lumpur Creative and Cultural district (KLCCD).	Armenian Park: Improvement project of an urban public park located within the George Town World Heritage Site.	Concubine Lane Sekeping Kong Heng A small scale regeneration within Ipoh old town begins with adaptive reuse of a theatre into a boutique hotel and reviving/activating a small lane.
	Laman Tun Perak Upgrading of a pocket park situated at the main junction to the historic Merdeka Square located within KLCCD.	Pulau Tikus Marketplace Redevelopment of an old market place from single storey pre-independence building into a 7-storey modern market.	Market Lane: Beautification and activation of a laneway located parallel to the Concubine lane.
	Kuala Lumpur	George Town	Ipoh
Programs	KUL Design Month (Placemaking Workshops) A one month event organised annually by KLCH BREB department in collaborations with various organisations such as Think City, Malaysian Institute of Planners and Board of Architects, to celebrate architecture, design and culture.	George Town Heritage Festival An annual celebration organised by GTWHI in collaboration with various community associations and NGOs like Arts-ED to celebrate George Town's inscription as a UNESCO WHS with interactive and educational programs held in the heritage enclave streets.	Car Free Day and Lembah Kinta National Geopark Car-free day is a monthly event organised by ICC to encourage street utilisation by local communities to activate the street. Kinta Valley National Geopark (KVNG) assessment was a three-day program organised by the Mineral and Geoscience Department to visit attractions along the proposed KVNG boundary

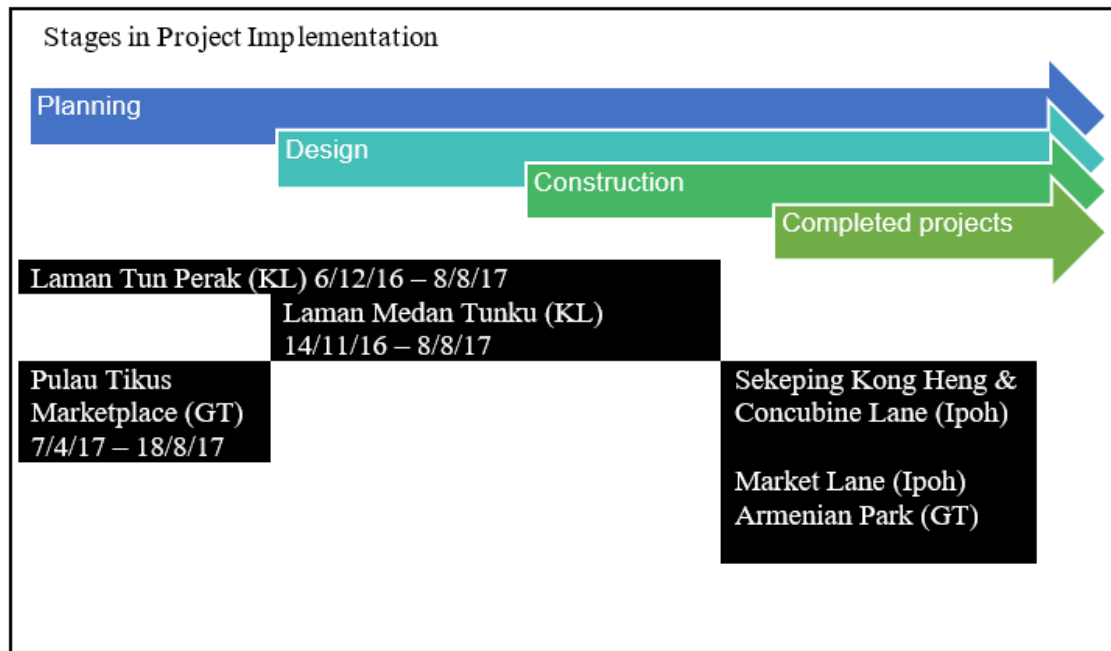


Figure 23 Stages of a physical intervention placemaking project observed during fieldwork (19/10/2016 - 20/8/2017)

5.3.1 Laman Tun Perak, Kuala Lumpur

For this research, projects located at Precinct 7 of the ROL development, within an area of 1 kilometer radius from Masjid Jamek have been observed (Figure 24). The two physical projects observed are Laman Tun Perak (LTP) and Laman Medan Tunku (LMT), located at both ends of Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman (JTAR), which is known among Malaysians as the traditional and textile shopping street. Apart from that, the researcher has also attended and been involved in the non-physical projects such as events, programs and placemaking workshops organised by Think City, the community-based urban regenerator. However, for this chapter, only the LTP project (Figure 25) will be discussed.

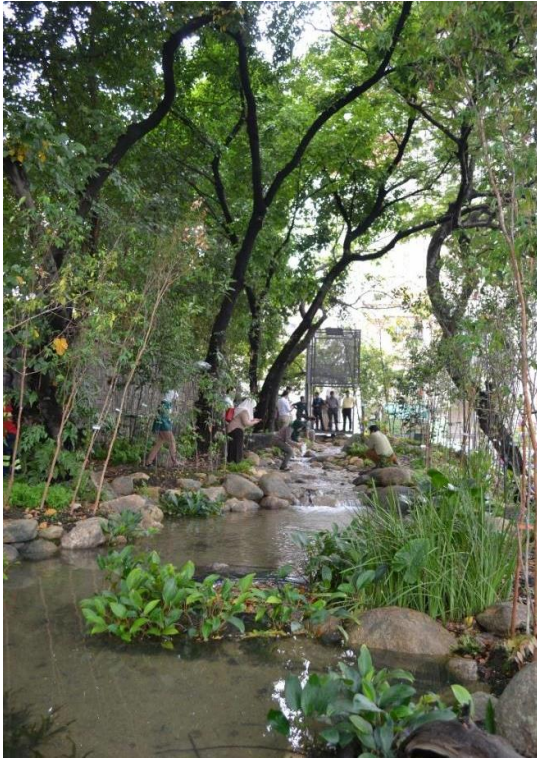


Figure 24 Laman Tun Perak (LTP) designed to replicated a waterfall in a tropical jungle. Picture taken during the launching ceremony. Source: Author, 2017.



Figure 25 View from LTP to the historic Merdeka Square and the iconic Sultan Abdul Samad building

Since the planning of LTP is under the ROL, special permission to craft out LTP from the ROL project was applied and granted, but the KLCH will have to self-fund the project. The project was to be completed before the starting of the 29th Southeast Asean Games (SEA Games), which was to be held from August 19-30th 2017, and KL as the host city. The LTP project is a collaboration between KLCH as the landowner, Think City as the project funder and initiator, as well as BARRA as the representative of the retailer community to revitalise a public green space at an important juncture between Jalan Tun Perak and JTAR. Located in the heart of a heritage area, the site of LPT is surrounded by both charming traditional shophouses, highrise buildings and high pedestrian traffic from the nearby Masjid Jamek LRT Station.

The project is a continuation from the JTAR pedestrian walkway (Figure 26), upgraded to a barrier-free design, carried out in 2012, at SOGO Shopping Complex (SOGO). A friendly relationship between KLCH, SOGO and BARRA was established, with BARRA sponsoring rubbish bins for the walkway project, in exchange for KLCH providing granite seats in the area. A site visit was proposed in a follow-up post-mortem meeting for the walkway upgrading project. KLCH invited Think City to attend the meeting and source for future improvement to JTAR, as they have an active MoU. The LTP project was identified and initiated after a site visit walkabout by all three parties to JTAR. Other potential projects such as a pocket park in front of G.S Gill Sports Centre, and outdoor merchandise display design were also identified. LTP project timeline was impressively compact with a deadline to meet in six months, after the first site visit on 6/03/2017.



Figure 24 Completed JTAR walkway upgrading to a barrier free design that begun in 2012.
Source: Author, 2017.

As the funder, Think City hired a landscape consultant Seksan Design with whom they have partnered in a series of previous projects, such as Carnavon Street in George Town, Sekeping Jugra Project, and the company's principal is the technical expert for several of Think City grants. As one of the respected award-winning landscape architect, the biophilia design idea incorporating material and vegetation into the built environment proposed by the consultant was accepted by the collaborators. To convey the idea of a Tropical Rainforest waterfall, a visit to a natural waterfall was paid, attended by the collaborators. The project aims to retain the existing mature trees as much as possible and the existing cascading water feature wall.

Due to time constraint, the LTP designing was carried out concurrently with the public engagement activity by Think City. As the public engagement process was carried out, a consensus on the initial design has been achieved among collaborators. Public feedback on the project's initial ideas was gathered in an open public engagement activity held onsite for two days (10/3/17-11/3/17). The engagement results were analysed and discussed, with necessary input. For example, the need to include a barrier free walkway in the design resulted in two side-by-side walkways in the final design. The final design was presented to the KLCH higher management, and the approval was granted with caution on the need to plan the maintenance program.

During the construction phase, two important amendments were made. The first amendment was to include a modern *wakaf* (gazebo), and second, the budget

allocated by the sponsor (Think City) was being significantly reduced, resulting in the collaborators having to navigate and find ways to resolve the problem. All collaborators have used the connection with their established networks for resources. For example, materials and landscape elements were partially contributed by companies having a connection with Think City. KLCH contributed boulders - the leftovers from previous projects for the waterfall construction; the in-house gardener of KLCH was hired to prune trees with specific guidance from the landscape consultant. As the project's construction was ongoing, species of fauna such as butterflies, dragonflies, and birds were spotted returning to the site. Think City invited the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) landscape department to map and catalogue both flora and fauna species found in the project area. The relationship between Think City and the IIUM landscape department was established from a previous engagement for a cultural mapping exercise of JTAR. Apart from connecting with the retailer communities, BARRA involvement was seen towards the end of the project by sponsoring the food and beverages during the project's launching within the tight timeline.

The KLCH architect in-charged of this project reflected on the previous experience of coordinating an urban design project through collaboration with BARRA in the JTAR pedestrian walkway upgrading, which was the first for him. He mentioned that a proper community engagement was conducted before the project commenced, and this was an eye-opening experience for him:

'Through this project (JTAR), I become more aware of the need to concentrate on the spaces between buildings as these spaces connect individual buildings within the urban area. We

need to copy the developed countries in providing a conducive urban environment for walking... But this requires coordination between different departments in the local authority and a new SOP, work sequence and respect for each other's expertise... not to work in silo... When we first presented to the community we had a rough time (because they can't understand what we wanted to do), but now when we passed by the area, people raised their hands with respect, as they see the positive impact the project has brought.'

KLCH Architect 3, male, 42 (2/8/2017)

Approaching the project as a separate entity from the strongly top-down ROL scheme has allowed it to break free from rigidity and bureaucracy, providing rooms for a more organic involvement of collaborators that value community and public input on the project. Allowing changes during the construction of the project helps to bring richness into the project, as mentioned by the consultant:

'I am doing a lot of projects now without a (rigid) plan. I'm not the typical architect that everything needs to be drawn before I actually build. A lot of things change along the way... we must be very adaptable to change... I celebrate mistakes, and the other thing called imperfection. Change (only) at the level that is necessary. A lot of us have the status quo that things need to be clear. But as a social agitator, we are always encouraging (to adapt to change).'

Activist Landscape Architect Ipoh, male, 54 (10/06/2017)

In the placemaking process for LTP, diverse participants with three main sources of power (authority, resources and discursive legitimacy) were present from the project's start. Although KLCH was the property owner and, at the same time, the law enforcer, they did not dictate but facilitate the project and allow Think City to 'present fresh new ideas' (KLCH Architect 3, 2/8/2017) and give room for expert

consultants to experiment with ideas. All parties have chosen to work with the established network from previous collaborations and accepted the involvement of parties trusted by their partners.

Table 13 Laman Tun Perak (LTP) Kuala Lumpur, actors' power resources and collaboration in placemaking project

Kuala Lumpur	Power	Arena of Power		
		Participants	Process Design	Content
City Agenda: Towards World-class City	Formal Authority	Federal Government KLCH BREB (Laws and Regulation)	ETP: River of Life (ROL) project KLCP2020, Urban Design Guideline BREB conducted two walkabout sessions with Think City and BARRA along Jalan TAR to identify issues on-site and potential projects. Arranged for project approval meeting with the higher management of KLCH	Preparation for the SEA Games: Quick win project. To speed up the project, it has been craft out from the ROL project and transferred to KLCH, monitored by BREB. BREB convened the main stakeholders (BARRA and Think City). Set a 3-month timeline for the project completion.
Market Forces: Speculative, highrise buildings, shopping malls and modern facilities/ infrastructure	Resources	Think City (Project Funding) Seksan Design (Technical Expertise) International Islamic University (IIUM)	Think City conducted research on KL Downtown area, funded a cultural mapping of traditional traders and trades. Hired Seksan Design. Funded the LTP project with an estimated budget between RM300K – RM500K. Seksan Design – produced the design and managed the construction of the	Adopted placemaking process for the project. Conducted two types of engagement: public – open engagement, and individual property owner meetups—convened contributors for landscaping materials and plants. Pushed the idea of nature in the city – tropical rainforest waterfall garden to

		Research	project. Organised a field trip with KLCH, Think City and BARRA to a waterfall area to convey design idea. IIUM Conducted a cultural mapping of traditional traders and trades in Downtown KL, and was invited again by Think City to conduct a landscape mapping, as well as tagging of flora and fauna found in LTP.	balance off the concrete jungle effect—provided consultation on the maintenance work for tree species. As the rainforest began to shape during construction, species of dragonflies, butterflies and birds were spotted at the site. As part of education for the public, IIUM produced a catalogue for flora and fauna found at the site.
Quality urban environment, urban wellbeing, homeless welfare, heritage conservation	Discursive Legitimacy	BARRA Association and business owners in Jalan TAR as well as the public Users (Participation negotiation and protest	Batu Road Retailers Association (BARRA) provided information on property owners along Jalan TAR during a site visit. Neighbouring properties and business owners were consulted through individual engagement. Provided the choice of ideas during the 3-days public engagement conducted by Think City at the site.	Attended project meetings and provided feedback during the design and construction stages. Acted as the retailer's collective voice to stand for their rights in the planning of KL Downtown area, such as demanding for ROL to stop work, and conduct community engagement exercises. Sponsored food truck during the launching of LTP project.

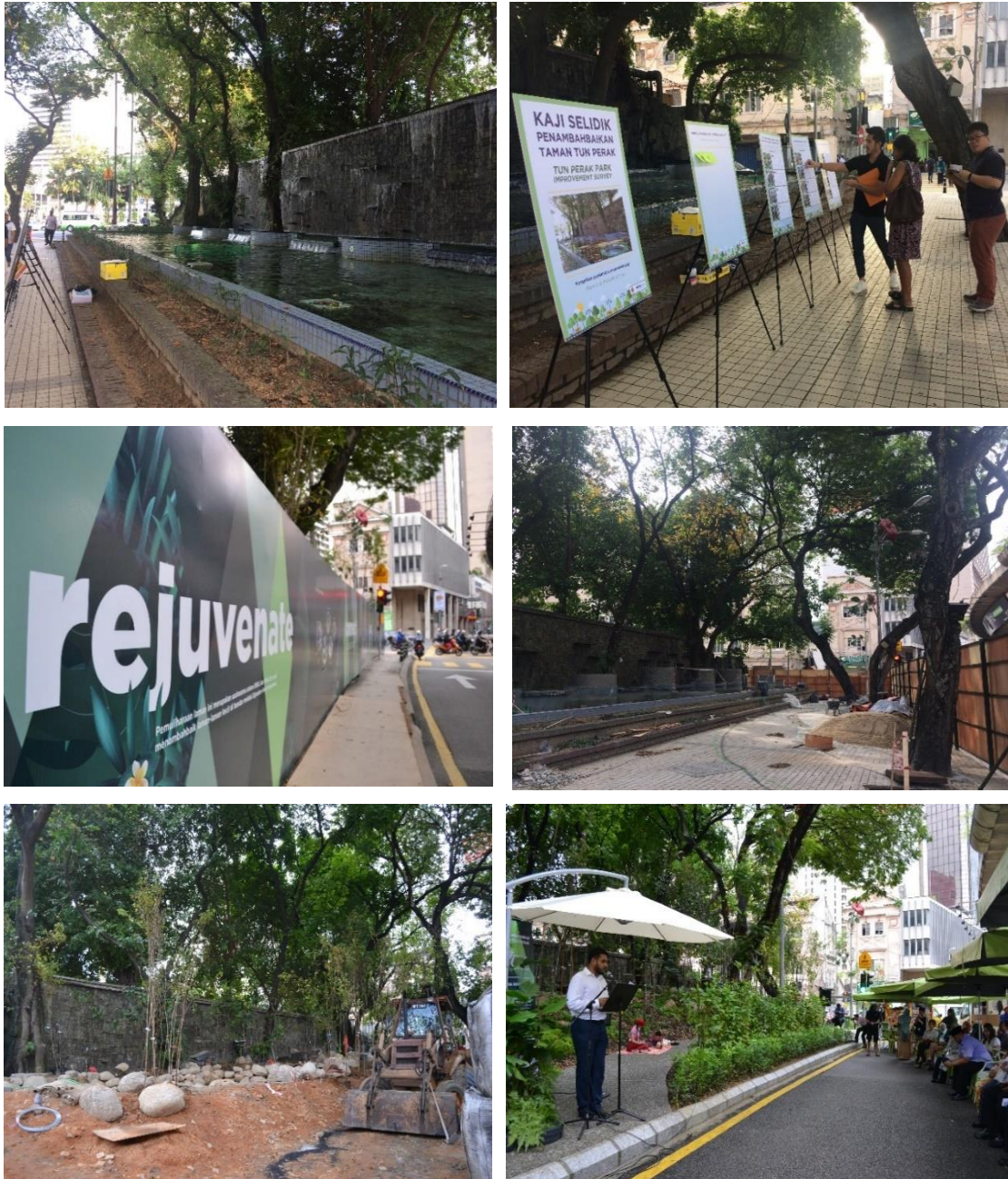


Figure 25 Laman Tun Perak (LTP) from site investigation stage to the launch of project (from top left to right): existing condition, public engagement, construction and launching by KL Mayor. Source: Author, 2017.

5.3.2 Armenian Park, George Town.

The Armenian Park project is discussed to present the George Town context (Figure28). Since the project has been completed during the fieldwork, data were obtained through interviews with people involved in the project, feedbacks from neighbouring residents or business owners, documents and observation. The latest version of the project began at the end of 2015 (although the earlier version began in 2012), as a collaboration between Penang Island City Council (PICC), George Town Conservation Development Corporation (GTCDC), Think City and George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI).



Figure 26 Armenian Park located within the Goerge Town world heritage site.
Source: Author, 2017

Armenian Park upgrading project was funded by Think City, GTCDC and PICC, amounting to RM2.8 million (The Star Online, 17/07/2017). Before its completion in 2016, the project was surrounded with complexities, a transfer of coordination from

GTWHI and Penang Institute to the Tripartite partners mentioned (GTWHI Officer 2, 3/4/2017). The complexities were also because the site was a flea market in the late evening to night time, with active NGOs debating on issues of ownerships to the park and gentrification of local community due to tourism industry, as well as the involvement of higher authority power as mentioned by an interviewee:

We went through a long process... people from Penang Heritage Trust came there, a lot of comments here and there... that whole process, the number of meetings, amount of discussions, sometimes full of arguments... about the ownership – flea market, the community, the new wealth... It was so many, many parties – too many chefs... We got to a stage where the tender actually went out, and I think somebody with quite a powerful voice just has thought about connectivity, how the park doesn't really connect with all the roads around the whole area. And that's voiced out, and then the whole thing started again... Our team was just not interested in continuing... Two years later they finally did a simplified version. It took four years to do that...'

Landscape Consultant Penang, male, 49 (6/4/2017)

We started with a survey and community engagement in 2010, which was concluded in 2012, it took a very long time because we got the community to be involved. When a plan was drafted, we got back to the community, and this went on several times. Every time we altered the plan, we need to get a green light from the local authorities with several departments involved... The tender was opened in 2014 and closed in 2015 with the contractor being appointed. But suddenly there was an order to freeze the project... We spent a lot of time on the design... The consultation was too long for one single park because it involved politics, community and the NGOs.

GTWHI Officer 2, female, 35 (3/4/2017)

One of the project highlights was the negotiation process with the flea market business operators that took almost a year. 'There was an issue on enforcement'

(Think City Officer 1, male, 36, 20/4/2017), 'we negotiated with the business operators and their associations, relocated them a few times to get the best suitable place. We have to observe them every day so that they won't return to the park' (PICC Licensing Officer, female, 38, interviewed on 22/7/2017). This is described in the Think City Magazine published on October 1, 2017, p.164:

'Think City began engaging with the traders and encouraging them to organise themselves and self-regulate. Those carrying out legitimate trading were well-placed to help manage the whole group and transform their unquestionably dubious image... As an organised group, they made a commitment to use the space only at designated times and to keep the area free from crime... After several discussions involving the City Council, the traders were offered a new space... Padang Brown was found to be more suitable.'

In an interview with Star Online dated 15/9/2017, the Mayor pointed out that the project 'adopted the process of public consultation and community involvement to create a balance between development and conservation for the benefit of all parties.' She also touched on the minimal facilities of the park so it could act as a space for diverse activities with future connectivity to surrounding areas through back lane upgrading. During a field observation with a GTWHI staff on 3/4/2017, he explained that the design intention of the park is as 'the background for heritage and historical buildings surrounding the park. The park's entrances are adjacent to two important buildings: Masjid Lebu Acheh, the Syed Al Atas Mansion, and an ornate row of shophouses. The universal design concept was introduced with the use of tactile elements and braille map'. Further description of the design is as stated below:

'All materials used had a story to tell, right down to the selection of indigenous plants reflecting a more local tone. The surrounding perimeter fence was inspired by a local rattan-weaving workshop nearby and the 'heaven and earth' feature wall between the green space and the multipurpose court paid homage to the original Malay settlement at the site.'

Think City Magazine Volume 3, 2017 p.20

During fieldwork, it was observed that the park was being used for leisure activities such as people walking, jogging, or exercising; tourists or visitors sitting for a rest, kids playing, and there was also a time when teenagers played basketball. However, the number of people was only a little to moderate on most days. Security guards were also seen at the park looking after the place. Sometimes, the park was seen being used by groups of school children for out-of-class learning. The most crowded time recorded was when the park became a stage for events such as the Boria Performance during the George Town Heritage Celebration (15/6/2017) during the day. The neighbouring basketball court was used as a stage for a cultural performance at night time.

Armenian Park's placemaking process shows that authority and the 'power over' other have a strong steering impact on collaboration, and consequently, the project's outcome. Both political involvement and financial resources enhanced the capacity of the actors against the actors having the source of power in discursive legitimacy. Community engagement and dialogues have widened the perspectives of people in charge, slowed down the otherwise quick-win project for them to relook into the possibilities within the site. Resolving social issues through negotiations and

facilitating empowerment before physical intervention, along with an intensive management plan, are perhaps what made the project successful, despite having a difficult beginning.

Table 14 Armenian Park Physical Project, George Town: actors' power resources and collaboration in placemaking project.

George Town	Power	Arena of Power		
		Participants	Process Design	Content
City Agenda: Towards Sustainable Heritage Site	Formal Authority	State Government through GTCDC PICC as a law enforcer -Laws and regulation. partial funder and political intervention	Initially, the site was identified to be upgraded under the Greening Penang Project initiative, and a greater potential was later identified through the Special Area Plan. 2012-2015: Project led by GTWHI, series of community engagement and design consultation conducted, and the project was tendered in 2014. The project was put on hold by the state government to resolve the relocation of flea market operating in the park and pursue new design intention. 2015-2016: Think City as project leader.	GT CDC is a tripartite partnership between Think City, the Chief Minister Incorporated (CMI) and the AGA Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) in the master planning of GT WHS which includes public realm improvement in the heritage zone. With both the political and financial resource, GT CDC has greater capacity in steering placemaking agenda, including the improvement of Armenian Park. Following advice from the AKTC, the first phase of the project was stopped, and a new perspective on the site possibility as both event space and connector was pursued.

Market Forces: Tourism-based industry pressure, hotels, service apartments, entertainment facilities	Resources	Penang Institute (PI) and GTWHI -Research, survey and community engagement Think City -Project Funding, placemaking approach, technical expertise from an international connection Final Consultant: Permata Green Landscape Architect Technical Expertise	Initial survey and community engagement was conducted by both PI and GTWHI, with GTWHI as the project coordinator during the first phase. Think City collaborated with the AKTC in producing the Planning and Design Guideline for the Public Realm through the Strategic Master Plan which had identified the potential of Armenian Park as an event space and the need to improve connectivity to the park. Think City has taken the role of the project coordinator in the second stage. Permata Green was hired as the design consultant for the second stage and managed the construction of the project.	Several types of engagement process were tested upon by PI and GTWHI, and a series of consultations, meetings and engagement activities were conducted with the stakeholders. Results showed that returning the park for community use was highly favoured. Public engagement and consultation were necessary, following the Heritage Management Plan. However, after the rigorous procedure, the project was put on hold. New consultants were appointed following the new design direction and manage the improvement project. Think City pushed the idea for the park to serve as a backdrop for the surrounding heritage buildings. Trying to retain as much as of the existing large trees possible and laid the walkway to respect the nature. Design plays with

				local elements such as rattan weaving and local trees. When the project was completed, Think City maintained the park for a duration of 3 years. Security guards were hired to ensure the park is used appropriately
Sustainable Urban and natural Environment, Cultural Heritage conservation, Participatory Planning	Discursive Legitimacy	NGO such as PHT and the neighbouring resident and business community --voice out their concern and aspiration of the park during engagement activities. Flea market business operators -Self-found an association to create a stronger voice.	PHT spoken on the impact to tangible and intangible heritage such as gentrification and sense of ownership An association was established to manage the flea market and clean the area after business hours. Negotiated with the authorities on the relocation area. Provided views during surveys and community engagements activities.	Debate includes the welfare of flea market traders, recycled shops and how residents are chased away by tourism-based. Rent increase due to the pressure from tourism industry. Increase in rent has caused most original residents to move out from the area. Business, such as boutique hotels and souvenir shops are becoming popular in the area, and the flea market operated in the park was debated as giving negative image and dominating the use of the park. It was relocated to make way for upgrading work of the park.



Figure 28 Armenian Park utilisation, top pictures on a regular weekday, bottom pictures: during the World Heritage Celebration. Source: Author, 2017.



Figure 27 Several improvements on laneways connecting to Armenian Park during fieldwork. Source: Author, 2017.

5.3.3 Concubine Lane (Panglima Lane), Ipoh

In 2012, ICC pushed for a conservation-centric approach for Ipoh Old Town revitalisation, identifying Jalan Panglima, Jalan Dato' Maharaja Lela, Lorong Panglima (Concubine Lane) and Jalan Bijih Timah to be conserved and developed as a heritage zone. Acknowledging business opportunity, and seeing the crowd's returning to the old town area visiting the award-winning Sekeping Kong Heng that was renovated in 2008, and hipster cafes that bourgeoned in the area, a number of people invested in buying properties in the old town. 'It was was relatively cheap in 2011 because it was in a dilapidated condition, around RM150K' (Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60, 9/06/2017). However, in 2011, two buildings in the row of shophouses collapsed and fell to the ground.



Figure 29 Sekeping Kong Heng adaptive reuse of several dilapidated building blocks into boutique hotel, apartment, cafes, small businesses and art bazaar. Source: Author, 2017.

The state government called for a meeting, and property owners of the heritage shophouses were given a stern choice to refurbish their buildings or have them taken down if they become a threat to public safety. To ease the communication between individual property owners and the local authority in efforts to protect the old buildings from demolition, it poses a threat to public safety, an ad-hoc committee of Concubine Lane known as Panglima Lane Resident Committee was formed. The committee chairman recapped:

Concubine Lane Community Association demands a technical report to be prepared, which was done by the Public Works Department with the findings suggesting that 'buildings must be taken down - not fit for habitation'... Eventually, they found out that it was the rotting timber beams, and because a lot of trucks moving in the area to do infrastructure upgrading have caused vibration. They started moving people out and say it's dangerous. That's when ICC started to interact with us. We told them to do infrastructure upgrading works without digging the ground. They appointed consultant architect and engineer to asses building structures, and suggest ways to restore and made further work recommendations. We have to push them hard, you see.

Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60, 9/06/2017.

The committee demanded a technical report on the shophouses collapsed to plan for further actions but was unhappy with the report by the Public Works Department (PWD) that had concluded that the area was unsafe for habitation. Another technical report was summoned with a more detailed examination on the integrity of the shophouses structural members. The examination identified that the vibration from nearby ICC infrastructure upgrading works triggered the collapse of the rotting timber beam. With proper restoration works, the area is fit for habitation. The community started to restore their buildings physically and built a stronger

community socially. They organised 'gotong-royong' to clean and maintain the area, to the extent of collecting money to hire private cleaners. Confronted with conflicts at the beginning, the community became stronger as they stood together to fight for their rights in planning for their area.



Figure 32 Concubine Lane in 2017, building restored by owners, pedestrian walkway upgraded by ICC. Source: Author, 2017.



Figure 30 Collapsed of two shophouses' facade in Concubine Lane on 7/9/2011. Source: IpohEcho, 2011.

Situated just across the tourist spot – Sekeping Kong Heng, visitors and tourists started pouring into the restored Concubine Lane. However, some property owners started to run tourism-based business with non-local, imported cheap products and exaggerated the refurbishment of their buildings with theme-park image. Some heritage-based business and gallery operators did not favour this. With loose

guidelines on building and heritage conservation, the theme-park like image threatens the Chinese Heritage area's characters, which had triggered a voluntary collective effort to revive the Chinese culture and heritage in the nearby Market Lane, located in parallel to Concubine Lane. The Market Lane community organised arts and cultural activities to recreate a Chinese area's ambience in response to Concubine Lane's over-commercialisation. Further discussion in chapter 7.

In conclusion, the placemaking process of Concubine Lane begun with a tragedy which has brought the community together and build empowerment to look after their area. The community controlled the placemaking process with little involvement of outside agency (the government), allowing the community and the physical improvement to grow organically and progressed incrementally. However, without



Figure 31 The theme park image that emerged in Concubine Lane which had led to the revival of Chinese culture movement in the nearby Market Lane. Source: Author, 2017

any form of control, enforcement, knowledge, and expert advice, the community might disrupt the authenticity of the area's Chinese heritage image and identity.

Table 15 Concubine Lane, Ipoh: actors' power resources and collaboration in placemaking project

Concubine Lane Ipoh	Power	Arena of Power		
		Participants	Process Design	Content
City Agenda: Towards Conducive and Sustainable City for the Wellbeing of Citizen	Formal Authority	State Government ICC - Laws and regulation	Ipoh as a tourist destination in Kinta Valley National Geopark proposal. ICC promoted Conservation-centric regeneration approach in the gazetted local plan and the special area plan for heritage. When two shophouses façade collapse, ICC get Public Works Department to assess safety at the area. Upon request by the Panglima Lane Resident Committee, ICC hired a consultant architect and engineer to assess the old shophouses' structural integrity.	ICC began conservation works on public heritage buildings in Ipoh town, established a heritage trail, and upgraded infrastructure, including at Lorong Panglima. State government and ICC accommodated Panglima Lane Resident Committee demands for a second assessment on Concubine Lane safety and bear the cost of hiring consultant architect and engineer.

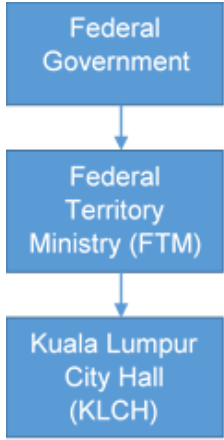
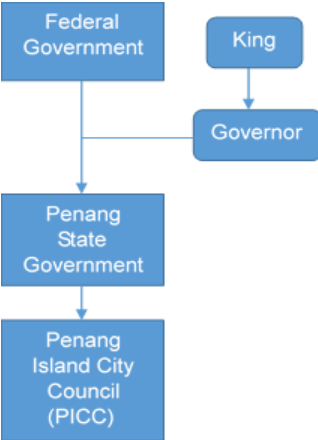
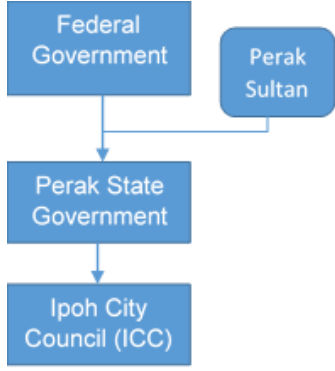
Market Forces: Conservative market, conservation-centric urban centre regeneration for the city within the larger Kinta Valley National Geopark agenda	Resources	Minerals and Geoscience Department (JMG) -Research Sekeping Kong Heng Consortium -fund the project and adopted adaptive reuse and placemaking approach Public Works Department (PWD) -Technical Expertise Consultant Architect and engineer -Technical Expertise Research The Star -update on media and create public awareness	JMG Led the research and application for Kinta Valley to be listed as a National Geopark in order to apply for the UNESCO heritage site. Sekeping Kong Heng consortium conservation of several building blocks becomes a catalyst to the regeneration of Ipoh Old Town by attracting a crowd to the area, with iconic conservation works PWD conducted an assessment of the safety in Concubine Lane area after façade collapse of two shophouses. Re-assessment of Concubine Lane area by consultants hired by ICC. Consistent coverage in The Star newspaper by an Ipoh-born journalist who grew up in the lane.	The listing as National Geopark includes promoting local products and attractions in neighbouring towns, such as Ipoh, Batu Gajah and Kampar. Sekeping Kong Heng Consortium consist of Ipoh-born investors, subsidised traditional business to continue operating in the newly conserved area with a cheaper rent. Provided a free space for the late Yasmin Ahmad gallery – a well-known director advocating the beauty of a multicultural society. PWD report summarised ‘the buildings must come down and not fit for habitation’. The consultants’ identified the structural problem and suggested for restoration works to repair the buildings. The Ipoh-born journalists created awareness about the area and excitement to follow up on the area’s happening.

Quality urban and natural environment, affordable urban lifestyle, cultural heritage conservation	Discursive Legitimacy	Panglima Lane Resident Committee, and the surrounding business community -Community empowerment	Panglima Lane Resident Committee created an ad-hoc committee to represent property owners' voice and pushed for re-assessment of building structures and fought against their buildings' demolition.	The new report provides suggestions on repair works that were referred by property owners in conserving their property. The Panglima Lane Resident Committee helped build a sense of community through dialogue, gotong royong and maintenance of the lane.

5.4 Conclusion

In relation to the literature discussions in Chapter 2 and an overview of the context in Chapter 4, the empirical fieldwork in this chapter presented the findings on a collaborative approach to placemaking unique in each case study. This is because urban regeneration agendas, market forces, place governance, and the social-cultural aspects in each case study are different. This section will conclude the three case studies' findings by revisiting discussion on governance in section 5.1, the actors and their power resources in collaborative planning (section 5.2) and at the project implementation level (section 5.3).

Table 16 Summary on Governance and Actors in placemaking process in each case study

	Kuala Lumpur	George Town	Ipoh
Governance structure	 <pre> graph TD FG[Federal Government] --> FTM[Federal Territory Ministry (FTM)] FTM --> KLCH[Kuala Lumpur City Hall (KLCH)] </pre>	 <pre> graph TD FG[Federal Government] --> PSG[Penang State Government] PSG --> PICC[Penang Island City Council (PICC)] King[King] --> Governor[Governor] Governor --> PSG </pre>	 <pre> graph TD FG[Federal Government] --> PSG[Perak State Government] PSG --> ICC[Ipoh City Council (ICC)] PS[Perak Sultan] --> PSG </pre>
Urban Regeneration Agenda	KL towards a world-class city.	Penang towards a Sustainable World Heritage Site	Ipoh towards Sustainable, Dynamic and Progressive City
Mechanism	Federal Government high profile projects like River Of Life (ROL), Tun Razak Exchange (TRX), and mass rapid transit system (MRT)	State Government high profile infrastructure PFI projects Penang SR and PTMP, Eco-tourism, Historical Heritage Product and Malaysia My Second Home.	State Government Community-based Eco-tourism of Kinta Valley Geopark and conservation-centric urban regeneration of cities within it.
Market forces	Global market – world class city branding with speculative market.	Global Market tourism – UNESCO world heritage site branding with pressure from tourism industry.	Local tourist and citizen – old town heritage and targeted international market for tin mining legacy.
Local authority initiatives in creating platform for placemaking process.	KLCH and Think City collaboration towards the development of Kuala Lumpur Creative and Cultural District (KLCCD)	Strategic Master Plan (SMP) for George Town WHS through George Town Conservation and Development Corporation (GT CDC)	Conservation-centric urban regeneration approach facilitates community-based initiatives in Ipoh Special Area Plan
Actors collaborating in the	KLCH BREB department through	Think City (with link to various international networks) through	Community actions driven by small scale entrepreneurs: both at

placemaking project	collaboration with Think City and community association like BARRA.	collaborations with the state government and connections with civic society and local community groups. Collective actions by NGOs to protect the sustainability of tangible and intangible heritage to maintain the WHS status they have helped to secure.	the outskirts of Ipoh through eco-tourism and in the Ipoh inner city through catalytic small scale urban intervention.

The current hierarchical system in governance where the local government is subordinate to the federal and the state government creates obligations and bureaucracy that strongly affect the local government's performance, especially since the mayor's position is given by appointment. The governance structure and the urban regeneration agenda significantly impact placemaking projects within the historic core, either positively or negatively. For example, as observed in KL, the federal government's agenda towards a world-class city comes with several high impact projects like ROL and TRX. The international consultants hired like AECOM and Grant Associates directly link to the FTM, putting KLCH in a challenging position when monitoring the project implementation. Having international consultants might achieve the federal government's agenda, but from the outsider's view, it often evaluates the environment through its aesthetic qualities rather than the local values and way of life, as mentioned by Relph (1976). This could be seen in BARRA's protest and demand for community engagement regarding the pedestrianisation of J TAR, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Laman Tun Perak project was approved only when it was crafted out from ROL Precinct 7 masterplan, which had enabled collaboration between KLCH, Think City and BARRA. The placemaking

process implemented in KL adopts the model introduced by Think City, developed from the George Town context experience.

The strain in the relationship between Penang State government and the federal government impacted the placemaking process in several ways. First, the allocation for WHS was not given to the state government directly, but through Think City. Although the federal government formed Think City, the placemaking process was implemented because it believes strongly in the place-based approach to regenerate urban centres. In the early stage, Think City engaged closely with the community and local organisations like GTWHI, PHT and Arts-ED to regenerate the heritage sites by giving out grants and brought international expertise to the local conservation practice. Think City capacities and resources grow significantly by maintaining good relationships with the community and connecting with the local authority. The effort that begins at the project implementation level grows into a stronger voice in decision-making through GTCDC, which concentrates on the master planning of the WHS. Another significant impact of the federal-state government relationship was adopting PFI projects by the state government as an alternative funding source for high profile developments such as Jerejak Island redevelopment, PTMP and PSR. The relationship between the new state government and the private corporation had placed a strain on the government-civil society relationship, which was strong during the previous state government term. The NGO group view the current state government as developer-friendly, whilst the NGO group is seen as an opposition party by the state government. This complicated relationship is strongly seen in Armenian Park's improvement project

that took nearly five years to complete with changes in design direction and the consultants hired. The placemaking process adopted systematic strategies led by professionals in which the public and community was engaged in the planning and initial design stage. Community engagement was seen as a precursor to a successful placemaking practice.

The placemaking process in Ipoh was less scripted by a model or systematic strategies as observed in projects implemented in KL and George Town. Place-based local community initiated the placemaking process to respond to the government's policies and warnings. For example, the Sekeping Kong Heng consortium that started conservation of several buildings in the old town responded to the state government's dialogue that encouraged the Ipoh old town's conservation-centric regeneration. The Concubine Lane community rose in collective action to conserve and regenerate the declining area due to the collapse of the two shophouses façade to protest against the order to vindicate the site and demolish unsafe structures. The local community and the government at both state and local authority level drive the placemaking process in Ipoh. The agenda set by the state government complements the vision set by ICC had eased the collaboration process between state government, ICC and the local community.

In conclusion, the government structure and urban regeneration agendas set by them have a significant impact on the collaboration process and, subsequently, the implementation of placemaking projects in the historic core. The government's power in authority through legally binding laws, regulations and policies such as in

the development plans are undeniably essential in controlling development and protecting the general public's interest. Without legally gazetted development plans, the local authority is faced with difficulties and challenges in controlling new development, especially where speculative market forces and the pressure from the tourism industry are substantial, like observed in Kuala Lumpur and George Town. In contrast, as observed in Ipoh, where the local plan is gazetted, urban regeneration and new development are more sympathetic to the local context.

Placemaking initiatives in the historic core face concerns of place authenticity and the encroachment of new developments that could risk its authenticity. Maintaining the place authenticity is most critical in George Town, particularly because it is listed as the WHS because the tangible and intangible multicultural heritage of George Town manifests an outstanding universal value not found anywhere else in the world. Hence, as observed during the fieldwork, several mechanisms were put in place by the government to manage conservation and development within the WHS, such as the formation of GTWHI and GTCDC. Placemaking project within the WHS area is constraint to regulations and guidelines to protect place authenticity. Hence, continuous awareness programs, campaign and monitoring on conservation works and projects were conducted not only by the government, but also by Think City and NGOs like PHT and Arts-ED. Place authenticity was not a major concern in KL, but respecting the heritage buildings as symbols from the past was essential in the placemaking process. In Ipoh, the need for a mechanism to control or curate conservation works and commercial activities in the old town is emerging as it is becoming a popular tourist attraction. This is to cushion market forces and soften

gentrification like what is happening in cities like George Town and Malacca.

One similarity that plays a vital role in enabling placemaking projects is accommodating the collaborative process within the structured and rigid planning process. Planning practice is confronted with the need to adjust to ad-hoc on-site situations, as demonstrated in the LTP project, Armenian Park project and the Concubine Lane revitalisation. Establishing a working communication platform between the local authority and the community is essential, which sometimes requires help from a third 'neutral' party, such as a boundary spanner like Think City. However, decision-making even at the project level is greatly affected, restrained or shaped by higher-level authority due to the hierarchical governance structure demonstrated in the Armenian Park project.

This chapter explored the power relation in the placemaking process by analysing the governance structure and the urban regeneration agenda in each case study. It has discussed the actors, their source of power, and their capacity to retain a role in a placemaking process and negotiate power distribution in decision-making at the project level. The next chapter will address the participatory nature of the placemaking process to understand public participation and the way community action expands the capacity of a community to have greater means to decide on the future of their city.

CHAPTER SIX

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND CITIZEN INITIATIVES IN PLACEMAKING PROCESS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the first theme in the overall theoretical framework: collaborative planning and place governance. This chapter will discuss the second theme, namely, citizen participation in the placemaking process. Public participation, community engagement, community empowerment and community self-organisation are the gradation of citizen participation (see Arnstein's Ladder of Participation) in the placemaking process, as it stretches from collaborative planning to project implementation and ultimately project maintenance. Although citizen initiative is inherently bottom-up, it does not take place in an institutional void, rather it denotes an interplay between citizen self-organisation and government action (Edelenbos et al., 2018).

Issues surrounding public participation, either as a means to legitimise pre-determined planning or as a genuine effort to address community needs and concern, has long been debated (Arnstein, 2019; Bovaird, 2007; Edelenbos et al., 2018; Ferilli et al., 2016). This chapter will explore citizen participation in the context of placemaking to understand its impact on the making of places and sustainability of the place. Allowing the community to manage the place requires flexibility and facilitation by the local authority.

This chapter consists of 5 sections. The first section (6.0 Introduction) set the scenario of this chapter. Section 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 described the development of citizen participation in each case studies focussing on the institutionalised formal platform in the first subsection and the bottom-up citizen initiative in the second subsection. Finally, the fifth section (6.5 Conclusion) elaborate a summary of the findings and conclude how citizen participation shape the outcome of the placemaking process in the Malaysian context. It discusses the relationship between government action and citizen initiative, either encouraging (or discouraging) community self-organisation in maintaining a project/program. This relationship is context-specific; hence findings may not be widely generalisable. It is not the aim of this chapter to establish a specific framework of engagement for the placemaking process. But, the chapter identifies contextual characteristic that pushed for genuine bottom-up public participation methods that could be adapted as a practise in the making of places.

6.1 Local government-led community engagement in KL

In 2015, a memorandum was signed between Think City and KLCH to work together on a three-year rejuvenation programme for downtown KL. The program set to approach rejuvenation of KL within the theme to 'preserve and amplify the city's sense of place' (Former Mayor of Kuala Lumpur, 2015). The three years was given with the aim 'to get the community involved, to get them to take charge of their own spaces, and to spur a renewal from the community itself' (Think Penang Officer 2, 14/03/2017). Recognising the changes in generation, lifestyle and culture of today's inhabitants, KL Mayor has called for research and public participation practice to

empower city management.

'... Almost everything around us is changing to suit today's era and time... Hence, it is time for us to look at things with a new dimension and fresh approach. One way to realise this transformation is through research survey and public participation, to inform us on the direction of public space transformation... towards an active citizenship in placemaking in the future... KL is our city, our responsibility and our dignity.'

Speech by the Former Mayor of Kuala Lumpur during the signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Think City on 15 January 2015.

Through the Memorandum, Think City takes the role to build the capacity of KLCH in research, public participation, placemaking and networking with both place-based organisations and international networks. International partners were brought in to train KLCH and other partners, as mentioned in chapter 5 (section 5.1.2). In an interview with the Malay Mail (3/10/2015), PPS Senior Vice president commented on the 'unbelievable and breath-taking speed of development' in Malaysia and suggested for 'slowing down, approach development incrementally by carrying out small-scale projects to take back and transform public spaces'. She explained that to be a world-class city, a destination city where people want to be in, city planners and developers should adopt the placemaking process that emphasises engagement with the local community to ensure success. The community should be engaged from the beginning to crowdsource information and use the input to design cities that meet the community's needs and vision.

Most respondents from the KLCH BREB department agreed that 'public and community engagement' is the element that differentiates placemaking with the traditional planning approach (KLCH Architect 3, male, 42, 2/8/2017; KLCH

Architect 2, male, 35, 1/8/2017; KLCH BREB Officer 1, female, 52, 1/8/2017). A fresher architect in BREB felt that public engagement, which is a compulsory requirement for the preparation of development plans (structure plan and local plan) by the planning department, is a formal approach (KLCH Architect 1, female, 29, 2/8/2017). There is a need to have community engagement at the project implementation level, especially for urban design projects. However, according to a respondent, there is no specific law and regulations at present that can guide the institution, specifically in the area of urban design.

'There is no specific post for urban designer in KLCH. Currently architects are more focused on buildings, with the current UBBL that lacks content on public spaces. The current urban design guidelines are very specific to an area and lacks connections between different areas. Urban spaces will end up like a patch work... We need to change, when we approach an urban context, we need to look at establishing connections, address the spaces in between, and at the department level, we need to set new guidelines and make it as a culture.'

KLCH Architect 3, male, 42 (2/8/2017)

According to a respondent in KLCH, placemaking is a new concept that needs to be learned, and the MoU with Think City has given them exposure to the placemaking process. Adopting placemaking process also means that there is a need for a paradigm shift in the implementation of projects, which requires some time. There are many things to be considered, such as engaging with the public and understanding the local context.

Placemaking is very new to us. It looks like it is impossible to apply because it feels like there's too many things to do. First, you need to ask the public. You have to conduct public engagement and some principles lie within it. You need to look at the population aspect, geographical, culture, age group...so

tedious. People like us, who are always on the move, everything needs to be quick. We can't afford to do research all the time... People value us on our, products – fast, quick implementation. It's going to be a big transition from the normal way of doing things to establishing something very new...it cannot happen overnight. Our department BREB take this challenge to explore placemaking. In terms of collaboration, we have Think City and with the MoU, they become our mediator with the public and stakeholders. They help to expedite the research part.'

KLCH BREB Officer 1, female, 52 (1/8/2017)

The Capire Consulting Group has been invited by Think City to 'provide training on engagement strategies to build understanding, create local ownership, and inform sustainable decision-making' (THINK CITY, 2016). Capire's 'learning by doing' approach to training has seen several community engagement activities conducted in KL downtowns, such as in Bukit Bintang business district and the Medan Pasar urban square. In an interview published in the Think City Magazine (2016), the co-founder and principal of Capire described that some of the challenges of public engagement in the Kuala Lumpur context are due to the 'diversity, the professional languages, as well as the influence of politics and developer'. There is a need to acknowledge and overcome cultural barriers to achieve effective engagement and 'brand' KL internationally; cultural, built, and natural heritage need to be balanced with the modernisation of social, community and civic infrastructure.'

During fieldwork, two projects in which BREB collaborated with Think City were identified as adopting the placemaking process by the architects in charge of the projects. Laman Tun Perak pocket park (LTP) at the junction of Jalan Tun Perak and Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman (JTAR), and Laman Medan Tunku (LMT) in Jalan

Sultan Ismail. Two architects at BREB KLCH in charge of coordinating the projects were interviewed on their experience of conducting community engagement to overview how KLCH conducts community engagement.

The community engagement processes of the Laman Medan Tunku (LMT) beautification project were instructed by KLCH higher management to get feedback on turning an existing motorcycle parking space into a pocket park. The community engagement was carried out in collaboration with Think City. The process included a 6-day site survey and hypothesis testing, a technical review session with Think City technical panel (consultant landscape architect) and the stakeholders. As a final phase, stakeholders were engaged to review and provide feedback on the final design. An idea to activate LMT with programs and activities for a month prior to construction works, to observe how people use the space was brought up. However, it was not carried out due to time constraint (the project must complete the SEA games opening). KLCH Architect 1, female, 29 (interviewed on 2/8/2017), on the public engagement process:

The core issue was the site is transport dominated (motorcycle parking). We tested with a few processes. For us to decide to remove the parking, we need to have a solid proof. So, we tested - 6 days all together. 3 days to see the site without any obstruction and 3 days with obstruction; meaning we close the entire place to motorcycles to see the reaction of the public. The findings were only 40-60% of the motorcycle parking are being used during the day, and the maximum we got at night is just 2 or 3 motorcycles. There was a total of 146-150 motorcycle parking lots and almost half is not used... We also conducted questionnaire survey. We asked the stakeholders what they think of the area. The stakeholders comprise of two groups: stakeholders of the area such shop owners, business operators. The other are the passers-by who can give neutral thoughts about the area... the first group say they needed the

motorcycle parking... whereas the passers-by... wanted clean open public space with less obstruction... We have to consider both sides. We came to the conclusion that the space needs a physical transformation to turn it into a place... We proposed an initial design that responded to all these needs and wants: less barrier, more shades, more trees... Think City helped to organise a critic session with one of their panels together with the stakeholders. The panel suggested for an injection of some creative energy in... so we played with colours to make the parking space interesting. We took out 50% of the parking lot, place the remaining 50% somewhere suitable in the site, and the remaining is a space for the public to walk freely. We went to the stakeholders again, get a black and white proof of their consent... I think only 1 or 2 actually disagree (out of 12 stakeholders).'

The respondent (KLCH Architect 1, female, 29 interviewed on 2/8/2017) suggested exploring engagement methods to break free from traditional methods of 'discussion and one-way communication'. She urged the local authorities to be 'a bit friendlier', so people will open up. Currently, the public associated engagement by the local authority as 'authoritative and very dictatorial'. She believes in a placemaking process where people are engaged, the 'community starts giving and starts loving their area even before a project is implemented. They feel belong, and they (the place and people) grow together'.

One interesting but not realised experiment was the 'space activation test' on how people use the place and to further improve the design. Activities such as food truck, 'wayang pacak' (outdoor movie), and exhibition booths were thought of as part of this. Think City has many partners, especially from the creative industries came out with few names such as 'The Basikal' and Bike Kitchen for cycling event, and 'Biji-biji' to help with booth installations. When news started to spread, the food truck

people came in, and Arkib Negara Malaysia offered to join. The respondent was delighted with this positive response, the people's willingness to make it happen, and was convinced that there is a potential for the site to be activated only if KLCH was more flexible.

The respondent also highlighted during design progress meetings; companies were wanting to sponsor street furniture such as benches (LMT stakeholders), bicycle racks (Think City), as well as coloured and lighted stumps (Rotary Club, since their time capsule, will be relocated to LMT). Although the respondent was happy with the offers of sponsorship, she mentioned that everything is subject to higher management approval. According to the respondent, new trends in managing the city have shifted from being an individual work (local authority) to teamwork with various groups and the community.

Another public engagement process observed during fieldwork was the beautification of Laman Tun Perak. To better explain the LTP project, which was a continuation of the JTAR pedestrian walkway upgrading, the public engagement activities on JTAR will be first discussed. JTAR is 'one of the longest streets of textile and fabrics' in Kuala Lumpur (BARRA Representative, female, 52, 7/8/2017). Before the upgrading works, the community engagement activity was conducted onsite for a day by the KLCH BREB Department with the mayor's presence. KLCH Architect 3, male, 42 (interviewed on 2/8/2017), has described the one-day onsite engagement event:

'We had an onsite outdoor pop-up booth. We put up design

options and images for people to vote, and they can choose what they prefer for the area. The participant need to register their attendance and we will provide them with stickers. We will pick the design option and images with most stickers. It's the same process with material selections. It was a one-day event. But prior to the event, we distributed the invitation letter that were sent through the community association (BARRA), who then distributed it to the community. In the letter, we informed the purpose, the location and time of the event, but it is their choice to attend or not. For community engagement activities, the will power should come from the higher management level to show the commitment of KLCH in realising the project. The Mayor attended and together helped to explain to premise owners of our intention for the upgrading works. We even have handicapped people participating to demonstrate what barrier-free design is about.'

The objective of the engagement activity was straightforward: to get the community to choose their preferred design and materials from pre-determined design options given while at the same time educating the community (especially property owners and business operators) on barrier-free design. A demonstration by a handicapped group, including wheelchair users, clutch users and the blinds, on accessibility in urban areas was held to educate property owners of the need for the upgrading work. However, despite the project being fully funded by KLCH, some property owners opposed the idea. According to the respondent, this may be due to the five-footway levelling, which is higher than the shops' floor level. As a result, some parts of the five-footway along JTAR were left untouched and evident today. The respondent further explained that after completing the project, some of the property owners who had earlier opposed the idea had a change of mind, and wanted their five-footway to be upgraded, which were entertained, but this time they had to bear the cost of the materials. The respondent felt that community engagement is a challenging process because it 'opens up a platform for people who hold grudges

against KLCH to bombard KLCH with criticism during the engagement, even on things that were irrelevant to the project. However, BREB has to 'be prepared and accept all the comments professionally' (KLCH Architect 3, male, 42, interviewed on 2/8/2017).

BARRA and BREB are constantly looking for ways to improve the JTAR area. Following a site visit which has taken place on 6/03/2017 by BARRA, KLCH and Think City, a few places have been identified with the potential to be activated as for pocket parks along JTAR. A Think City officer has pitched the idea to the company's higher management, and a budget was allocated for the LTP pocket park project.

6.1.1 Think City-led community engagement in KL

LTP project commenced almost immediately, and the collaborating team were given approximately five months to complete it. The researcher was able to observe the project periodically from planning to construction. Due to time constraint, the public engagement activity was conducted concurrently with finalising design ideas among the main stakeholders. Think City conducted the public engagement activity for two days, on Friday, 10/3/2017, between 8am – 7pm and on Saturday 11/3/2017, between 4pm - 9pm. Think City staffs rotated shifts as enumerators with 3 to 5 staffs on each shift. The aim was to get public feedback about the current condition of the pocket park, ideas on image improvement, as well as the types of activities and facilities that the public wants for the park. The survey respondents were public passers-by, mostly people who worked in the area, and visitors, consisting of both

the locals and tourists. Willing passers-by were given numbering stickers to vote on their preferred images on the boards and a post-it note should they want to pen down their opinion. There were five presentation boards put up on-site, with text in the English and Malay languages.

1st board: Introduction to the project: TUN PERAK PARK IMPROVEMENT SURVEY

2nd board: What are your views on the park?

3rd board: What would make the park better in the future?

4th board: What would you like to see at the park?

5th board: What would you like to see at the park? (continued)

Notes from the field dairy (10/3/2017) on the researcher's observation of the engagement activity, while she was attached to KLCH BREB department.

'I reached LTP at around 7.40am and was greeted by a Think City staff (Think City staff 1). He was setting up the boards. There are three staffs altogether, one is an intern and the other is an Urban Solution Team. Think City staff 1 described how the process works, explaining the use of the numbering stickers and the post-it-notes. He had prepared the boards, and the content was finalised with his superior. At this time, pedestrian traffic was high, although they looked curious, very few make an effort to stop and participate. It is anticipated because most are in a rush to meet the 8 am clock-in. With every new participant, Think City staff would walk them through the boards. At around 9 am, a crowd of bikers made a stop at the site, one of them was the consultant landscape architect appointed for the project. Apparently there is an important meeting scheduled with the KLCH planning department regarding 'pedestrian and bicycle lane network proposal'. 3 bikers became respondents. BARRA representative came and later a KLCH BREB officer joined him. The officer took photos for documentation purpose. Respondents were randomly picked. They include college students, couples, tourists (from Spain and the US), workers, and one drunk guy. Around 12.30pm there was another crowd of

passers-by (mostly Muslim men) making their way to the nearest mosque for Friday prayer. Quite a few stopped by.'

The total number of respondents for the two days summed up to 147, with 76 were regular users of the park, and 71 were visitors. When asked what they would like to see in the park? From the choices given, 16% wanted landscape, 14% each wanted seating, street lights and water elements, 13% opted for street performance, 11% sculpture, 10% food kiosk and 8% wanted bicycle rack. When asked what would make the park better in the future? About 30% wanted the park to be clean, 29% voted for safety, 23% wanted the park to be well maintained, while the remaining 18% wanted accessibility. Think City used the survey results to inform the designer of users' preferences, although a design was already agreed upon earlier between the three main partners (Think City, BARRA and KLCH). The findings were also presented to the higher management of KLCH during the 'Mesyuarat Pembangunan' to get a green light to proceed with the project. During construction, these results were also exhibited to the public on the holding wrapped around the site.



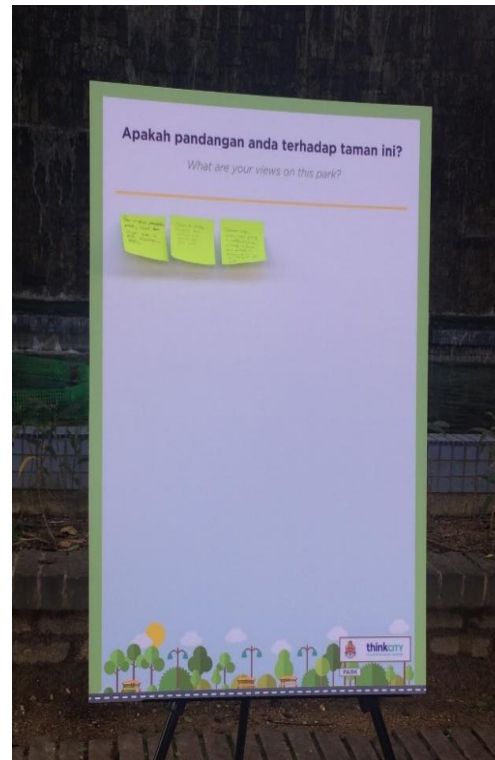
Figure 32 The arrangement of boards during the public engagement activity. Source: Author, 2017.



Figure 33 The survey results were printed on the holding around the site during the construction phase. Source: Author, 2017.



The 1st board: Introduction



2nd board: Views about the



3rd Board – What would make the park better in the future?



4th Board – What would you like to see at the park?

Figure 34 Examples of boards put up on site to survey public opinion on the park future image, activities and facilities. The respondents were given numbering stickers to vote their preferences from the set of images provided.

6.1.2 Growing Bottom-up community initiatives in Kuala Lumpur

Bottom-up community initiatives that emerged in 2001 has grown stronger in Kuala Lumpur, especially in the commercial and business districts. They are in the form of retailers' associations such as BARRA (Batu Road Retailers Association) in Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman, and BBEC (Bukit Bintang Environmental Committee) Bukit Bintang. Both organisations have taken the approach to engage and maintain a good relationship with KLCH to better their business area.

BBEC was established in 2001 with the launch of the LA21 pilot project. Hotels in the area such as the Federal Hotel, Capitol Hotel, the Royale Bintang and the Swiss Garden, as well as shopping centres such as Sungei Wang Plaza, Imbi Plaza and Low Yat Plaza are members of the committee. Grassroots efforts in cleaning the shopping area include initiating a thorough study on implementing grease traps and converting food waste into compost. There were plans to buy the machine through funds 'generated from the recycling campaign' in the area (the Star Online dated 25/8/2008). Each year, the BBCE collaborates with the KLCH LA21 unit organises twice a year 'gotong-royong' for a massive general cleaning of the area. LA21 in KLCH is a unit under the planning department and is active in community outreach programs. During the fieldwork attachment with KLCH, the researcher observed two community outreach programs: Walkabout with BBCE on (16/12/2016) and the Neighbourhood Garden Projects observation (29/3/2017), which includes schools and the neighbourhood area. Notes from my fieldwork diary on BBCE walkabout:

During the BBEC walkabout session, representatives from each department in KLCH including BREB and LA21, KLCH Executive Director of Project Management and BBEC representative, walked around BB area taking notes of issues that need to be resolved. Issues arising such as flash flood, pedestrians' safety, waste management, and illegal business enforcements are channelled to the respective department for further actions. LA21 unit acts as the coordinator and further follow up is done through this unit.'

6.2 An Overview of Public Participation in George Town

Penang has seen a change of State government to the opposition party in 2008, shortly after George Town was listed as the world heritage site. In the context of urban development, it is a transition from a pro-conservation to a pro-developer government. Jenkins (2008) described the change as a 'dramatic swing away from conservation...(as) the development pressure grew... the newly appointed state and MPPP officers seemed unaware of the conservation efforts of the previous state government, MPPP and NGOs.'

Although the previous state government introduced modernisation to Penang, through flagship projects such as KOMTAR tower, Penang Bridge and a Free-Trade Zone, the government has undertaken efforts to include conservation within the new development. Conservation Guidelines were introduced with five Conservation Zones and categorisation of buildings with heritage value. Efforts such as the Penang Story International Conference (2002), the formation of Penang Heritage Trust, and the employment of German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) to provide professional advice on urban revitalisation, are indications of the presence of

‘collaboration between certain levels of the government and the NGOs’ (Jenkins, 2008). However, the new leadership has dismissed the GTZ.

A new chapter in the relationship between the state government, the local authorities and Penang Civil societies began. News on Penang NGOs' opposing development planned by the state government such as the Jerejak Island redevelopment, the Penang Transport Master Plan (PTMP), and the Penang South Reclamation (PSR) surface in local newspapers, in television news, and in the social media. The highpoint to this sour relationship was when Penang Chief Minister was reportedly calling the Penang NGOs to ‘have become more vocal towards the state’s development plans, instead of the opposition’ (the Star Online, 19/11/2018). He, however, denied such allegations. To that, the Steering Committee of Penang Forum reacted:

‘We are not a political party; we are only civil society raising issues on the environment, to protect it for the future generation... It is a very sad day when the chief minister says we are the new Opposition because we are consistently fighting for public interest, we have not changed’

(The Malay Mail, 21/11/2018)

6.2.1 State Government-led Research in Public Participation

In 2008, when the Opposition party took over, Penang Forum handed over a document known as the ‘Report of Working Groups’. This report contains a list of issues to be addressed and demands for a new partnership with Penang people, based on the principles of participation, transparency, accountability, sustainability

and social justice' (Penang Forum, 2008). In response to the demands, in 2011, the State government established the Penang Women's Development Corporation (PWDC) and rebranded the Socio-economic and Environmental Research Institute (SERI) into Penang Institute.

Penang Institute is the research arm funded by the Penang state government that envisioned a state and nation where 'public policy-making is as informed and collaborative as possible'. Five research programs have been devised by the institute, under the categories of history and heritage, socio-economic and statistic, urban studies, regional and strategic studies, as well as institutional reform and governance. The survey of Lebu Armenian and Lebu Aceh Street, which was the starting point of the Armenian Park improvement project, was conducted by Penang Institute in collaboration with GTWHI, before it was handed over to Think City (discussed in chapter 5).

An allocation of RM200,000 was assigned for the Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) project, and another RM1 million for the establishment of Penang Women's Development Corporation (PWDC) by the state government (Kamarudin, 2014). PWDC has spearheaded research on gender-responsive participatory budgeting (GRPB) to promote 'equality among all women and men, girls and boys, regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender or socio-economic background' (Penang Women's Development Corporation webpage, retrieved 17/7/19). A number of pilot projects have been undertaken between 2012 and 2016 on council housings, such as PPR Ampangan and PPR Jalan Sungai, as well as upgrading of public facilities, such as

Campbell Street market and Taman Kenari Neighbourhood Park. A four-phase participatory budgeting methodology framework was tested on the council housing as abstracted from the GRB e-newsletter and conference proceeding (Kamarudin, 2014):

Phase 1: Demographic survey of the residents.

Phase 2: Focus Group Discussions – to understand needs based on age groups and gender, following the concept of ‘different people, different needs’. List of priority needs to be addressed was compiled.

Phase 3: Voting on Needs and Budget Allocation – residents aged 10 years and above were allowed to vote and prioritise from a set of needs list.

Phase 4: Project Planning, Presentation and Implementation – discussion session with local government representatives on the needs, and plan on how to best meet them based on the constraints of budget allocation and project feasibility.

A respondent involved in the project has described that building the sense of community among the residents was the most significant achievement of PDWC, especially in PPR Jalan Sungai (PDWC Officer, female, 34 interviewed on 6/4/2017). Continuous engagement and active participation have created a sense of ownership and care about their residential area. This was further strengthened by another engagement method, namely the voting system, to choose colour schemes for the new paint on the external wall (Kamarudin, 2014; PDWC's Gender Responsive Budgeting, 2012). A new resident's association was formed, and from the common practise of hiring private contractors, the cleaning contract was awarded to the resident association in September 2013.

According to a respondent (PDWC Officer, female, 34 interviewed on 6/4/2017), the next step forward is the institutionalisation of GRPB in the practice of the State Government and the local authorities, with PWDC as the consultant.

6.2.2 Non-profit Organisation, Civil Societies and Community-Led Public Participation in George Town.

The civil societies in George Town, Penang, are known as active players in advocating for sustainable tourism development. The long and mature story of Penang civil societies is described in several academic writings. 'Penang (and Selangor) is where the NGOs are concentrated' (Rodan, 2014), 'Penang Heritage Thrust orchestrated the nomination for George Town - World Heritage Site' (Jenkins, 2008), and 'Penang voluntary sector is comparable with those observed in developed countries and hence unique among the developing countries' (Cheng et al., 2014).

During fieldwork, the researcher attended a forum organised by Penang Forum on 8/4/2017 at Penang Institute, entitled 'Save Jerejak'. The forum aimed to create awareness by sharing vital information about the history of the island and the need to preserve it against a redevelopment masterplan which includes 'luxury hotels, a bridge linking Jerejak Island to the main island, 1200 homes, a marina, a theme park and 11.5km round-island cycling track' (The New Straits Time, 10/3/2018). Field diary notes on the event:

'The hall in which Safe Jerejak forum was held could accommodate 200 people, but after only 10 minutes into the opening speech, a connecting room was open to house more people. More keep on coming. Five speakers were sharing the

historical role of Jerejak Island: a leprosy asylum in Malaysia (another asylum is in Sungai Buloh), tuberculosis sanatorium, a detention centre, a Japanese military base and a quarantine camp for migrants before entering Penang Island including the Hajj pilgrims travelling by sea. One speaker talked about the natural environment, home to unique species of plants and animals. Another speaker speaking in Mandarin (an English translator was present) shared about Buddhists and its relationship with the island. The reactions from members of the floor were astonishing. Anger, nostalgic, hope and fighting spirit were expressed. An attendee mentioned that he was born in Jerejak to leper quarantined parents. A proper inventory of graves found on the island was recommended. A suggestion for comprehensive historical research to identify significant heritage areas, a suggestion to apply for UNESCO heritage site, and also a suggestion for a counter development plan proposal.'

(Fieldwork diary, 8/4/2017)

Penang civil societies' collective voice has had a previous success story in putting a stop to a high profile state government project - the Penang Global City Project (PGCC). PGCC was put 'on hold until a proper public consultation is in place, with full transparency and a proper evaluation of the destructive impact is undertaken' (Anti-PGCC leaflet, Penang Forum Website). PGCC is described as 'a massive project to convert the existing racecourse into a vast, new city with 37 high-rise buildings' in the Anti-PGCC leaflet.

A Penang-based Activist (male, 70, interviewed on 4/4/2017) who used to serve in the local government described the suspension of local government election as 'the end of participatory democracy, a mega dissolution of participation, a mega destruction of participatory governance'. He mentioned Penang has' a strong

tradition of real participation because every single Chief Minister has been removed by losing in elections. The people are engaged, and the people are very concerned'. In the Anti-PGCC leaflet, it is written on people's power to vote in the practice of democracy. 'Use your vote in the coming election to vote against secrecy, subversion of due process and the dumping of projects such as PGCC on Penangites without any warning or proper discussion'.

A respondent felt that it is essential to have 'citizen with the capability to think critically to build a strong nation, even to be critical about the leadership' (Academician-Consultant Planner, male, 44, 27/05/2017). Penang has a network of 'NGOs, specific social groups built over the years and is consistent (in their course)' (Think City KL Officer 1, male, 41, 31/3/2017). For example, PHT has been around since 1987, and Arts-ED is more than 20 years old now. A respondent from PHT described that the media is a powerful platform to voice their concern, gain the needed attention, and distribute information.

'We understand the issue, strategised the position, and then put our voice forth in the media. We have been saying the same thing for so many years, it has become a kind of general awareness... When we first started, we were focusing on heritage conservation secure the world heritage site. Now, at least to some extent (George Town WHS) it's not going to get too messed up... So now we are trying to protect the hills, the coastline and all. So we start to have a voice there... Everything start with local actions.'

(Heritage Activist Penang, female, 52, 15/03/2017)

Some respondents have mixed reactions when asked about the NGOs' role in

fighting for a sustainable and participatory city planning. Most respondents from the implementer group would be both supportive and judgemental in their views on NGOs' efforts. A respondent from GTWHI (female, 35, interviewed on 3/4/2017) mentioned that the NGOs helped by always being on the watch over uncompliant construction works done on weekends. This is positive because enforcers have limited capacity compared to the huge number of construction projects that are going on. However, because NGOs are also known for intensifying issues, they tend to make things difficult. 'If they send a report and we don't reply promptly, they will straightaway publish it on the media, and we will have to give answers on the following Monday'. A politician (male, 62, interviewed on 4/4/2017) also described the NGOs as 'a watchdog – giving the government no-end of headaches', but it was well deserved 'to put them on their toes' and 'stay on the trails'. According to him, there are times when the NGOs' views need to be addressed, for example, if they are 'fighting for welfare rights'. However, Penang Island needs to go forward economically, even if the cost may be high, it is either 'you pay now or face a full-blown consequences of not doing anything within ten years from now'. He fully acknowledged the power of Penang NGOs, 'Penang public... they got their patience. You can't take their patience for granted. When they get fed up, they throw you stones and barrels, believe me.'

Two consultants shared their experience consulting with Penang NGOs. Both mentioned that the process was not easy, but it has brought positive impacts to the projects. It is important to be transparent, not do things in secrecy, and provide the NGO with a 'platform to voice their concern and give comments' (Consultant

Architect Penang 1, female, 35, 27/7/2017; Consultant Penang, male, 49, 6/4/2017). Although the process might 'slow things down', it was rewarding because it 'helps make the right decision' (Consultant Penang, 6/4/2017), and the NGOs 'might come up with interesting suggestions' (Consultant Architect Penang 1, female, 35, 27/7/2017).

During the researcher's fieldwork in Penang, most respondents met related placemaking to Think City projects, referring to Little India Improvement District, Greening George Town, Armenian Park Improvement, Armenian back lane upgrading and urban markets improvement. These projects have been the platform for Think City to adapt, explore and perfect the Malaysian context's placemaking approach. Having several prominent Penang activists such as Anwar Fazal and Laurence Loh as the Board of Directors, people in Think City 'have an NGO mentality and will never work in the government' (Conservation Architect Penang, male, 61 interviewed on 26/04/2017). In his poster at the Future Forward forum by REHDA Youth on 29/9/2016, Laurence Loh has written that engaging with the community is embedded in Think City's operating procedure. A respondent (Activist Penang, male, 70 interviewed on 4/4/2017) mentioned that the placemaking process is a reaction towards 'placeless' development. Placemaking 'rethinks on development, making projects more people centred'.

As Armenian Park's public engagement process has been discussed in the previous chapter, the focus of this chapter will be on the public engagement process of two other projects. One, the Chowrasta market, which was a collaboration between

Think City, LLA Architect and Arts-ED. Two, the Pulau Tikus market place, which was a collaboration between the Pulau Tikus Assemblywomen, Arts-ED and LLA Architects. The Chowrasta market improvement project was completed in 2016, while the Pulau Tikus market was at the early stage of planning.

In 2011, PICC planned for the revitalisation of urban markets in George Town, which includes Chowrasta. The initial planning was to 'only keep the façade, demolish the old market, and build new seven-storey buildings with carparks and market on top' (Consultant Architect Penang 1, female, 35, interviewed on 27/7/2017). Located within the WHS boundary and of high historical value, it is in the limelight of the NGO groups, with the complexity of a strong racial identity in the context, a strong political issue and a culture of the street market. There was a huge public protest to the market upgrading proposal, which led to an urban market survey. Think City was approached for technical expertise and later funded the social survey of the Chowrasta market and the cultural mapping for Campbell street market, both conducted by Arts-ED.

'The survey was not architectural. More of a social survey. How many people go there, traffic count and all this, very basic, prelim report. With that report, there were some recommendations. Chowrasta should be upgraded and maintained. We used this report to throw it back to the council and stop the decision to demolish the market.'

Consultant Architect Penang 1 (27/7/2017)

A huge name in the conservation field, the director of the LLA Architect, who was also the president of Badan Warisan Malaysia (BWM), or Malaysia Heritage Trust

at the time, was appointed as the consultant architect for the Chowrasta market upgrade. 'Our company was very vocal (protesting on the demolition of the market), and that was how we get stuck with this project. It's like a CSR project' (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 27/7/2017). The director described the appointment (in the interview on 26/4/2017) as 'a political decision' because the mayor 'needed somebody strong and respected (in the heritage field) to be the front man', which was 'a simple appointment that comes with big burden'.

As a strong advocator for conservation, placemaking and public participation, LLA Architects was determined to practice what they preached. The architect again commissioned Arts-ED to map the cultural ecology of the market place on specifics parameters. Cultural mapping 'maps the community assets and resources, capturing historical, social, economic and environmental data to inform future development' (Pillai, 2015). 'When you want to work with the community, cultural mapping is crucial, that means you must know what exists in the place' (Conservation Architect Penang, male, 61, 26/4/2016). Cultural mapping aims to provide cultural input into planning by getting the local people to define the meanings and cultural values of the site to them (personally and collectively). It is also a platform to share stories, skills, knowledge and initiate dialogues among the community and relevant stakeholders (Pillai, 2015).

Recommendations from the cultural mapping and survey were 'rigorously followed and prioritised', but more information and help was needed in community consultation. 'People there have low self-esteem; they have been neglected for

many years' (Arts-ED Officer 1, female, 40, 14/3/2017). Together with BWM, they tested new engagement methods, using arts as a technique for data collection. A photographic study was transformed into posters that were hung all over the market space. 'People came to look at art, but that was actually what you call a warm-up exercise, an ice breaker' (Conservation Architect Penang, male, 61, 26/4/2016).

'The group organised an exhibition in the market... the photographer took beautiful pictures of the vendors and the entire market was turned into a gallery. Big posters were hanging above the people (vendors) and they were proud. The uncle selling fish and all, they feel as if they are part of the living exhibition. That's how they started to be friendlier to us rather than being a closed community.'

Architect Consultant Penang, male, 61 (27/7/2017)

The respondents reflected on public engagement conduct, which 'needs to be done by a neutral party, by people with no hidden agenda' (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 27/7/2017). For this project, Arts-ED became the mediator between the market vendors, the architect and the local council for consultations and engagement process. Arts-ED had to bring all the stakeholders to the same level so that all parties could understand and learn from each other. 'We had to bring the architects down to the users' level and feed the users upwards to the level of the architect – it was hard' (Arts-ED Culture Activist, female, 54, 27/3/2017).

Chowrasta market 'has many racial issues, being dominated by Indian Muslims; there are a lot of silent minorities' (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, interviewed on 27/7/2017). Hence, smaller group engagement was needed to address the needs of minorities. After that, the groups in conflict were put in the

same room to discuss the conflict's matters. It was later identified as religious sensitivity issues that could be resolved through design and technicality.

'We ask them, why are you so angry about this? They (Indian Muslim vendors) said because they share the same loading bay with (the pork vendors) and the blood flows in their drain. Hence, in our design brief, the pork area now has a dedicated loading bay. When the lorry comes in, the roller shutter comes down and they do loading unloading inside. Nobody sees the whole pig coming out of the lorry. And we separate treatment system now. There are things if we trash it out and list it down, we can solve technically, and everybody is happy... You realise people can just accept each other. Sometimes, you just need to pay attention on the human factor'.

(Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35 interviewed on 27/7/2017)

The engagement process continued throughout the project, covering higher-level engagement, smaller groups and individuals from the market building design to the level of the detailed stall design. Design from the architect was shown to the vendors to get their feedback several times. Sketches and mock-ups were tested until a few standards for stalls were produced for the vendors to choose. It was reported in The Edge Markets dated 4/11/2017; there were '76 meetings, forum, discussions and exhibitions before and during the four-year redevelopment process... tackling issues of contested spaces and cultural sensitivity'. The architect reflected on the experience of the public engagement to enhancing design sensitivity, 'it's amazing because designers need to know how people use the stalls. Some stand outside the stalls, some inside. Their heights, the things they sell, also affect the height of the stalls'.

Having to confront protesting NGOs was a tremendous experience for the

respondent (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 27/7/2017). The NGOs wanted to retain the 'street market' culture, as they associate it with Malaysian culture. The consultant team felt that the street culture needs to be upgraded. LLA Architect arranged for a dialogue with the NGOs through an open forum in KOMTAR where they finally reach a consensus of maintaining the street market concept, but with a 'decent look, to be well organised and pretty' (Conservation Architect, male, 61, 26/4/2017). A respondent (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 27/7/2017) reflects on the encounter with Penang NGOs:

We let them bombard us. The NGOs said they wanted the street culture. Parking is not needed... People who want to park, should just go to Tesco... They imagined the market for 'beautiful women in kebaya holding a basket and come by in a beca (trishaw)... These are like architects, NGOs, philosopher who doesn't use the market... I actually stood in front at the forum and answered every single question until they are satisfied. The NGOs have good intention in perfecting the local culture but they are stuck in time. But we need to give them a space to channel their concerns, their frustration and all. After the forum, we cleared everything.'

A few months after the market opening, there were some protests by on-street morning market traders, claiming the new place was narrow, inconvenient for their regular customers and lack of shaded areas (as reported in The Star Online dated 17/03/2017). In their defence, the city secretary claimed that the decision was made after a series of discussions with the traders and a recommendation made through the survey carried out by BWM. A representative of the PICC licensing department added that 'the council had selected traders (112 out of 200-morning traders) to be placed inside the market after observing their business pattern for 30 days. They were required to be open for at least 20 days in a month' (reported in Free Malaysia

Today website, retrieved on 17/7/2019).

In their responses, most respondents involved in the project claimed that the local authority representative was absent during the several community engagement activities at the planning and design stage. 'An ideal way of doing public consultation is to get active participation from PICC, which we couldn't. They only turned up in some sessions because the politician brought the press' (Architect Consultant Penang, female, 35, 26/4/2017). When PICC questioned the consultant regarding the new protest, a respondent replied, 'we had to take out their tors and show them, your tors said, 'don't allow anybody on the street', we are only following your tors' (Arts-ED Penang Officer 1, female, 40, 14/3/2017). This reflected that rigid and outdated regulations limit a localised context's potential to be explored in a project design and construction.

This project has indicated that although a thorough public participation process has taken place, and the outcome of designing a meaningful place was achieved, with the market certified as a Green Building, the sustainability of this placemaking process is compromised because one of the stakeholders or the main actors has not participated actively in the process. Edelenbos et al. (2018) described this relationship as avoidance, a combination of negative attitude and passive behaviour, where actors are not open to collaboration or power-sharing. Avoidance is an unstable relationship, which can turn into a co-creation or co-destruction of a community initiative.

Another public and community engagement process observed during fieldwork was Pulau Tikus marketplace. The marketplace was also planned to be redeveloped with a multi-story carpark and market building. As an advocator of a 'bottom-up approach to planning, grassroots participation and inclusive decision-making', the assemblywoman who grew up in Pulau Tikus commissioned a baseline study and cultural mapping to identify the cultural assets of her constituency (Pusat Khidmat KADUN Pulau Tikus, 2017). Data collected from the survey will inform the future planning of Pulau Tikus. The public engagement for Pulau Tikus market redevelopment was listed as one of the projects to be expected in 2017-2018.

Although situated outside of the WHS, the pre-independence market structure of cast iron and bricks, with open planning and grill walls, is an architecture to be preserved. The market is dominated by the Chinese, with a mixture of Indian Muslim and Malay Muslim minorities. The assemblywoman hired Arts-ED to conduct a 'cultural mapping and formulation of market area redevelopment schematic concept' (Phase 1 of market revitalisation). Phase 2 will be the formulation of recommendations for market layout and management. Arts-ED scope of work includes:

1. Stakeholder Communication and Engagement Plan
2. Public Information and Engagement Campaign
3. Cultural Mapping
4. Formulation of Draft Schematic Concept Plan
5. Public Consultation and Draft Schematic Concept Plan
6. Final Schematic Concept Plan, Design Guideline and Report

A team with almost the same people involved in the Chowrasta project was assembled. Arts-ED collected a multi-disciplinary team of a sociologist, an artist and a planner and collaborated with LLA Architect. Arts-ED allowed the researcher to observe, photograph and document the community engagement process to formulate a draft schematic concept plan. The exercise, which includes a public campaign, three engagement programs with the vendors, an ongoing cultural mapping survey, a number of focus group discussions for feedback on the conceptual design, and meetings with the client and the local authority, has taken place between April to August 2017. The project began with a 'kick-off meeting' on 25/04/2017, to introduce the project and establish a connection between Arts-ED team, the client and PICC. In the meeting, a list of information needed from relevant departments in PICC was made, and the client urged full cooperation from the members. The first encounter with the public was on 29/4/2017 (Figure 38), with volunteers from the client team and Arts-ED distributing the 'Getting Ideas for Pulau Tikus Our Market Place' flyers and the 'Pulau Tikus Urban Revitalization Review Booklet' to introduce the campaign. The President of the Market Association later joined the team. The flyers were written in two languages: English and Mandarin. The market vendors are known to be both English and Mandarin speaking.

The week following the flyers distribution, Arts-ED enumerators begun the cultural mapping data collection and one-to-one survey with the vendors. It was later found that although most vendors could speak English, not all of them could read difficult paragraphs, and some vendors are Hokkien dialect speakers, which proved that the assumption that they all are Mandarin speakers is wrong.

This piece of information affected the earlier arrangement of putting a Malay community connector in charge, and having a Chinese assistant was deemed necessary. This issue needed to be addressed in the posters and banners – less words, more visual to communicate information. Issues such lack of parking space, improper storage area, insufficient facilities for night hawkers, and unattractive market condition to attract the younger generation, were identified during the cultural mapping activities. This information was transformed into comic art banners and buntings, which were hung around the market as a medium of communication with the vendors and market users (Figure 39 and 40).



Figure 35 Distribution of flyers and booklets by the Arts-ED team and KADUN Pulau Tikus volunteers, wearing a tag and a matching apron

Vendors 28 May 2017

您的意见，万山的未来

● 是 ● 否

停车处
为了减少塞车，应该搬去 Jalan Pasar 路旁停车，并将减少路宽。

如果有明确的指示牌提供方向和价格，我愿意使用附近的停车场	●	●			
如果从附近的停车场到巴刹有提供良好的行人专用街道，我会步行 <i>focus on "pedestrian road crossings"</i>	●	●			
我会使用巴刹旁的上下货处 (15 分钟) <i>separate inside loading bay for vendor at one of the market openings.</i>	●	●			

路边小贩
巴刹需要被扩大来容纳现有路边小贩

所有路边小贩应在同一个屋檐下运作 <i>(Day)</i>	●	●			
所有晚上的路边小贩应在同屋檐底下运作	●	●			
我选择使用手推车/桌子，租用 tapak					
我选择固定的 tapak 及摊位					

Public Campaign 2 | Visual strategies proposals 29/5

Do street hawkers need a roof?

Do we need younger customers?

Figure 36 Information from the survey (several languages were used) were transfereed into cartoon images. Source: Author, 2017.

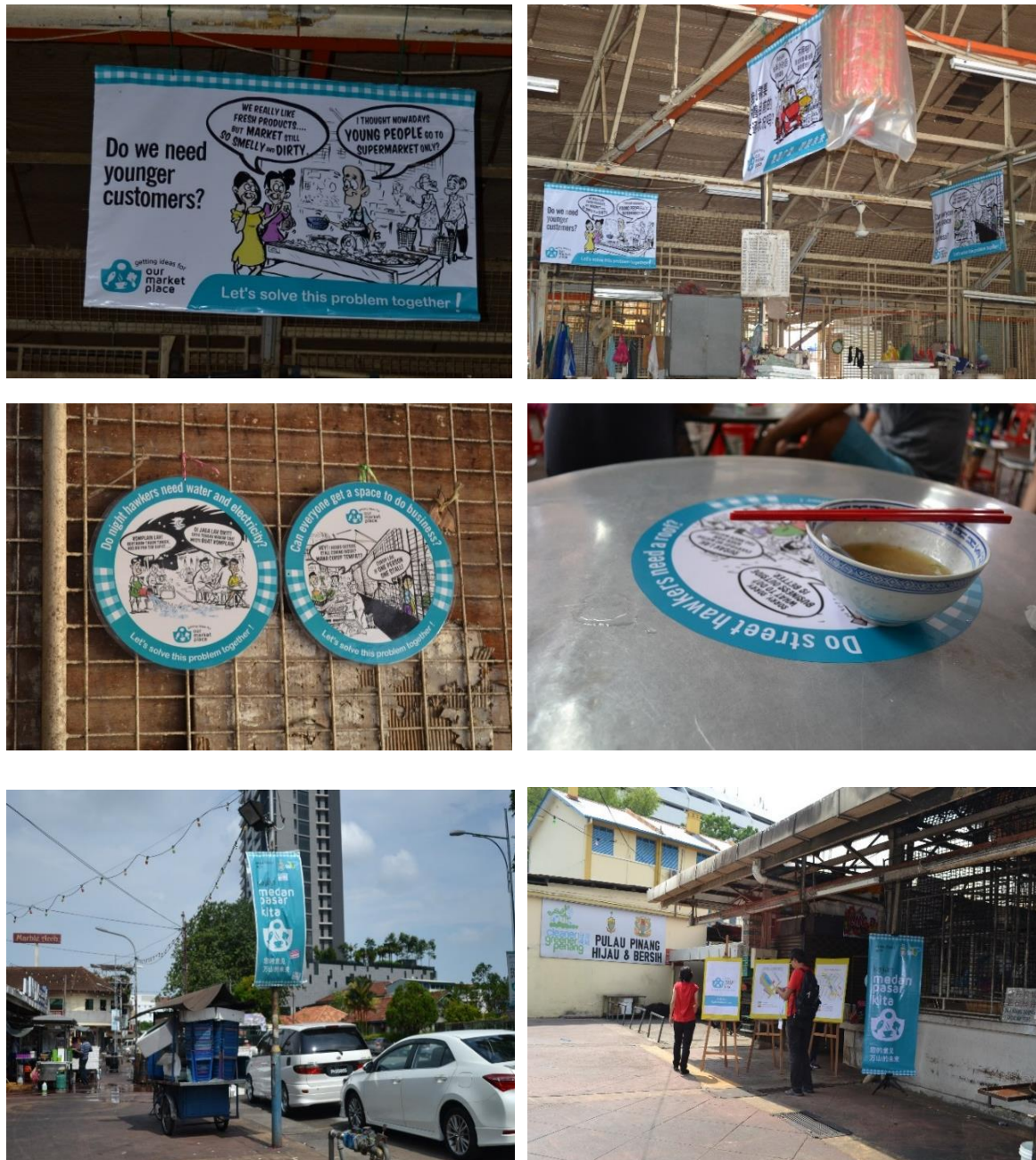


Figure 37 Banners, bunting, posters and table stickers placed all over the market place to disseminate information using cartoon images. Source: Author, 2017

The first focus group discussion (FGD) was carried out between 15 and 16 June 2017, to discuss the needs, issues, ideas for the place, as well as vote for the preferred solution. The objective was to gauge the level of acceptance to change and compromise between the vendors (indoor/outdoor and day/night vendor) in

sharing space. Currently, most outdoor vendors have no proper water supply facilities and storage area. Most morning vendors rent a small storage space at the back of the shophouses nearby, while the night market hawkers store their carts about 100 meters away at a rented space. Elderly vendors will pay a runner to push their cart to the market. Part of the process was feeding the vendors on the bigger picture of market Improvement and thinking beyond self-interest. Six FGD sessions were conducted in English and Malay languages, with Hokkien or Mandarin translation. The location of the FGD was explored in a few spots inside and outside the market (Figure 41). Presentation boards showing the bigger context of the market were put up. Most vendors were only concerned about where their stall would be located. Most wanted to be placed by the roadside, afraid to be located on the inside – away from the pedestrians. During the sessions, suggestions about the zoning of the areas and new shared facilities were also discussed.



Figure 38 Several FGD session were conducted inside and outside market area with the market vendors. Source: Author, 2017.

Using the data from the FGD and the cultural mapping, the consultant architect came up with two schematic design options. The larger context surrounding the market building was explored. More detailed zoning and design images were

produced and was first presented to the client. Ideas to envelop the market area, and an injection of youth facilities were also discussed. Comments from the clients were noted, and schematic design options were perfected. Another six multi-lingual FGD sessions with the market vendors were conducted at the market's food court area (Figure 42).



Figure 39 FGD Session in the food court area on the initial design idea of market improvement. Source: Author, 2017.

This time, there were more heated discussions as the plan took a more realistic shape. The architect team patiently answered all the questions and have taken notes of disagreement and suggestions. Voting of the preferred schematic design was carried out by raising of hands. The idea to blanket the market area with a high volume roof was most admired. Since the community engagement process aims to get feedback from the vendors on the schematic design idea, there was no real pressure to form a consensus. Two significant conflicts that surfaced during the engagement was the number of active indoor vendors and the illegal renting of the vendors' space to a third party. It seemed that during the inspection by PICC, some of the vendors pretended to open their shops, but in reality, the spaces have been rented to other vendors. The matter was resolved through the discussion between

Arts-ED and the PICC licensing department.



Figure 40 Preparation by Arts-ED team before conducting any engagement or FGD session with the community. Source: Author, 2017.

The spirit of participation, inclusiveness, and equality in governance is reflected both in Penang NGOs' vocal voice and the State Government's efforts. In reality, hitting a balance between sustainable development and market forces' pressure has motivated both parties to explore public participation methods and encouraged a healthy community initiative by concerned citizens.

6.3 An Overview of Public Participation in Ipoh

Compared to Kuala Lumpur and George Town, the term placemaking was jargon when the researcher first set foot in Ipoh City Hall (ICC). On the contrary, the consultant architect and owner of Sekeping Kong Heng (interviewed on 10/6/2017) described his project in Ipoh as precisely that (placemaking).

'For us it is easy to build beautiful buildings, it's given because we are architects. But how to make it work? It involves a lot of community – placemaking. We've got to get the right people to

collaborate with us. We brought in Plan B, KL based brand, but the owner is also from Ipoh. Julie Song from Indulgence came and set up Burp and Giggles. I brought the Sekeping brand in from KL. Yasmin Ahmad's gang from Leo Burnett came, they need a place and we say come on in, we give you free rental. By putting a few of this quite big brands together, it generated a bit of activities. We need to build a critical mass. Alone, we can't do it.'

Since institutionalised community-based urban-regenerator or the vocal NGO groups yet to come into being in Ipoh, the term 'placemaking' was not something that is familiar among the respondents and placemakers in Ipoh. However, the essence and principles are always present. Instead of having the said intermediary, the placemaking process in Ipoh takes the form of a direct encounter between the ICC (the local authority) and the community themselves. Community-based initiatives such as Sekeping Kong Heng, Concubine Lane upgrading, and small business entrepreneurs like Hipster cafés have initiated the catalytic effect of urban centre regeneration in Ipoh.

6.3.1 State and Local government flexibility and facilitation

With the decline of the tin mining industry, Ipoh has lost its economic competitiveness, which led to the deterioration of the old town centre's physical elements and buildings. Ipoh urban form is dominated by small scale buildings, with a higher number of privately owned buildings than those owned by the government (Mamat, 2014). Sadly, in the Local Plan 2020, almost 40% of these premises were reported to be empty (Ipoh City Hall, 2010). Factors such as the lack of awareness on heritage preservation, lack of funding, a decline in business, and discontinuity of business operation (Mamat, 2014) have been identified as the cause of these

building's negligence, resulting them to be in the state of dilapidation. Ipoh and the neighbouring small towns within the Kinta Valley were dying and nicknamed 'ghost town' (Mymetro online 8/5/2018).

Ipoh state government and ICC took a rigorous effort to regenerate the old town by conducting a series of dialogues with various groups such as local creative industry and international consultants, which identified heritage and nature to guide future development. In 2008 Perak structure plan 2020 was gazetted, followed by Ipoh Local Plan 2020 in 2012 and Ipoh Heritage Tin City Special Area Plan in 2014 with the vision to turn Ipoh into a sustainable city. The sustainable agenda adopted community –based spirit in eco-tourism and conservation centric development. Perak state government encouraged the burgeoning hipster cafes business where new guidelines were drafted in 2017 and responded to the Concubine Lane community voice for a technical study of their area. Similarly, ICC addresses changes to the local plan by allowing amendments, entertaining discussions with individual property owners that spurs good relationship as observed during fieldwork and facilitating community actions with flexibility in law enforcement, allowing bottom-up community actions in the placemaking process to flourish.

6.3.2 Self-organising Community met with facilitation by the state and local authority

In 2012, the sleeping town of Ipoh was awakened by blooming of new business trend: hipster cafes and boutique hotels. 'Ipoh is now roaring back in style... conversion of old buildings, shophouses and bungalows into cafes and boutique

hotels has turned Ipoh into a hipster town' (the Star Online dated 3/3/2018). Sekeping Kong Heng, Burps and Giggles, Chokodok Reggae and Backpackers' Hostel, Patteserie Boutique, M Boutique Hotel and Happy Eight are among the brands taking over vacant shop lots all over Ipoh. This concept quickly suits the existing character of Ipoh, an old town with rustic colonial buildings and a famous location for vintage item collectors, hunting at a weekly Sunday flea market known to the locals as Loken Market. 'Hipster cafe is an expression of creativity, where it comes in the form of an eclectic interior design or menu combinations. Hipster cafés in Ipoh have a few things in common – 'they take what remains of Ipoh's colonial-era structures and dress them with eccentric decorations, serving contemporary food' (Malay mail online date 6/10/2018). Hipster concept shops 'do not require investors to dole out much money, but old and used items worked best, the older it looks, the more appealing it becomes' (Free Malaysia Today Online, 19/5/2016). Happy 8 hotel and café owner described the new and small intervention as 'Ipoh style – they must understand; Ipoh has their own style' (Culture Enthusiast, male, 54, interviewed on 4/7/2017).



Figure 41 Ipoh style rustic look (Cultural enthusiast, 2017). Left top: Happy Eight hotel and café (Source: Author, 2017), bottom: Burp and Giggles (Source: Burp and Giggles FB). Right top and bottom: Sekeping Kong Heng. Source: Author, 2017.

The regeneration of the Sekeping Kong Heng area is a collective effort of four individuals, who teamed up to purchase a triple-story neo-classical pre-war building and several other units linked to it, making it to 8 buildings in total with a built-up space of 30,000 square feet. The project is described as ‘purely commercial but appreciative of local history and heritage with the intention to add value, lengthen the building lifespan and contribute to the revitalisation of the forgotten old town’

(The Star Property, 12/02/2012). The owners decided to retain Kong Heng coffee shop 'for perpetuity as it is the heart and soul' of the area, persuaded an old-school retired barber to occupy a space and return to his haircutting business (The Malay Mail, 2014), and provided a space to house a speciality craft shop intended to hook designers and communities to make local craft products. During a site inspection trip (8/6/2017) with two ICC planners, a senior planner reminisced his childhood nostalgia on his regular visit to a barbershop in the area. In an interview with the Star Property on 12/2/2012, when asked whether the business model is going to be successful and sustainable, one of Sekeping Kong Heng partner replied,

'I honestly don't know. It has worked in other cities. Ipoh old town has interesting buildings and architectural space. It has history, good food, soul and interesting shops during day time. It is also close to mass transportation hubs like railway and bus station. From business point of view, it has a lot more to offer than those new suburbs.'

Activist Landscape Architect, Ipoh, male, 54 (10/6/2017)

Fast forward to 2018, not only has the Sekeping Kong Heng completed the intended Phase 1 (accommodations) and Phase 2 (food and beverage outlet), it has also completed its guest villa which houses new book store. In an article written in 2016, The Guardian listed Sekeping Kong Heng as one of the World's Top 10 industrial-chic hotels and hostels along with others of the similar concept buildings, mostly located in cities well-known for tourism such as Berlin, Amsterdam, Tokyo, New York and Bangkok (The Guardian webpage entry 18/4/2016). This has increased Sekeping Kong Heng's popularity because the project is recognised to be at par with international standards. The aim to spark revitalisation of the old town has borne

fruit, as it has successfully pulled crowd to the old town and inspired other property owners to restore their buildings. A respondent (Activist Landscape Architect, Ipoh, male, 54, interviewed on 10/6/2017), one of Sekeping Kong Heng partners mentioned, was their aim to carry out inexpensive restoration to inspire others to do conservation works.

'The other thing I wanted as an architect was how I can do restoration cheaply. If we make restoration and heritage preservation expensive, nobody will do it. The idea for Sekeping Kong Heng was we leave a lot of things untouched - don't paint it, leave the trees on the walls. We want to redefine what heritage is. Heritage is not just buildings, where everything is dead. Heritage is a living thing, so the trees are important, the stories are important, the patina on the walls, the colours... they have stories. Why certain period this colour was used, certain paints and certain lime wash. We don't need to make it all new again. The main thing was to make it quite affordable. We build (Sekeping Kong Heng) very slipshod cheap. We bang things together. What new is new, when it's new we use glass, we use steel, bare concrete. From a lot of conservationist, we get criticism. But my idea is, the story is very important. When a Martian fly into Kong Heng, and he look at the building, he knows that this part was built in the 60s, or the 50s, and this one is made in the year 2000. That differentiation, for us is important. We don't want it to look like everything was made in 1960s. That, to us is fake.'

The combination of small efforts by individual owners that spread all over the old town resonated a new image that can no longer be left unnoticed. Chokodok Reggae's owner, who recycled old woods into furniture such as tables from discarded wheels to coil cables and tree-stump stools, has received objections from the local council. This does not comply with the standard requirements and regulations under the Food Act 1983. On the contrary, the Perak State government recognised the catalytic effect these new businesses have brought in regenerating the old town. 'Ipoh has decided to capitalise on this trend and use it as the means

to boost tourism - the Menteri Besar declared Ipoh as a hipster town' (Free Malaysia Today dated 19/05/2016). During the researcher's fieldwork attachment with ICC, the planning department was in the process of drafting new guidelines for hipster cafés.

In one of the researcher's informal conversation (noted in the field diary), the Planner in ICC mentioned that he had received invitations from a number of local councils in Malaysia to share the secret of the successful regeneration of the old town, to which he declined because, 'it is not about what we (ICC) have done, but what we have not done (strict enforcement), and being flexible to accommodate them'. Facilitation by the local council and flexibility in enforcement have allowed the space for Sekeping Kong Heng to bloom and opened up avenues for Concubine Lane to flourish.

A respondent (Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60, interviewed on 9/06/2017) who owns and restored his properties in Concubine Lane has talked about the change in the local authority's attitude in recent years. ICC was more flexible during the early years when Ipoh began to regenerate, and there wasn't any strict guideline in place to control restoration works. However, in recent years, enforcement has become more stringent, with compound being issued and orders to clear off temporary structures were given. A respondent from the implementer group (ICC Officer, male, 35, interviewed on 3/8/2017) mentioned although some renovation and alteration of the old buildings were not in accordance with the law, it is impossible to impose a 100% law enforcement due to the complexity of having to

tear down permanent structures that do not conform to the by-laws, especially in Concubine Lane. He claimed flexibility is necessary with issuing compound and orders to take down additional temporary structures such as awnings.

Despite an unfortunate beginning, Concubine Lane has transformed from a rundown and 'deemed unfit to live' in 2011 to a bustling tourist attraction in Ipoh. Negotiations and demand exchange between the add-hoc Panglima Lane Resident Committee, the State Government and the local authority have managed to stop the order to vacate the area and sprung bottom-up community initiatives to bring a new life to the lane. Not only has the committee successfully summoned the council to fund a technical report and conservation strategies for the area, they also managed to push for an infrastructure upgrading as well, with a shrinking allocation of RM250K. An interview with a respondent (Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60, interviewed on 9/06/2017), suggested that community engagement activities have been carried out for the infrastructure upgrading works, 'I'm quite happy with what they have done, letting us choose the patterns for the paving. The bricks that they lay along the drain there? I suggested to them. They get us involved, and that was how the bricks were originally.'

The Panglima Lane Residents Committee was not registered as a formal association but acted as a loose community association. The community works within an informal structure, but they teamed up to look after their area with the same purpose: to achieve a thriving business. The spirit of gotong-royong pulled individual owners to work together to do general cleaning, collect money to hire a cleaner for

the area (eventhough it is the responsibility of ICC), and construct drain covers out of wood for uniformity, although it was not made compulsory.

'Earlier on we do gotong-royong, and get together every week. Now the drains are clean. Of course the council do not do it anymore, because we do it... Here everybody cleans their space before they go back. They carry their dustbin out, clean and all. If they don't, we will remind them. When we don't like something, we talk to them, and say, 'if not, we will talk to the council'... Before this, the council neglected this place, never even bother. Until we fought for this... We have decided that we are going to move the street ourselves. It is a fact, that even if somebody is trying to put a stop to this, they can't, because the forces are there...'

Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60 (9/06/2017)

The same strong spirit of community initiative and the low dependence on the local council have started revitalising a parallel lane to Concubine Lane: the Market Lane. As a retaliation to what has become of Concubine Lane, the community in Market lane initiated cultural and heritage-based actions in the form of a collective effort to revive the Chinese culture and heritage through arts and cultural activities in the Market Lane. New galleries such as the herbal tea museum – Ho Yan Hur, and the Hakka Miners Club Museum – Han Chin Pet Soo, have been opened in Ipoh Old Town's vicinity, giving a stronger Chinese character to the area.

The revitalisation of Market Lane was spearheaded by three Ipoh-born friends who are arts and culture enthusiasts themselves. Bringing the Chinese cultural heritage back to life by having a 'culture and art corridor' and organising events such as the Moon Cake Festival, the Chinese New Year Parade and urban sketching, was a retaliation to the alien tourism-based activities and products in Concubine Lane.

Individuals in the community forked out their own money to move events and activities and beautify their area without government funding. Physical upgrading such as the covering of water drains with timber slabs for public safety and personally shopping and shipping Chinese lanterns from China as a means to promote events in the media were self-initiated. One of the initiators of the 'culture and art corridor' described the action as to 'revive the story of Ipoh' and 'bring back the traditional Chinese culture to the area' through actions:

'Most important is action, one of the powerful things. When we discuss and someone bring up an idea, and if I agree, I play my part. (For the Mooncake Festival Parade), I spent two days in China, Guangzhou to shop for these lanterns that can last long and we import them back. When ideas are brought up, it's like a magnet. Everybody just do it, get it done. I know them for quite a short while when this idea came up. The power of pulling it together starts. We pull out our own money and time, we don't mind because we just want things to happen. We don't talk much, once agreed, we move.'

Culture Enthusiast, male, 54 (4/7/2017)

When asked about the methods of bringing people to participate in reviving Market Lane, a respondent (Tour Guide Association Ipoh, female, 41, interviewed on 4/7/2017) described the initiator as a strong leader who is 'a lucky man that can move people to do things even individually and voluntarily'. The initiator (Cultural Enthusiast, male, 54, interviewed on 4/7/2017) recounted that it began as 'an informal discussion with friends on ideas to revive traditional Chinese culture and retain Ipoh history for future generations'. This motivated his friends and local Ipohites to buy rundown properties in the area and restore the buildings. The respondent reported an incident when a nearby property owner stopped demolition

works after visiting the respondent's building, admiring the restoration work. A respondent who owns five shoplots in Concubine Lane remembered that he heard the 'call to revive the old town' by its people:

'Over 10 years ago – this I got from some people who are in the building business - even before I got in here. He said, 'if each one of us are able to buy 10 buildings, look at the number of us, we can actually buy the entire old town, and put it back in place, we will all gain, because the market price has gone down and business have close, we can start it back again', and this is what I heard before I even start. There were people thinking along the same line... The pleasant Ipoh town, the area that you are now seeing... if people start conserving, you can have a beautiful old town again. It will start bustling.'

Concubine Lane Ipoh Property Owner, male, 60 (9/06/2017)

The next step was to discuss the Market lane vision with property owners, where some wanted to replicate business in Concubine Lane. Patiently, the initiator shared his idea of incorporating the local history and culture concept for the area, not merely doing commercial business that is homogenous with other places. The respondent (Culture Enthusiast, male, 54, interviewed on 4/7/2017) highlighted the importance of physical buildings and the intangible heritage in maintaining an area's sense of place. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

For a start, events organised in Market Lane were in conjunction with Chinese festivals such as the Lantern Festival and Chinese New Year. There is no entrance fee for these events, and discussions of the activities and ideas were carried out through the WhatsApp phone application. Through promotion in local news and local social media platform, the group grew bigger and bigger. Since the activities are free

and non-profitable, anyone interested may join, including people of different ethnicities and religions. 'Last year (2016) the Lantern festival was very successful, with the Indian and Malay friends bringing their children, and we walked around the old town, there was also lion dance' (Tour Guide Association Ipoh, female, 41 interviewed 4/7/2017). According to a respondent (Culture Enthusiast, male, 54, interviewed on 4/7/2017), the effort to bring life back to Ipoh old town was made without haste. 'It was an incremental process, which will sustain for a very long time' if done in the correct way.'

Community participation in Ipoh could be concluded as a form of bottom-up community initiative, with a co-creation relationship with the government. The subtle conflicts between both parties were dissolved with strong community actions to revive the old town, met with the local authority's flexibility and facilitation. A respondent from the ICC planning department (Planner 2, male, 52 interviewed on 8/6/2017) claimed that at the beginning, only minimum intervention by the local government is needed in places of attraction (to keep its authenticity) and to gauge the response from the public. Further intervention will follow only if there is a positive response from the community and sustainability is foreseen. Sustainability can only be achieved when the community and surrounding people are prepared to receive improvements or programs. The local authority should not enforce things that they are not prepared to accept (ICC Planner 3, male, 55, interviewed on 8/6/2017).



Figure 42 Several community initiated laneways improvements. Top left: Concubine Lane - standardised drainage cover, Top left: Laneway beside Sekeping Kong Heng, bottom left and right: Market Lane Chinese lamp and umbrella. Source: Author, 2017.

6.4 Conclusion

'Placemaking is participation in both the production of meaning and in the means of production of a locale' (Lepofsky & Fraser, 2003). Public participation is seen as a means to construct a collective sense of place, which should be reflected in the construction of physical spaces or programmes. In urban regeneration of historic urban centres, the debate on the sense of place centres on the conflict between amplifying the genius loci and injecting a fresh image into the place. Consequently, the confrontation between organic community initiative and structured government actions is a concern in the production of a locale.

Public participation is not something new in Malaysian urban planning practice. It is a requirement to conduct public participation for any developments as stipulated in the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) and Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267). Most local authorities in Malaysia adopt the public exhibition and public hearing methods of participation. Apart from that, Malaysia embraces the Rio Declaration (1992), in which to achieve sustainable development, public participation is required as stipulated in Local Agenda 21. However, the objectives of public participation in Malaysia are yet to be discovered, understood and applied across the board (Dola & Mijan, 2006). The challenge lies in the structural and operational limitation in the planning process, where public participation only happens at the early stage of planning (Marzuki, 2008). There is a dire need to explore more effective and successful public participation programmes that allow for active community involvement (Omar & Hoon Leh, 2007). As Malaysia is becoming more culturally diversified, the conventional way of public participation, its objective

and its outcome are being further questioned and challenged in the quest to conserve its cultural heritage.

During fieldwork, a number of public participation and engagement exercises, both at the planning and the project implementation stages, have been observed in the three case studies. The exposure to the methods adopted, the encounter with the different levels of complexity in terms of communication and decision-making, and the objective set by the initiator, have left the researcher questioning its effectiveness.

Table 17 An overview of citizen participation in each case studies' placemaking process during fieldwork 19/10/2016 – 20/8/2017.

Initiative by Actors	KL	GT	Ipoh
State Government/ FTM	Structure plan – Public exhibition and hearing stipulated in Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267)	Structure Plan – public exhibition and hearing stipulated in Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) - Penang Women Development Corporation (Gender Responsive Participatory Budgeting) - Penang Institute studies.	- FGD with creative industry group and Panglima Lane Resident Committee. - Instructed new guidelines drafted for hipster cafes.
Local Authority	Draft local plan – public exhibition, public hearing and FGD. Completed local plan was not gazetted. -BREB – collaboration with TC for LMT, and LTP and other small scale urban spaces in downtown KL. -KLCH collaborate with	Draft local plan – public exhibition, public hearing and FGD. Completed local plan was not gazetted. - Online surveys via PICC website - Initiate revitalisation of public markets and manage licencing aspects but	Draft local plan – public exhibition, public hearing, and FGD. Completed local plan gazetted and allowed for amendments. During fieldwork attachment with ICC, the gazetted local plan is undergoing the 8 th amendment cycle. - Draft new guidelines for hipster café and

	resident/retailers associations like BARRA for JTAR upgrading and BBCE for Bukit Bintang	were not fully participating in community engagement activities conducted by NPO or NGO -Provide councillor seat for Penang Forum and Technical Review Panel	shophouse conservation.
Non-profit Organisation	Think City – Think City grants program, community engagement capacity building for local authorities such as for LMT, placemaking workshops, management projects that adopt community engagement activities such as LTP and various community programs to activate public spaces.	-Think City – George Town Grants Programs (GTGP), management projects that adopt community engagement activities and various community programs. -Arts-ED – cultural mapping consultant carries out community engagement activities for several markets in Penang such as Chowrasta, Balik Pulau and Pulau Tikus.	n/a
Non-government Organisation	n/a	-PHT collaboration with former state government and PICC in the course for heritage conservation and WHL. Also organises walking tour in George Town heritage site and organises events, talks, seminars and workshops on culture and heritage subjects. -Penang Forum handed a Report of Working Groups to the State	n/a

		government listing demands for participation, transparency, accountability, sustainability and social justice in governance.	
Local Community	BARRA – collaborate with KLCH in JTAR upgrading to barrier free walkway and later joined by Think City to activate public spaces along JTAR including LTP.	Community associations like Lebuah Aceh mosque and Kapitan Keling Mosque – collaborate with Think City to conserve their buildings with technical expertise consultation.	Panglima Lane Resident Committee negotiated with ICC to revitalise and conserve Concubine Lane. Sekeping Kong Heng consortium pioneered conservation of several blocks in the old town area and retain existing local business. Market Lane community activate their area with cultural and heritage programs, events and activities.

Kuala Lumpur is strong in government-led community participation (which is at the bottom rung of Arnstein's ladder of participation). Government-led participation is necessary to achieve a world-class city status. Kuala Lumpur needs to offer attractive and distinctive characters, a 'brand' of its own – an interweaving of culture, built and natural heritage, with modernisation in both infrastructure and social aspects. In downtown KL, businesses operated by foreigners from Bangladesh, Indonesia, and the Middle-East are slowly filling up the old shophouse buildings as the locals move to new shopping complexes like KLCC and Bukit Bintang. Shophouse owners prefer to rent out to foreigners because 'the tenants are able to pay at least 6 months of upfront rental' (Think City Programme Manager Ruang KL explained during Think City Grant Seminar, 2017). The reluctance and unwillingness

of property owners to participate make the engagement efforts by KLCH more difficult. 'They don't want any improvement or anything to be made to their lot. They don't appreciate the area. They rent it out, and they don't care. They just want to get profit from it' (KLCH Architect 2, male, 35 interviewed on 1/8/2017).

KLCH goal in 'getting the community involved and take charge of their own spaces' becomes very challenging with little local ownership. The demography of the inner city inhabitants is becoming more diverse in 'throwntogetherness'. Having a multi-cultural society and influx of migrants from other countries, language, cultural barriers, and religious diversity may be the challenges faced in engaging the communities. All are made more complex with political and market influences. Facing these challenges and making engagement with the general public more meaningful, KLCH and Think City collaborate to explore participation methods at the project implementation level through small-scale public space activation projects like LMT and LTP. With strong commitments by KLCH to realise the placemaking projects, project implementation is easier given the mandate to coordinate the internal department to BREB by the higher management's order. However, project implementation is highly dependent on the approval of higher management, which can be very political as the federal government's agenda bind the local authority. Often citizen participation is geared towards endorse preprepared plans and development proposal.

On the other hand, George Town has a vocal and vibrant civil society, unprecedented in the Malaysian context. In relation to Arnstein's ladder of

participation, an empowered community is at the top rung of the participation ladder. Representatives from the NGOs are given seats at the city policy-making and project implementation level in the council; that is, one out of the 24 city councillor sits, or through appointment as part of the Technical Review Panel. However, the NGO agenda for sustainable tourism development is often in conflict with speculative development pressure. This leads to a stressful relationship between the government and the civil society, with one unappreciative of the other's efforts and both working on different agendas.

'Of course the government will carry out all the statutory requirements, public exhibition and all. But, it depends on whether if the government is disposed towards protecting the public interest. If they do, they will consult the NGOs more. Of course they still have to facilitate the business, for economic growth. But then they will make sure that certain things are protected like determining densities or protecting sensitive environment areas. But, if the government is more developer friendly, they will consult the developers more... we can actually make a conclusion (of who the government sided with)'

PHT Heritage Activist, female, 52, (15/3/2017)

Although Penang citizens are empowered, the power of final approval and accountability rest with the city council; presumably, no city can meet the criteria of citizen control (Arnstein, 2019). According to Edelenbos (2018), negative stances combined with active behaviour may lead to active opposition, with each one discrediting and damaging the other side's efforts. He labelled this as co-destruction. It is not something foreign to Penang, as the citizens have used their voting power to change the government in elections. Nevertheless, NGOs' consistent pressures for the state government to adopt the principles of participation in governance have

led to various research on policies and implementation of participatory processes such as gender-responsive participatory budgeting, online surveys by PICC, and Think City collaboration. However, Penang NGO collective voice might not be carried through at the project implementation level as the NGO are not the resident association or committee in the local community.

Considering that the implementation of place-making initiatives directly impacts the local community, rigid regulations could hold back the development of bottom-up community actions, particularly in places with competing forces, such as protecting cultural heritage versus branding for the modern tourism industry. Hence, the role of NPOs is very critical George Town context where Think City and Arts-ED act as the boundary spanner to create a levelling platform for the local community, NGOs, and the government to be engaged in a more meaningful way. At the same time, building the capacities of different actors through workshops, dialogues and seminars.

In contrast to KL and George Town, the market forces for international branding are not intensely pressuring the Ipoh old town's urban centre regeneration. The slow pace of development allowed for navigation and exploration of urban regeneration agendas responsive to local citizens' needs. Placemaking in Ipoh is community-initiated; in which the community have some forces in manoeuvring the future of their places. According to (Hou & Rios, 2003), this type of placemaking foster the 'pop-up' of not-for-profit organisations to voice community concerns and aspirations as observed in Panglima Lane Resident Committee, the Market Lane community

and the Sekeping Kong Heng consortium. Here, placemaking that are created through a socio-political process links the local community actions directly to ICC and Perak state government, who supported their efforts with flexibility and facilitation. Places are assigned with values and meaning by social actors, which sometimes happens outside of the formal planning structure (Beau Bradley Beza & Hernández-Garcia, 2018). Hence, placemaking happens organically by the community's collective action. With no specific budget allocation from the government—the community source out available capacities within them and networking to mobilise the process.

Public participation is evidently place-based and embedded in the pre-existing social capital condition. Clearly, each city's case studies representation could not provide conclusive evidence and a widely generalisable framework for public participation in the placemaking process. However, the case studies illustrate a specific context within which a particular form of citizen initiatives has evolved from public participation framed by pre-existing community capacity and relationship to a government initiative (Figure 46).

The former's participation method is perhaps at the bottom rung of the Arnstein's ladder, but is significant progress in the urban planning of Kuala Lumpur. The latter showcases an act of active citizenship – a common sight in George Town, but only making little progress in manoeuvring the state government towards achieving sustainable tourism planning. On the other hand, public participation in Ipoh has open up avenues for the public to make changes to the plan, which is an exceptional

practice in Malaysian planning culture.

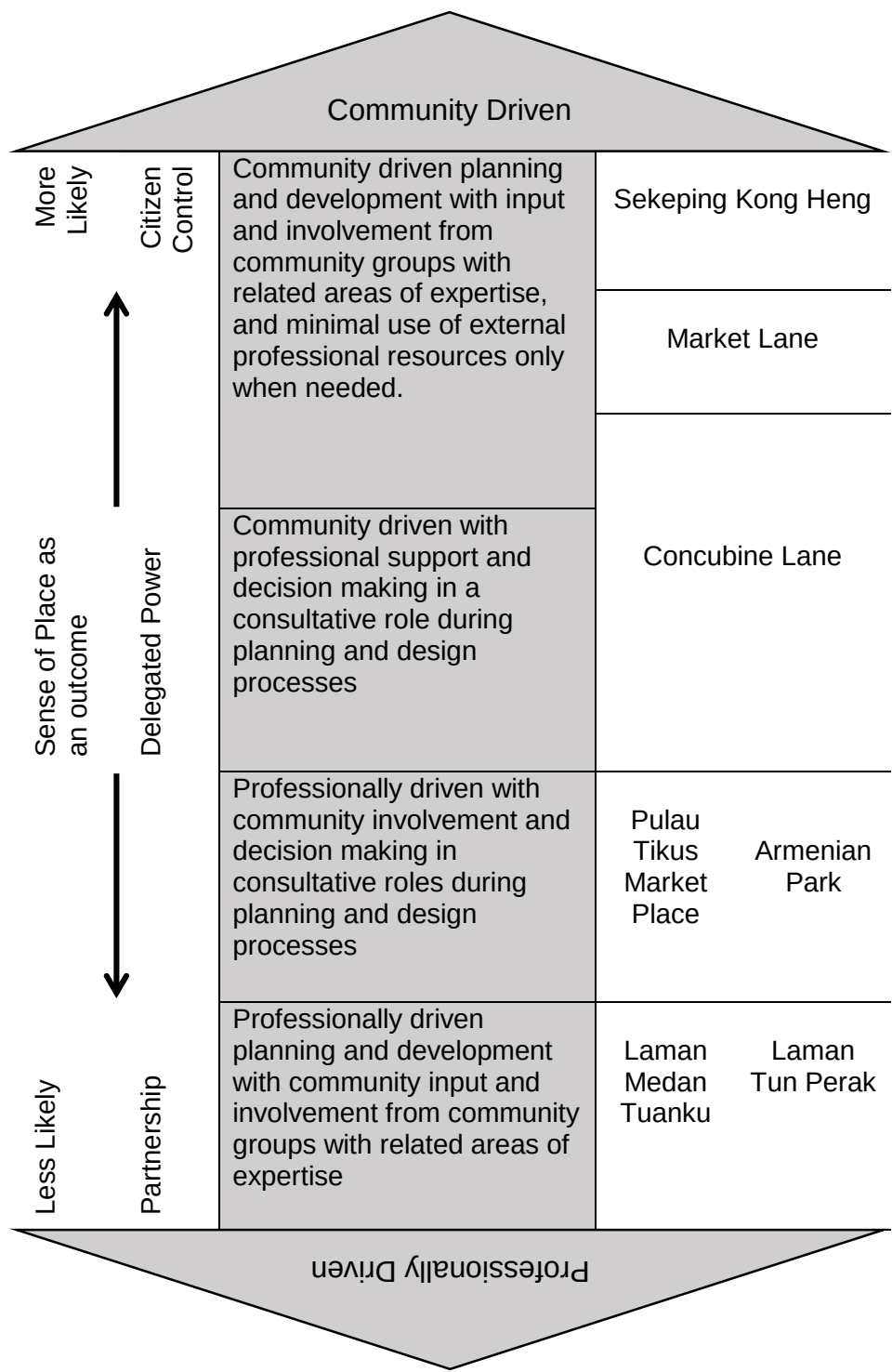


Figure 446 Citizen Participation in Placemaking and the impact on participants' sense of place for project observed in the case studies. Source: Author (2020) adapted from Ellery and Ellery (2019)

The community initiatives to revive the old town both commercially and culturally stem from strong individuals and groups' actions, facilitated by the government's flexibility in law enforcement. However, as Ipoh old town is becoming popular among tourists, the need to cushion growing commercialisation force to protect its sense of place is seen in the reactions by both ICC and the neighbouring community. The former produced guidelines for shophouse conservation, while the latter reintroduced cultural and local traditions through events and activities related to the Chinese culture.

The discussion on governance and collaborative planning in chapter 5 and citizen participation in this chapter have elaborated the technical processes that shaped placemaking practices in the context of historic urban centres in Malaysia. Several models of placemaking approaches have emerged from the case studies, framed by different governance structures, urban regeneration agendas, participatory practices, market forces, and social demography. The next chapter examines the way emotion shape and influences the placemaking process.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMOTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES OF PLACEMAKING

7.0 Introduction

In the two previous chapters, the technical processes of collaborative efforts and community engagement in the placemaking process have been examined in the three case studies and presented through findings on governance in chapter 5 and citizen participation in chapter 6. Different government-citizen relationships have emerged in each case study, affecting (or affected by) the urban regeneration agenda. The findings also brought to light the different reactions towards steering the urban design agenda by other contesting actors, mostly from the grassroots communities, civil societies, and concerned citizens.

This chapter is devoted to analysing placemaking process from the perspective of emotional geography, looking at emotions at play in the participatory placemaking process and its relation to the sustainability of a place. Discussion in this chapter revisits the comprehensive discourse on space and place, concerning urban regeneration in Chapter 2. There are four sections in this chapter. Section 7.0 introduces the content of this chapter. Section 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 investigates the creation of place by examining the sense of place, sense of belonging and sense of ownership in each case studies respectively, to deliberate how the character and identity of a place are expressed by the actors, both in tangible and intangible form. Section 7.4 concludes how emotion plays a role in placemaking, and the ways in

which it affects the urban regeneration of urban centres, especially in the historic core.

7.1 Identity and Character in the Placemaking of Kuala Lumpur historic core

As the capital city of Malaysia, the historic core of Kuala Lumpur is the site that witnessed various important events in Malaysian history, such as the lowering down of the Union Jack at the Padang, on the eve of 31st August 1957, signifying the end of the colonial rule (Azlan, 2018). The Padang was renamed Dataran Merdeka in 1989, carrying the meaning 'Independent Square'. The act of changing the name reflects the claiming of ownership and identity (Azlan, 2018). Dataran Merdeka was located in the administration area during the British colonisation era, surrounded by 'impressive (architecture) articulated to symbolise the power relations of the time', which can be exemplified by the 'peninsular's first and grandest Raj-style monument', Neoclassical and Tudor buildings (Azlan, 2018). Situated within close proximity to the dataran is the heart of the active commercial and social areas, as well as the heritage and commercial districts such as J TAR and Jalan Masjid India, famously known for active trading, retail outlets and informal street markets (Zakariya & Harun, 2013). Located within close connectivity to Dataran Merdeka – a tourist destination, J TAR attracts tourists and locals alike, due to its strategic location within a network of the public transportation system,' making it an accessible shopping area (BARRA Representative, female, 52, interviewed on 7/8/2017).

According to a respondent (BARRA Representative, female, 52 interviewed on 7/8/2017), JTAR, Jalan Masjid India and Jalan Munshi Abdullah (parallel to each other), if combined, 'is a strong and unique shopping precinct that has different products which expressed an identity that can never be found anywhere else in the world.' 'The identity of JTAR as a mixture of cultural, traditional, Malay and Indian shopping districts, which is 'never modern, not high end and not too branded', making it is a distinctive area and different from Bukit Bintang-KLCC (BBKLCC)' (BARRA Representative, 7/8/2017). According to her, Masjid India started with Indian traders involved in small businesses selling 'saries' and clothes. More recently, more jewellery, followed by a number of hypermarkets such as Mydin Hanifa. During a site visit to JTAR with KLCH, BARRA, and Think City, the Think City officer highlighted that in their cultural mapping of KL downtown area, they had identified a number of important traditional trades, such as a-100 year 'songkok' making business, which has been passed down to at least three generations (field diary entry on 12/12/2016). According to another respondent (KLCH planner, female, 56 interviewed on 1/8/2017), JTAR and its vicinity have a powerful connotation to the Malay identity. She acknowledged Jalan Masjid India as an Indian Muslim area and pointed out that the Indian identity is stronger in Brickfields:

'JTAR is a shopping district selling fabrics, 'songkok' (a traditional Malay man headgear), traditional textile, making it a unique place. It is the only traditional shopping street where the heritage buildings and the items sold are still intact with traditional character. Other places have been invaded with modern, large scale shopping malls.'

According to a BARRA Representative (female, 52, interviewed on 7/8/2017), 'Malaysia, especially Kuala Lumpur is the 4th most popular shopping destination

globally, putting it at par with Paris, New York and London (according to TripAdvisor for the year 2017)'. In Kuala Lumpur, BBKLCC is the first shopping destination, while JTAR is the second, with a recorded receipt of RM5 billion in shopping (for the year 2016). This has a far surplus compared to the tourism industry, such as those of resorts and hotels. JTAR and its vicinity are also famous location for temporary and flea markets both weekly and yearly. The weekend night market in Lorong TAR has been in operation for more than 20 years, with a total number of 550 vendors (Utusan Online dated 16/3/2019). Yearly bazaars include the Ramadhan bazaar (during the fasting month of Ramadhan) and Raya bazaar selling (among other things) clothes, garments, biscuits for Eid festivity and the Deepavali bazaar.

7.1.1 Sense of place and place attachment of Kuala Lumpur historic core

Dataran Merdeka has been a site to host important events that vary from formal occasions, such as the New Year Celebration and the Independence Day parade, to public events such as marathons and parades, as well as informal activities such as night-time picnic and as a leisure space (Zakariya & Harun, 2013). In more recent years, the Dataran and its vicinity have become the site for civic expression, either to protest government actions such as the 'Reformasi' (Reformation) protest in 1998, several 'Bersih' protests in 2007, 2011 and 2013; and a protest against the implementation of the Goods and Service Tax (GST) in 2014. It is also a public location to conduct rallies to stand in solidarity with other countries or global incidents, such as the Solidarity for Peace in 2019 and Solidarity for Gaza in 2018. Protesters often overflow into JTAR and other nearby streets, as narrated by Azlan (2018, p. 36) on 'Bersih' 4 protests:

'Dataran Merdeka is off limits. The city hall, Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur (KLCH), forbids 'Bersih' from occupying the square, citing the preparations for the celebration of Independence Day are underway... A group of activists are briefing protesters on JTAR on how to get more involved with volunteering... A number of protesters have settled down for the night, occupying the pavement, heeding 'Bersih's advice on Twitter to spend the night near JTAR and Jalan Tun Perak...'

'Bersih' is a social movement demanding for clean and fair elections fuelled by outrage and hope significantly strongest in young Malaysians due to the feeling of hopelessness to the 'electoral irregularities and political corruption that have hampered genuine democracy' (Johns & Cheong, 2019, p. 1).

According to De Certeau (1984) the act of walking by pedestrians is a 'spatial creation', 'a true system whose existence actually makes cities', and to the urban system, the act of walking is indeed the act of speaking (de Certeau, 1985, p. 129). People's attachment to JTAR and the larger historical district is associated with the sense of identity of being a Malaysian citizen, which is very much due to historical attachment. This is apparent because it is the preferred location to conduct protests and demonstrations, despite Malaysia's administrative centre being relocated to Putrajaya in 2000. According to Eckersall (2011), people are drawn back to places that hold meaning to them, which supports their mental well-being and provides security and survival, which offers hopes for a better future. The identity of KL historic area connected to civic and belonging to a nation is retained in a symbolic form made into appearance in the tangible structures such as the Sultan Abdul Samad Building, the flag pole and the green turf Dataran Merdeka.

On the other hand, pursuits such as temporary or flea market are informal activities that promote cultural and economic diversity, a vibrant platform for people's interactions and exchange of products (Zakariya & Harun, 2013). At its best, it promotes place identity in the most dominant manner.

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of flea markets and yearly bazaar activities in JTAR and Lorong TAR. However, in the year 2019, due to the construction of the ROL project, these flea markets and bazaars were relocated to another location. The Ramadhan and Raya bazaars that were usually held in Lorong TAR have taken place Jalan Raja, in front of the Sultan Abdul Samad building. The weekend night market was no longer permitted to operate in the area beginning 1/4/2019. Traffic will be directed from JTAR due to road closure, which is part of an experiment to pedestrianise JTAR. There were two strong reactions from two different stakeholders. Although they were happy with the relocation of the temporary market vendors that had made entrance to their premises difficult, the property owners were not in agreement with the street pedestrianisation plan. According to a KLCH planner (female, 56) interviewed on 1/8/2017:

'Masjid India Street will be pedestrianised, and new temporary market facilities will be improved and distributed along the street. They (the property owners) are not happy. Even though we tried to convince them by saying pedestrianisation is not a new thing. Other major cities have done this and it turned out to be successful with a lot more people coming to the area. The property owners said that we are one-sided (supporting temporary market vendors), but the property owners are the ones that came before the vendors and pay higher tax.'

The respondent (KLCH planner, female, 55, interviewed on 1/8/2017) urged for

more cooperation from the property owners beyond self-interest, a 'give and take' negotiation to make the project successful for the benefit of the larger public. However, she acknowledged the lack of enforcement by KLCH was one reason for the temporary market to grow in numbers, becoming unorganised, leaving behind a considerable amount of rubbish after operating, and blocking the entrance to the properties around the market. Hence, one of the ROL initiatives is to provide proper arrangement and facilities for the temporary market. According to her, a public engagement activity with the general public and utility providers was conducted to plan for the area's pedestrianisation. To her regret, engagement with the temporary market vendors and the property owners was done only after the plan has been drawn. The government's pursuit to improve infrastructure and connectivity for the general public was planned from above, from an outsider view, failing to address the place's complexity. The local context is not merely made by physical setting, but also by the people and activities.

On 16/2/2019, The Star Online reported about 200 members of BARRA gathered briefly in the middle of JTAR as a sign of protest to the announcement to turn one of the city's busiest shopping street into a pedestrian walkway by closing the road to all vehicle except buses. According to the news, BARRA was disheartened they were not consulted by the authorities and had worries about business operations such as unloading of goods because the 'back lanes are too narrow for large containers', and the speculation that temporary markets will be permitted to operate along the planned pedestrianised road does not sit well with the property owners, claiming the rubbish from the activities will be unmanaged, which in result will

‘devalue their properties as well as affect their business’.

An interview with a BARRA representative on the future plan of the area was carried out on 7/8/2017. At that time, the upgrading of the five-foot way in JTAR (the other side of the completed beautification project earlier) was about to take place, and the pedestrianisation project has not been finalised yet. She mentioned that the property owners were not against the plan to improve and upgrade JTAR and its vicinity. In fact, they have been waiting for this improvement for so long. However, she mentioned that BARRA’s only demand was for KLCH to ‘sit down for an engagement session with them and hear them out before coming to a decision’, because they own the assets in the area with some who have been there for more than 50 years, they pay taxes and GST, there are some who pay a huge amount of RM600K for GST monthly. Monetarily, they should have a say in the future planning of the area. ‘We are trying to tell them (KLCH), please, go back to the drawing board.’ She also mentioned that planners ‘need to go on the ground to see whether their ideas are workable in reality to convert a road that has been for traffic vehicle for all your life into a pedestrian walk’.

‘It has to make sense. Yes, we know, it is for the betterment of everyone, better traffic flow for the whole of Kuala Lumpur. But still, you have to inform them (property owners) that you’re going to do this. And what are your solutions to their problems, the upcoming problems? How are they going to deliver their goods? We are talking about trailers, not vans and lorries. How about security? They said ‘Oh, you can always use the pedestrian walkway to bring in your vehicles after 10’. Who, which supplier wants to deliver after 10pm? We come to know that there are over 30 goldsmiths there, jewellery shops. And they told us, ‘what about our security? ...You cannot deliver jewellery at 10 shops away or half a kilometer away, and carry it by hand. It was really heated that day (discussion with the

stakeholders). We as an association, we didn't realise how critical and crucial, any planning by KLCH was going to affect us. The whole concept was not right. KLCH said they own the land and have the right to do anything. They need to also consider the business interest of that area.'

BARRA Representative female, 52 (7/8/2017)

The sense of place of JTAR as a traditional shopping district of Malay and Indian Muslim character is viewed in total by people through the combination of the existing fine grain of 2-5 storey shophouses, the business that is based on traditional fabrics and textiles, as well as the temporary flea markets operating in the area. However, on the inside, these components are in conflict with each other.

Another unique feature of JTAR area is busking and street performance activities, which are sometimes joined by local artists (at times in disguise). These activities mainly take place at the open space in front of SOGO, where the pedestrian upgrading was done through the collaboration between the KLCH BREB department, SOGO and BARRA. According to KLCH Architect 3, male, 42 (2/8/2017), maintaining and supporting the existing busking activities was one of the aims of upgrading JTAR at a stretch in front of SOGO. Climatic factors, shading by trees and the suitability for public sitting were among the considerations. This was made easier with SOGO giving full cooperation and was on-board with the idea:

'After the project was completed, the place is livelier, as more people and buskers are using it. The only shortcoming is that the space is limited. Before we proceed with project construction, we identified the presence of busking activity in the area, and we do not want to lose that. We studied the area, and planned on how we can to improve it. The existing staircase was where the viewers sit, hence we maintained it. We

observed the sun path, and identified that only at 12-1 pm there were direct sunlight on the area. By 1-2 pm and beyond, shadow is cast on the open space by the SOGO building, protecting it from direct sunlight. Hence, the existing tree are removed to the side, giving ample performance space.'

KLCH Architect 3, male, 42 (2/8/2017)

The respondent also mentioned that in the KLCH urban design guidelines, the liveability and vibrancy of open space are important. It is one of the components that can attract people to the area. This will impact their memory about the place and affect how they perceive the sense of place for JTAR from their experience of being in the place. The KLCH architect attitude towards the authenticity of the place comes from his understanding and full awareness of space's meaningful setting for human activities. This is reflected in his design intention to retain the activities as proposed by Relph (1977).

7.1.2 Sense of Belonging and Sense of Ownership (KL)

According to Kajan (2014), people tend to oppose redevelopment plans that threaten their relationship to place, even though the planning proposal has useful potentials. This act is apparent in the JTAR upgrading proposal under the ROL project. Not only have the property owners and BARRA conducted a protest against the pedestrianisation of JTAR, through which they were not properly consulted, some property owners are beginning to sell their properties.

In The New Straits Times (dated 4/3/2019), it was reported that a number of property

owners in JTAR had put their properties up for sale in PropertyGuru website. According to the Executive Director of Nawawi Tie Lung Properties Consultant Sdn. Bhd., in an interview with The New Strait Times (4/3/2019), 'prior to the road closure announcement, there was hardly any transaction involving properties along JTAR.' Only two pieces of land sold prior to 2019, priced between RM962 and RM2,654 per square foot, as well as a shophouse at the price of RM2.85 million. Since the announcement, several properties have been put up on sale on PropertyGuru portal, for example, the GSH by Gulati's, a 7-storey commercial building with a basement for about RM50 million; Bangunan TAR, a 10.5-storey office building for RM43.2 million; and Wisma Tancom for RM35 million. CBRE/WTW Malaysia Managing Director mentioned (in the New Straits Times dated 4/3/2019) a 'typical shophouse fronting JTAR measuring 1,760 square feet, and also in Jalan Masjid India, is about RM30,000 a month currently. A nicely done-up four floor shophouse with modern facilities can fetch about RM60,000 to RM70,000 in rental per month.

The properties that were up for sale are modern structures with modern functions such as office and commercial activities, not the traditional shophouse structures. However, the rental of this could collect some handsome profit. The attachment of property owners to this traditional structure reflect the sense of belonging towards it. According to a respondent (BARRA representative, female, 52, interviewed on 7/8/2017):

'We don't want to change the business here, no. But we want the facilities to be improved. We want to make it better, we want to change the outlook of the street, better traffic flow, cleaner public services, of course. But it takes time...But, some of the property owners are residing overseas making it a problem to

get more members to support us (BARRA). Most of the anchors here do support like Sarah Hughes, Kamdar, SOGO. To us, that is now strong enough, our voice is loud enough for KLCH to listen to us, for the ministry to listen to us and we are working harder, we have to work harder.'

During the site visit to JTAR, there were some behaviour by business operators, which demonstrated their lack of care towards the facilities provided by KLCH after the upgrade to a barrier free pedestrian walkway. A sales person was attempting to put up promotion banners on the tree by nailing them but had quickly cancelled the attempt upon seeing our group approaching the area, with his friend from inside the shop pretended to warn him of that inappropriate behaviour. Some heavy granite seats have also been moved, indicating the attempt to steal them. BARRA representative (female, 52) highlighted that this is the reason why it is important for them to have more members, so that they could assimilate information and guide other property or business owners to care for their area. The respondent described the formation of BARRA came from the idea of SOGO's Datuk Andrew Lim, because he was the anchor in this area:

'27 years ago, when they built SOGO, it was the only departmental store in this area. He realised that he should do something to improve other retailers down the road, because it's really unfair to have one giant here and nothing else there. He felt that it should not only be for his area, but should include the whole area. To voice out his ideas to KLCH for the benefit of others, there must be another group. So he decided to talk to the other retailers and form an association, so, if they want anything or improve anything such as the facilities, they have to go to KLCH as a team. That is when their voice is louder. That was how BARRA was formed.'

According to Gallent and Ciaffi (2014), communities come together to achieve something, whether it is of a short term or a long term achievement. In BARRA's

case, their intention was for a long term commitment to improve the area, where they have the ownership and feel the sense of belonging. Hence, BARRA is always on the look on new planning for the area, and wants to be included in the discussions for future planning. However, there is a lack of continuous communication with KLCH.

'We would like to see transformation done continuously. Not stage 1 and then go somewhere else for Stage 2, only come back to us at stage 4 or stage 5. We don't want that because we want continuity. They (KLCH) said this is a trial and error, and we are the first experiment (in urban design and pedestrianisation). We know they are going to start the five-foot walkway upgrading on the opposite road, but they have not told us anything. We demanded an immediate public engagement, and so they have granted one next week. We want them to come down to the site. We need to see their consultants, their planners and contractors. And we want them tell us what they are doing, what kind of material to be used, the project time frame, what and how they have planned for us'

BARRA Representative female, 52 (7/8/2017)

According to the respondent, they have to 'be forceful so they will not be left in the dark, because as property owners and business operators, they cannot afford costly mistakes, which could have been avoided before (construction) is being done if only they were consulted. She mentioned, "KLCH need to share information with us. What are their plans? Where can we contribute to their plans? What kind of role could we play in their plans?'

There is a conflict of ownership in JTAR-Jalan Masjid India area between three parties: KLCH as the owner of the public spaces and the enforcer; BARRA – property owners and business operators, as well as the temporary market operators.

The present relationship, which is based on tolerance, is faced with distress with the new future planning of the area, including street pedestrianisation and relocation of the temporary market. Hence, property owners through BARRA and the temporary market vendors, are demanding for KLCH to hold a proper engagement with them before proceeding with the construction.

In a nearby location at the Medan Pasar Square, which has been recently upgraded and framed by 3-4-storey shoplots, an area is currently dominated by businesses operated by foreigners such as Bangladeshi, Indians and Indonesians. KLCH and Think City KLCH attempted to bring back the locals to the area, by organising a number of events and activities, which include the Confluence Festival, with arts and culture activities and performances; placemaking street furniture installation by university students; KL Night Run; Malam Wayang with traditional Wayang Kulit performance; Green Market, the flea market selling organic goods, arts and crafts, and food and beverages, as well as Pokok Power, a workshop and market for gardening that also gives away free trees and seeds.

According to KLCH Architect 2 (male, 35, interviewed on 1/8/2017), KLCH is trying to reduce the foreigners' dominance by conducting more local activities in the area. There are plans to acquire several shoplots by KLCH to inject business concepts more relevant to the locals, such as co-working spaces and galleries. However, to claim back local ownership is not an easy task as the real owners of the properties were more interested in making profit by letting the premise at a higher rate to foreigners. In one of the chat sessions with Think City Officer (fieldwork entry

20/7/2017), he mentioned that Think City is working closely with property owners and local business entrepreneurs to bring both parties in a win-win situation. The idea was to get local business entrepreneurs to rent properties at an affordable rent in Medan Pasar area. Think City was in the process of negotiating with the owners of potential properties, by offering grants for internal upgrading of the properties in exchange for affordable rents for a certain length of tenure.

7.2 Identity and Character in the Placemaking of George Town

The OUVs that have George Town listed as one of the WHSs discussed in Chapter 5 came from the strength of a strong sense of multi-culture identity both in tangible and intangible forms. This is apparent in its strait eclectic architecture of the fine grain of shophouses and government buildings and the practice of everyday life of the citizen, as well as the events and activities organised by various parties such as the NGOs, NPOs and government agencies. These can be seen, for example, in the everyday rituals and religious practice along the Street of Harmony, from the burning of incense at Yap Kongsi and the Kuan Yin Temple, calling for prayers at five times a day at the Kapitan Keling Mosque and the Lebuah Acheh Mosque, breaking of coconuts on certain days of the week at the Sri Maha Mariamman Temple, and Sunday sermons at St. George's Church. Occasionally, there are religious celebrations along the street, where the Chingay parade was observed during the fieldwork. Chingay is a traditional Chinese celebration for the deities, marked by balancing giant bamboo poles by pole bearers, accompanied with lion dance performances. It was observed that the Chingay parade in George Town was made up of people from different ethnicities as the pole bearers, and the parade

was also joined by a Malay *kompang* group and an Indian dance group. The spectators were from a various ethnic background, occupying the sides of Jalan Kapitan Keling, watching the parade in togetherness.

According to Bakri (2018), multiculturalism is well accepted and practised in Penang in which intermarriages was quite common in the early days because most migrants were mainly males. These intermarriages have produced interethnic assimilations such as the Straits Chinese or also known as the Baba-Nyonya, Jawi Peranakan and the Arab-Malays. According to her, cultural encounters have also produced a new form of performing arts, such as 'boria' and 'bangsawan'. 'Boria' performance (a performance that incorporates music, dance and sketches of Indian origin) was observed in Armenian Park during fieldwork, which coincided with George Town World Heritage Celebration held between 7 and 9 July 2017. Other cultural performances have also taken place in several other places scattered around the heritage zone, and these include the 'Dikir Barat', a Malay origin performance involving singing in groups accompanied by percussion instrument and choreographed movements, the Odyssey dance, a classical Indian dance from the temples of Odisha, and the 'Potehi' Glove puppet theatre of Hokkien traditional 'potehi' glove puppets with local costumes, multi languages and live folk music (GTWHI 9th George Town UNESCO World Heritage Site pamphlet).

7.2.1 Sense of place and Place Attachment (George Town)

Attachment to history and culture is evident in the actions of the civil society groups in Penang, in protecting the heritage buildings and intangible heritage from

diminishing, either through individual groups or through collective actions. According to Tan et al. (2018), WH values has conflicting synergy, on one side it ought to maintain a function in contemporary community life, but on the other, wanting to preserve and conserve for future generation. Hence, a balance between both must be achieved, calling for a need to manage cultural heritage: between heritage preservation and sustainable tourism.

The early groundworks to get George Town listed as a WHS was moved by Penang Heritage Trust (PHT). PHT was established in 1986, founded by a group of architects, communal landlords, environmentalists and historians, with the objective to stimulate a greater civic concern in the heritage of Penang – not only in buildings and places, but also landscape and natural features, in arts and crafts, as well as other aspects of social life and history (Cheng, Li, & Ma, 2014). Since its establishment, PHT has been one of the strongest voices that has shaped a bottom-up voluntarism by ‘promoting heritage conservation, facilitating cultural educational programs, organising public awareness programs, and cooperating with other like-minded organisations’ (Penang Heritage Trust webpage).

One of the most impactful programs that significantly contributed to WHS nomination documentation was the Penang Story. It is ‘an open platform for people who are interested in Penang to contribute towards ‘deepening’ the story of Penang... to enhance place-identity and nurture creative economy’ (Penang Heritage Trust webpage). Penang Story has evolved from celebrating cultural diversity through the literature on the local culture associated with the inner city in

2001, into understanding Penang's role in regional and global history' (Keong, 2008; Penang Heritage). In 2001, the Penang Story Conference was held, attracting 60 local and international scholars. This conference has helped in the justification for the World Heritage listing. According to Tuan (1991), human speech through words, language, and writing has a significant role in creating a place. The narrative descriptive approach or storytelling converts mere objects into real presences, allowing for an intellectual exposure to a broad and varied range of facts. Penang Story has demonstrated how storytelling has contributed to building the sense of place of George Town, through grassroots and collective memories. The power of storytelling 'to call places into being' is seen to be replicated in the early efforts to save Jerejak Island, as discussed in Chapter 6.

PHT's aim to spread knowledge on Penang culture and heritage was also done through a series of talks and lectures. During her fieldwork, the researcher was privileged to attend one of the talks entitled 'George Town's Iron Rod Sculpture', through which the authors shared their perspectives on the accuracy of the 52 iron rod caricatures located in various historic streets in portraying the history of Penang. The sculptures were created by Sculpture at Work, after winning a design competition organised by the Penang State Government.

The use of arts in expressing the character of George Town is one of the techniques employed to attract art enthusiasts to Penang. One notable artist whose public street artworks have become popular photoshoot spots for Instagrammers, visitors and tourist, is Ernest Zacharevic. The impact of his artwork has sent crowds of people

in search of the locations of his art and had people queuing to take photos with them. One particular famous art is the 'little children on a bicycle' mural. In his recent comment, Ernest blamed his art for 'turning a once quiet heritage street in Penang into a circus' and 'have been contemplating of simply painting over it in hopes to put an end to that circus' (the Malay Mail Online, 2/9/2019).

PHT had also consistently organised walking tour to explore George Town guided by trained and knowledgeable people and organise site visits to explore historical places and structures. Attachment to the formative years is one of the strongest people-place relationship (National Trust Report). In George Town, a non-profit organisation (NPO) that was founded in 1999 has played a big role in connecting the youth to the appreciation of their cultural heritage through place-based arts and culture education. After 8 years, Arts-ED was formally established in 2007. Arts-ED collaborates with local institutions, artists, cultural activists, arts educators and community associations to promote cultural sustainability and placemaking (Arts-ED webpage). Programs such as Anak-anak Kota (AAK) or Children of the City, uses creative arts such as dance, music, theatre, wood carving and photography as tools to engage the youth in exploring their community and environment. According to Beng (2008), Arts-ED aims to create awareness of the importance of conserving multicultural living and the built heritage by promoting understanding, tolerance, and mutual respect that appreciates diversity and cultural differences while avoiding a strong ethnocentric mindset.

In an interview with Arts-ED Culture Activist (female, 54, 27/3/2017), she regaled

that when she founded Arts-ED, the particular interest was on place-based arts and culture education, as she was trained in sociology and partially anthropology. Through this approach, children act as little researchers in the space where they live, digging out stories, situations or incidents in their actual environment.

One of Arts-ED notable contributions (working in a collaboration with Think City), is the Street of Harmony Brochure, which attempted to highlight the shared values among various religious believers living along the same street, known as Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling. The brochure was produced in three languages; Malay, English and Mandarin. The aim was to spark curiosity and expose Malaysian multicultural society with respect to the religious practice of others. Often this is considered religious sensitivity. Hence it is confined in the respective religious buildings. Arts-ED Officer (female, 40, interviewed on 14/3/2017), recalled her experience in working as a team to produce the brochure:

'The brochure is the end product for the Street of Harmony project... European Settlement, Chinese, Indian, Malay. We already have plenty information about each settlement: beautiful temple, beautiful signage and all. They are very proud to let people know about their culture, which you can get from Google. But how about people understanding each other? From our research, a lot of people want to go and learn (on different cultures and religions), but are scared that it might be inappropriate. So we kind of consult these communities, how much can you open up? What stories do you want people to hear? We wanted to help with interpretation. The consultation was very difficult, because everyone was so political. We decided to go with identifying certain shared element, so that people don't tend to just say 'me and mine, but ooo... actually we all kind of have share values'. There were a lot of learning and also arguments. Some fall under religion, but sometimes it's more like negotiations. Community is too much sometimes. Too sensitive. During the launching, we purposely put in some programs - you must walk inside (the religious buildings).

In the brochure, Arts-ED discussed the shared elements in religious practice, such as water, light, lunar cycles and flora. For example, the element of water is important in every religion, in which the Chinese Kuan Yin temple associate water with healing power, for the Muslims, water is associated with purification in the ablution process, to the Church, water is a significant symbol which relates to the holy water, and to the Sri Maha Mariamman Temple, water is related to an important ritual of Abhisheka or bathing the deities (Journey of Harmony brochure, 2015).

To attract more tourists and locals, George Town held various international standard events initiated by various actors such as the George Town Heritage Celebrations (GTHC), George Town Festival (GTF) and the George Town Literary Festival (GTLFT). GTHC is organised yearly by GTWHI to commemorate the city's inscription as a WHS. The celebration 'focuses on specific intangible cultural heritage theme, to raise awareness on cultural heritage and traditions among the public' through 'interactive and educational programs, such as workshops and performances, held on the streets of the heritage enclave (GTWHI webpage, retrieved 22/9/2019). GTF is a festival of arts and culture, which includes performance and activities that usually run for a month, attracting artists from all over the world. However, due to budget cut, from RM4.5 million last year to RM3 million this year (2019), the festival will be shortened to only 16 days. The event had been managed by Joe Sidek Production since 2010, but this year it sees new management by TLM Event Sdn. Bhd. (the Star online, date 4/6/2019). Another noteworthy international award-winning event is the George Town Literary Festival (GTLFT). The producer of GTLF is Penang Convention Bureau and is funded by the

Penang State Government (georgetownlitfest.com, retrieved on 22/9/2019). The festival celebrates world literature, translations and literary arts. In 2018, GTLF won an international award. The judges of the London Book Fair International Excellent Awards were quoted:

'In a strong field, GTLF stands out as a vibrant, diverse and brave festival that engages with a wide community of voices, speaking to the world from a complex region.'

(georgetownlitfest.com, retrieved on 22/9/2019)

7.2.2 Sense of Belonging and Sense of Ownership (George Town)

Penang saw a change of government in 2008 to the opposition party, the same year it was granted the WHS status. It was the previous government who was working closely with NGOs to get the nomination, but now the new government has to manage George Town with its new status. 'The award of WHS status is the culmination of the efforts of the people of Penang, but one must not forget the government of Dr Koh Tsu Koon' (Keong, 2008).

With the new government in, Penang NGOs formed the Penang Forum, who, through collective efforts drawn from members across 40 NGOs of various backgrounds and professional qualifications, produced a comprehensive report of issues confronting Penang, to be highlighted to the new state government. In 2018, Penang Forum again voiced a list of demands to be acted upon and delivered by the newly elected officials following the historic 14th Malaysia General Election. Penang Forum demands are related to three principles: good governance, social

inclusion and sustainable development (Penang Forum, 2018). The collective act of Penang Forum and the NGOs' individual acts showed a strong sense of belonging to and ownership of their place. Based on Arnstein's ladder of participation, this act of negotiation in the policy and managerial aspects shows that Penang citizens have reached a certain degree of citizen power. Similarly, based on the Gallent and Ciaffi model, Penang citizen demonstrated the act of taking control.

The citizens have repeatedly demonstrated this strong sense of belonging through the Cultural Heritage Advisory Team (CHAT) and through the Penang Transport Master Plan (PTMP) counter-proposal. Having an early experience with engaging with the community as collaborators, Arts-ED has the capacity as a community connector equipped with good communication skills, useful in coordinating the CHAT. CHAT was formed in January 2009 as a reaction of concerned citizens, including experts in diverse fields, to assist in monitoring unregulated development, producing and distributing educational materials on built and living heritage, as well as knowledge sharing and capacity building for the local authority, housing agencies and the general public (Pillai, 2017). This was in response to the chaotic situation after the inscription of George Town as a WHS, with a formal heritage site managing mechanism not yet in place. CHAT was resolved in 2010, with some of CHAT members absorbed into the newly set up George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), later in 2009.

According to Tan et al. (2018), there are three main themes related to people-place bonding that motivate community participation in sustaining the intangible cultural

heritage they value: a sense of loss, sense of justice, and mission. The sense of mission is apparent in the act of the NGOs in Penang, to produce alternative planning for PTMP. In an interview on 27/7/17, a respondent presented some photos produced by a local consultant company showing images of the impact the government's PTMP will have on heritage buildings through the massive intrusion of huge LRT pillars. She also showed images of an alternative idea, using the existing (but are no longer in operation) tramline and adopting a technology similar to that of Germany. According to her, people look forward to the implementation of PTMP to lessen traffic congestions, but they could not foresee its impact on the visual aspect of the cityscape. 'The images were put up in an exhibition, which has resulted in the government to pause, but only for a while'. Hence, they plan to take the next step, that is to 'release it to the press'.

In 2016, Penang Forum took a bold move in a desperate attempt to protect Sia Boey, from being intruded by an PTMP project by writing a letter directly to UNESCO 'requesting an advisory mission and an independent heritage impact study' (Aliran webpage entry on 25/8/2016). Sia Buoy is located in the tertiary zone, a zone bordering the buffer zone. This action was heavily criticised by the government and GTWHI (the official protector of the OUVs), saying that as Sia Boey is not located in the heritage zone, construction in the area will not pose any risks to the OUVs. Penang Forum responded by listing several clauses under UNESCO, which they feel justified their actions, such as Paragraph 112 and clause 172 of the UNESCO WH Committee's Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the WHC.

Penang citizens have demonstrated a strong capability to protect historic places, motivated by a strong sense of belonging and sense of ownership, in parallel to Tuan's (1977) and Relph's (1976) claim: people's reaction to insensitive development is driven by emotions to protect meaningful places. However, according to Tan, Tan, Kok, and Choon (2018), being inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) increases the chances of the city becoming the next destination of a multitude of visitors. The inclusion of a site on the WHL is virtually a promise that the number of visitors will increase. Hence, the WH brand is desired by many developing countries for the added tourism income, as tourists and revenue are expected to flow into the country in an increasing number. As a result, although heritage tourism may help economic growth of a cultural-rich destination, it may also threaten the heritage of the place especially the tangible cultural heritage through gentrification, forcing the local residents to leave to make way for tourism facilities such as hotels and cafes.

This is occurring in George Town, where properties in the heritage sites were identified being bought by foreign companies, as well as a huge increase in the rental of pre-war buildings. A respondent (Conservation Consultant, female, 52, interviewed on 27/7/2017) mentioned there is a trend in the properties being bought by Singaporeans, who are interested to buy an entire lot (not just single units) of shopshouses. It was reported in the Star Online (dated 11/6/2016), that companies from Singapore are 'looking for landlords who own rows of 5 to 10 shopshouses since December 2013':

'After evicting the old tenants, and sprucing up the shopshouses,

the foreigners are leasing them out at more than 500% above the previous rent...about RM7,000 a month. In stark contrast, shophouses...owned by Hokkien clan associations, are rented for only between RM1,500 and RM2,700 a month.'

The news also reported that the local 'Cheach Kongs' who owns 100 pre-war shophouses, is also keeping their rent at between RM1,500 and RM2,700 a month', because they practice the 'policy to support living heritage by keeping rentals low'. Due to the pressure from the civil society groups to look into the matter, the state government has put in place a 'new ceiling price of properties for foreign buyers to RM3 million for landed properties and RM1 million for stratified properties, with 1.5% approval fee to the state government (The Sun Daily, date 6/7/2018).

A respondent (Conservation Consultant, female, 52, interviewed on 27/7/2017) highlighted, in placemaking of a heritage site, 'everyone should have the sense of belonging, need to have the ownership of the place and take care of the place. In some cases, the people who occupy the low rental pre-war properties are people who are super millionaire who have a lot of property out there. She mentioned of her experience in handling a project in George Town:

'My client owns like 8 shophouses and since the independence, the people staying there have never paid any rent. The client wanted to take it back and renovate, giving the tenants one year notice to evade. The NGOs found out and made a video of sad stories of people living in there (which was one-sided). There are so many sides to this stories and it's very hard to strike a balance. If you want to insist to keep the occupant, you really need to see whether the tenants can look after it or not.'

7.3 Identity and Character in the Placemaking of Ipoh

With a famous tagline 'Ipoh mali talak sombong' (depicting a Chinese accent meaning: Ipohites are friendly people), Ipoh is often associated with the 'old town' character. This character is strongest portrayed in its architecture, of a low density town with very little tall buildings and a laidback life style. A respondent (interviewed on 14/7/2017) associated Ipoh with a retirement town, where driving is a pleasant experience because people are relaxed and not aggressive:

'Ipoh is known as a retiree town, when people retire, they come here because the lifestyle is relaxed. People drive nicely, they are not aggressive, they don't honk at you. Before I moved back to Ipoh, I was in KL. Every time I come back to Ipoh and on the road, whether I was driving or not, I was so touched by the drivers. You know why? Because they give you way and not rush.'

In the past, Ipoh infrastructures and facilities grew to provide refuge and entertainment for tin miners. Entertainment buildings such as cabarets, theatres and cinema burgeoned in the city in the 1960s (Tate & Chan, 2016). So have recreational facilities, which include gardens and parks, such as D.R. Seenivasagam Park (also known as the Coronation Park), Sultan Abdul Aziz Recreational Park (Taman Polo), the Japanese Garden, People's Park and Kinta Riverfront Park (the Star Online, dated 8/9/2005). These entertainment and recreational facilities provide alternatives for Ipoh citizens to fill their pastime with recreational activities, rather than confined to just shopping activities for leisure.

Another respondent who is active in promoting Ipoh tourism (male, 37, interviewed on 6/7/2017), described what tourists (especially from China) like about Ipoh, which

is the historical association of the Chinese community to the town, due to the tin mining industry and the natural environment, in which Ipoh is they described as having lots of trees and a clear blue sky. The limitation on building heights due to airplane path and alluvium land has indirectly restricted the construction of tall buildings in the town, giving the limestone hill surrounding the city a dominant physical character. According to Relph (1976), the appearance of the landscape is a property within which lies the spirit of the place. Similarly, according to Norberg-Schulz (1980), the sense that people have on a place is understood in the totality with nature and human environment. The typographical dominance of these limestone tower upon Ipoh town creates a breath-taking and unique ambiance, which bestowed the town with a spirit of place based on its relationship with its natural setting.

According to a respondent (Culture Enthusiast, male, 54, interviewed on 4/7/2017), there are three things that can bring back life to the old town if city planning is done with a full awareness and appreciation of these elements, namely; Ipoh's strategic location, the fertility of the land in which trees grow easily, and the natural assets that Ipoh is famous for: fresh water of the streams, the sea and the unpolluted air. He reflected that the Banjaran Resorts have successfully captured this in its planning, selling experience that are distinctive with its natural setting surrounded by the limestone towers. According to him, the Banjaran room rental is around RM1,000 per night, with a unique dining in the cave experience.

7.3.1 Sense of place and Place Attachment (Ipoh)

The sense of place of an old town has made Ipoh and nearby old town as favourite film shoot portraying Chinese old towns, used in Hong Kong movies such as, 'Lust, Caution', 'After This, Our Exile', 'Indochine' and 'Anna and the King'. In 2005, a narrative descriptive approach that has brought Ipoh to the limelight was a local film directed by the late Yasmin Ahmad, entitled 'Sepet', - a Malay term used to describe slit-eyes, which are often associated with the Chinese eyes. Although the film is about a teenage relationship between a Chinese boy and a Malay girl, the social context surrounding the relationship between different ethnicities in Malaysia has been successfully captured. Portraying the perceptions held by an ethnic group on the other, and the 'unknown' reality of these perceptions due to the lack of inter-ethnic socialising, the film has not only touched on sensitive ethnic issues such as education scholarship, but also the cultural difference between both ethnics, such as the Chinese community staying in shophouses in the city with gangsterism as part of their business operation, while the wealthier among the Malays living in bungalows at the city fringe. Ipoh old town was captured at its best, showing the richness of its crowded flea market flocked by the people of multicultural society and the natural landscape of the lakes flanked by limestone towers. According to Richard and Ibrahim (2012), Yasmin Ahmad was a fresh new genuine generation of filmmakers who reflected the 'wide ethnic and cultural diversity of her country and the live dreams of its people', who not only received local awards, but was also internationally acclaimed and was featured as a 'Flimmaker in Focus' (2010) at New York's Museum of Modern Arts. Richards and Ibrahim (2012, p. 436) described Yasmin Ahmad works as:

'To an unusual extent, those who grapple professionally with understanding the changing dynamics of Malaysian society – those who teach and publish in the contemporary social sciences – have long followed Yasmin's journey as a public intellectual. She had a great deal to teach us... That she developed a profound awareness of the nuances of human relationship should not surprise. After all she had studied politics and psychology at university before entering the world of advertising... Even the series of short ads she made for Petronas... linger long in the memory, capturing in miniature fables a sense of hope of what society might be, might become, if only it let go of some of its inhibitions and prejudices.'

In an interview with ICC Planner 1 (male, 50, 23/7/2017), he mentioned that ICC is very careful in putting labels or naming an area based on ethnicity, which is a common practice in some states in Malaysia such as KL and Penang. According to him:

'Multiculturalism in Ipoh, we have our own way. In other places, they have Little India, China Town, Malay Area. In Ipoh multiculturalism is about blending together in our own way. Ipoh has a long heritage where we have a lot of cooperation (between ethnic groups) from the British era until today.'

Creating the sense of place that is uniquely Ipoh has also been mentioned by two other respondents. One respondent mentioned the successful approach of connecting different things relevant to each other to create a sense of place. He related to bringing big brands but have local roots together in one business area, which was the main idea in the creation of Sekeping Kong Heng. One of the partners (Activist- Landscape Architect, male, 54, interviewed on 10/6/2017) mentioned:

We need to build a critical mass. Alone, we can't do it. We bring people together that will attract their own followers, and interestingly that brought a bit of traffic at Kong Heng. The idea was to encourage other land owners in the area to restore their

buildings too.'

He also mentioned that business is not static. It keeps on revolving, but it is important to be inclusive and cater to various crowds rather than focusing on a certain group in society. Hence, new business partnerships like Sekeping Kong Heng must also cater to old tenants operating in the area such as the barbers, the hawkers, and the newspaper/magazine sellers, who have been earning their living in the area for so long. It is important to keep these traditional businesses in the city. According to him, 'we kept the barber and given him an opportunity to operate in a new environment'. He also mentioned that they subsidised rentals for the barber and magazine seller and allowed the hawkers to continue their business in the premises. As an architect, to him:

'Architecture is not just about buildings, not about objects, architecture is about people. To me, the most memorable is when people are happy using the space, people take ownership and people come out of their comfort zone and get involved in community building. That is the most important factors and KPI (key performance index) for me.'

Another respondent described the material structures that portray 'Ipoh style' as combining the physical structures and the landscape elements in the architecture. Physical structure in this sense is the existing condition of the structure that reflects the age and different era of the structures (as opposed to preservation of buildings), and the landscape elements include plants that grew in between the bricks of the wall.

The catalytic effect of small scale conservation efforts of the old town both from the government (federal, state and city council), property owners and private investors bore fruits when Ipoh began to get tourists' attention and several world standard recommendations. Ipoh airport, although has very limited inbound and outbound destinations, has seen a 10% increase in the number of tourists from January-March 2017, compared to the same period the year before, as reported by the Exco of Tourism, Arts, Culture, Multimedia and Communication at that time (Ipoh Echo, 16/06/2017). In the Domestic Tourism Survey 2017, it was also stated that Perak has the second-highest number of domestic visitors, amounting to 20.1 million people, as reported by the Department of Statistic Malaysia.

7.3.2 Sense of Belonging and Sense of Ownership (Ipoh)

According to ICC Planner 1 (male, 50, 23/7/2017), citizen empowerment in urban planning is not alien to Ipoh, as it has a historical root in the early layout of the city. He mentioned that after the great fire that destroyed most of the old town, the re-planning of the city was the through engagement with various groups and ethnicity:

'After the great fire, the re-planning of the city was not through a dictative legal means, but through the engagement of people. He (British Resident, Mr. Hume) called the 'towkeys', the landowners, Datuk Panglima Kinta, to sit down together and planned the roads and everything, which make way for today's development. If we had not planned that in the early 1900s, it wouldn't be like this today. So actually, it was partly the planning by the Council or that time, the Town Board, and also through cooperation of all party.'

According to him, another significant testament of community empowerment in Ipoh urban planning is the Ipoh Padang. According to Tate and Chan (2016), the present

day Ipoh Padang was the first open space in Ipoh town, which was acquired in 1898, when the Chinese community raised \$43,000 to buy the land. A respondent described:

'...Ipoh Padang was not created by the Council or at that time it was the municipality of town hall, but it was done by the people. The merchants, the communities got together, collected money, purchased some land and created the Ipoh Padang. So Ipoh Padang is the embodiment of the spirit of the people. I think Ipoh is unique in the sense that the people are very dynamic and very cooperative. We, at the council, have to approach them too, so they will feel more comfortable with us and we could plan together. It will not be only their plan or the Council's plan but it's the city's plan.'

ICC Planner 2, male, 52 (23/07/2017)

The citizens' connection to Ipoh town is apparent in the act of claiming ownership of the old town. This is seen during interviews with a number of property owners who operate new businesses in old buildings in the old town area, such as Sekeping Kong Heng, with all three of the partners born in Ipoh. Similarly, the Happy 8 Hotel owner also claimed that he is an Ipohite despite spending his training years in Taiwan, the Artisan Homemade Bread Café owner and chef who decided to return to Ipoh and set up his bakery after spending years in the UK, and the original occupant in Concubine Lane who during fieldwork visit, has shown the original internal planning of the shophouse which he intended to never sell to outsiders. According to the Han Chin Pet Soo museum curator (male, 75, interviewed on 14/7/2017), the museum was made possible by a generous and desperate act of the tenant, who wanted to protect the building from being turned into a restaurant, which will affect the authenticity of its architecture. He recalled:

'I have this sponsor, who wanted to save this building because it was about to be turned into a restaurant. He is not a Hakka, this is a Hakka building, he is a Cantonese, but he wanted to save the building for the city. And he got plenty of money, he is a multi - billionaire. And so, he decided to rent the building to save it. He rented it and he brought me outside and said, Ian, I'm renting this building, do something with it. You've got it for 5 years. So I did something with it and now it is a very popular place for the Chinese - at least and for overseas tour guides, very popular. It is now number one Trip-Advisor top tourist attraction in Ipoh.'

As discussed in Chapter 6, the Ipoh local people, especially the Chinese community, have started to buy back properties in the old town to bring new businesses, to give life back to the area. This local attachment to place, and financial capacity of its people who are sensitive towards the character and identity of their town, has resulted in a more sensitive approach to urban regeneration. According to a respondent, who claimed that he came out with the slogan 'Ipoh Cheapo' because they think cheap in Ipoh, and although Ipoh people are 'money minded', the town has a lot of millionaires'. The author of 'Ipoh: When Tin Was King' (Ming, 2014) mentioned that:

'...(Ipoh) has been able to boast as having more millionaires than any other Malayan town well before that time. Ipoh's millionaires owned their wealth to being centre of one of the world's most productive tin mining areas.'

Ipoh's citizens' sense of belonging to meaningful places, some due to the attachment to their performative years, is apparent in Ipoh old town. An Ipoh-born journalist who grew up in the old town has made a consistent coverage in the Star Metro on Concubine Lane, from the unfortunate incident where two old building facades fell to the ground to the recent boom of the area. This has in a way, spread

awareness on the heritage of the area and why it must be conserved. A respondent (Consultant Architect, Penang, female, 35, interviewed on 27/7/2017), who works in Penang but is also from Ipoh, has described that her connection to her hometown was the motivation for her to work on a conservation project that didn't bring any monetary gain:

'I spent 4 years doing that (construction project) for nothing. My partner said, you Ipoh people if you want to do the project, go on with it, but, are you aware that Ipoh people don't want to pay (consultation) fees or anything? They don't understand the value of conservation. I told my client, if you want to do things, do it our way and do it properly. So we charged nothing, just claimed expenses and no fees and it took us four years.'

According to the respondent, despite the strong sense of ownership and sense of belonging, knowledge on conservation is lacking in Ipoh. Hence, conservation works tend to be superficial. It also meant that, doing conservation project in Ipoh also requires architects to educate the contractors, because they tend to not adhere to proper conservation protocol, and it is important to work with the right people. However, according to her, 'at the end of the day, the satisfaction and transformation of the contractor was rewarding'.

In Malaysia, the spirit of ownership within a community is often manifested in the act of voluntary and togetherness to take action, termed as 'gotong-royong'. Gotong-royong could be in many forms such as voluntary general cleaning, preparing meals for feasts and guarding a neighbourhood area. It is a norm in the more suburban and rural areas, where interdependence within members of community is more prominent, especially when the public services are inefficient. The sense of

community ownership enhances and expands bottom-up actions, especially in maintaining and looking after their neighbourhood area.

Another respondent highlighted that the community plays an important role in sustaining a place, not to be dependent too much on the local authority. She mentioned, the community should play the role to keep the city healthy and protect the history related to the place, so that it could be passed down to the next generation.

'Communities are the roots, the ground people. They need to have passion. With no passion, no matter how much money the government dumps, it won't work.'

Tour Guide Association Ipoh, female, 41 (4/7/2017)

In an interview with ICC Planner 1 (male, 50, 23/7/2017), he described that during the early planning of the old town regeneration, there were face-to-face consultations with property owners, as they often come to ICC for discussion. Hence, it was easier to control the construction works. However, when the place became popular it was more difficult to control, and the way to respond to uncontrolled works, is through enforcement:

'Before it became famous, they always came to the Council, to my office and discuss. Can they do this? Can they do that? Of course, when they became famous, being included in the Lonely Planet as one of the best cities to visit, and then suddenly the place became a boom. It makes it difficult for us to control. In the early 1990s and 2000s, it was easier because we can plan with them but now it's much more a matter of enforcement, a matter of educating public what you can do and what you cannot do. But we will still sit together with them. We will call them and discuss with other departments such as enforcement and licensing. There are many actions that we can

take right now, but we have to educate them. There are rooms for them to participate in business activities there. But it has to be done properly. There has to be a delicate balance so that Ipoh can still thrive.'

During fieldwork, the 'Guidelines for Planning Proposal and Design in The Heritage Zone' has just been produced. Another ICC Planner 3 (8/6/2017) highlighted that it is important for projects to be accepted by the community, so that they will have a sense of belonging, a sense of appreciation and a sense of ownership. This is the key to the prosperity to that project.

The ICC officers' sense of belonging to Ipoh was also strongly felt during the researcher's fieldwork attachment with the institution. When approaching public areas under their authority, the local people recognised who they are and approached them as friends rather than as officers. In one of the informal chats (field diary entry 4/7/2017), a Planning Officer (male, 53, 8/6/2017) mentioned that the presence of the Royal monarchy in Ipoh plays an important role in balancing the power distribution between the State and ICC, relating that the Sultan has in several occasion saved the natural environment from disruptive developments, such as the Gunung Lang recreational park and the Royal Belum State Park.

7.4 Conclusion

In relation to the previous two chapters on the technical processes of collaborative efforts and community engagement, this chapter discussed the aspects of emotions in the placemaking process, which has a significant impact on urban regeneration. This is to uncover how place is created by actors from grassroots, due to their

attachment to a place and the reaction when they encounter top-down actions by the government in creating places. There are some similarities and differences in the reaction of people towards the urban regeneration agenda enforced by the government. This chapter unpacked the motivations behind this reaction.

Malaysian citizens' attachment to the historic core of KL is due to the historical event of Malaysia achieving its Independence from British rule. The place is a symbolic expression of democracy and citizen empowerment, which until today is a significant location where protests and demonstrations are conducted. The connotation of the area to public ownership has in several ways been in conflict with the ownership of local properties and businesses. The property owners and business operators whose dependence on the place is based on functional and economic factors, feel that the plan to pedestrianise the area was insensitive towards their everyday operation. Motivated by this, the retailers association and the night market operators conducted protests, and demanded for a formal community engagement to resolve technical issues relating to business operations. Both the government and the property owners are in full awareness of the importance to retain the sense of place of JALAN MASJID INDIA and JALAN MUNSHI ABDULLAH as a traditional shopping district. According to Ujang and Zakariya (2015) the attachment to the shopping street is influenced by ethnic identity, related economic activities and social issues.

On the other hand, George Town sense of place is closely related to the strong multicultural heritage, both in tangible and intangible forms. The WHL has in a way provide a systematic platform to protect this unique identity. However, the WHL has

also brought throngs of tourists to the area, which is seen as a potential economic source for the state. Penang citizens' strong emotional attachment relates to their sense of being in the world that are important for the psychological and wellbeing. This is closely associated with history, heritage and cultural traditions. The survival of these intangible heritage is attached to the survival of the material structures, both in the built and the natural environment. In contrast, the state government urban regeneration agenda has (from the perspectives of the civil society) brought threats to heritage. In the quest to protect what they hold dear to, the civil society often questions, critics and protests development seen as unsustainable. In many cases, the civil society negotiates for a more responsible and sensitive development. According to Ujang and Zakariya (2015) the culture of people influences the reactions towards environmental setting.

The dominance of topographical character of limestone towers and the natural elements, with the combination of the man-made structures and laidback lifestyle, has contributed significantly to Ipoh's sense of place. Both the government and the citizens are in full awareness of this old town character of Ipoh. Urban regeneration planning by ICC is more sensitive towards the local character, and has created rooms for the local citizens to take actions in improving their place. According to Eckersall (2011), people are drawn back to places that hold meaning to them, such as places they have a connection with, that hold nostalgia and offer hopes for a better future. This has motivated Ipoh-born business owners to contribute to bringing back life to the old town, according to their own interpretations.

As a conclusion, the focus on people's emotions is useful in the making of sense of place, which influences the way people think about the use, and how they modify the world (Wood & Smith, 2004). This understanding develops a sensitivity in future interventions on place, such as through urban regeneration. Placemaking, which is an intervention that draws from place-based and community-based approach, allows for interventions that are focussed on 'place', which increases the understanding of a locale in a holistic manner with 'all its relations' (Cars et al, 2002).

In most case studies, two important aspects which might be useful for actors involved in placemaking process in understanding the sense of place, are the act of walking and storytelling. The act of walking relates to experiencing a place through a pace and at an eye view, in which the body movement are immersed in the discovery of a locale through all the senses. This personal experience of place allows people to encounter not only the material structures of place and its social dimensions rich in multi-ethnic cultures, but also to discover the emotional attachment that people have to the place. This act of walking is important to engage planners and designers to the reality that makes a place a meaningful location to the community, hence develop more sensitive interventions to the area. According to de Certeau (1985), 'history begins at ground level, with footsteps of the walkers' (p: 129).

'The desire to see the city preceded the means of fulfilling the desire. The technical processes created an omni-visual power - looking at the city from above. But, it is the below – down – on the threshold where the visibility ends, is where the city's commons dwell, in which the raw material of the experiment are the walkers.'

Storytelling has the ability to bring out the character of a place through collective creations by the people. Through storytelling, a shared vision of a place could be created through the descriptive narrative approach. This opens up possibilities and variations, giving place characters that could be shaped by various actors and angles. Places are enriched with emotions, myths, legends and characters. Hence, the created place could be meaningful to different people for various reasons. This informal creation of place contrasts significantly from the formal evidence-based data enforced on a place, which might create a single sense of place.

The next chapter will conclude all the findings from Chapter 5,6 and 7, and discuss how participatory placemaking should be understood in Malaysian context, based on the three case studies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the overall research findings by revisiting this study's aim, objectives, and theoretical framework. This will be followed by a discussion on the contribution of this research to the theoretical and practical fields. The different emerging participatory placemaking processes and how they influence urban regeneration agendas have been discussed in previous chapters. The aim of the study was developed through the following objectives:

O1: To identify actors initiating participatory placemaking process and the motivation behind the efforts by examining the government's agenda of historic urban centre regeneration and the government-market-civil society relationship.

O2: To investigate the programme, strategies and process of participatory placemaking by examining citizen participation and community actions located within the larger historic urban centre regeneration.

O3: To explore how different models of participatory placemaking are designed in Malaysia and their contribution towards a sustainable way of regeneration of historic urban centre by understanding the interdependence between policy, governance and emotions.

The introduction chapter served to contextualise this research, by discussing the background of the study, namely the shift towards embracing small-scale place-based approach deemed as a sustainable way to regenerate historic urban centres. The place-based approach enhanced inclusivity and increased capacity for participatory actions encouraged through collaboration between governments, private companies and the civil societies in economic development and urbanisation (Guy Peters & Pierre, 2004; Pierre, 1999, 2005). This chapter outlined the research focus and the thesis structure.

Chapter 2 demonstrated the growing interest in exploring participatory placemaking process, as a bottom-up approach to urban regeneration. Participatory placemaking process draws from the relationship and power distribution between government institutions and the civil society. The foundation to the relationship centres on: (i) Place governance structure and policies, including the design and practice of planning system; (ii) the capacity of the local institutions, civil societies and the local community in mobilizing grassroots actions; and (iii) the existence of boundary spanner and the role they play. The chapter also unpacked three main themes of the research, namely governance and collaborative planning, public participation and community initiative, as well as emotional geographies from theories of space, place and people-place relationship. This chapter concluded that sustainable urban regeneration relates to a holistic framework, both in the technical process and emotional deliberation, shaped by the internal multi-cultural conflicts as much as the dynamic external economic forces, as well as the negotiations between various actors to (re)construct identity. This frames the discussion in the findings chapters.

Chapter 3 established the research's methodological positioning and analytical strategies by outlining that it is ontological in paradigm with a constructivist standpoint, interpretivist in philosophy, qualitative in its strategy of inquiry and ethnography in approach. The use of the ethnography approach has enabled the researcher to develop themes and draw conclusions comparatively between three cities and narrate an in-depth story of each case study, resulting in the emergence of various themes significant to the analysis of the participatory placemaking process.

8.1 Summary of the Empirical Evidence

This section is devoted to discussing how participatory placemaking has taken place in the three case studies, what shaped this process's distinctiveness, and how it influences sustainable urban regeneration in each city. This is explained by unpacking the urban regeneration agenda, the government-market-civil society relationship, local social demography shaped by historical and current and historical, as well as an investigation on the motivations to bottom-up community initiatives.

The study has demonstrated that participatory placemaking is enabled by the governance structure that embraces collaborative and participatory planning and urban design practices. Platforms for collaborations are created in two ways which respond to the two types of governance. Vertically among actors of different levels such as seen through the collaboration between Penang state government, Think City and AKTC through GTCDC for the master planning of George Town WHS, and horizontally between the local government, the resident associations and the

boundary spanner like Think City and Arts-ED on placemaking projects (LTP, LMT, Armenian Park and Pulau Tikus marketplace). However, the implementation of the placemaking process and its outcome are shaped by the larger urban regeneration agenda, and the way place is viewed at the theoretical level by the actors leading the placemaking project. The market forces, social demographics of the impacted local communities' and affective bonds people have to place influence the placemaking process observed in the case studies, summarised in Table 18 below.

Table 18 Case Study summary on the way urban regeneration influence participatory placemaking process.

	KL	George Town	Ipoh
Urban Regeneration Agenda	A world-class city	Penang towards a Sustainable World Heritage Site	Ipoh towards Sustainable, Dynamic and Progressive City
Market forces	Global market – world class city branding with speculative market with high demand for infrastructures, facilities, life style at par with international western standards.	Global Market tourism – UNESCO world heritage site branding with pressure from tourism industry for both authenticity of place and international standard facilities and infrastructures.	Local tourist and targeted tourist from Asia with link to the tin mining heritage. Conservative market catering for the local citizens' needs.
Distinctive Social demography	Widening gap between the rich and the poor marked by the increase in homelessness and the urban poor, to include migrants from various countries and ethnicities.	Vocal, networked and knowledgeable civil society groups advocating for conservation of heritage and historic places.	Laid back local citizen contented with slow pace lifestyle and conservative market.

The local's affective bonds to the historic core	Place as public symbols of civic and independence from colonisation.	Sense of identity tied to authenticity and rootedness in place. Sense of belonging and stewardship – place as a field of care.	Sense of belonging, ownership and stewardship link to something that is familiar and a field of care.

The urban regeneration agenda for KL is driven towards achieving standards at par with those of the developed countries. Hence the agenda is highly federal-led. Listing KL as one of the entry point projects for the Economic Transformation Program (ETP) has increased speculative development pressure and broadening of the rich-and-poor gap, while at the same time, widening its ethnic background to include people from various countries. Hollowing out of the city by the locals has caused the voids to be filled by foreigners. Planning the city from an aerial view by FTM and the challenges of 21st century social demographic structure, have made the responsibility to manage the city as well as the balancing between the locals and the foreigners, a struggle of power between KLCH and FTM. Through an MoU, KLCH collaborated with Think City to bring back the locals to KL historic urban centre through public space activations, which includes initiating programs at newly upgraded spaces and physical interventions such as pocket park beautification. The participatory placemaking process gained a formal entry into project implementations, practised in KLCH through this collaboration. At the same time, more informal demand for public participation in deciding on the future of their neighbourhood emerged in several localized contexts such as BBCE and JTAR. Initiatives by the BBCE community are geared towards an increased improvement in their area, while for JTAR community, their initiatives come with an additional

agenda, to steer high-profile aerial planned projects towards place-sensitive urban interventions.

The urban regeneration agenda of George Town is driven towards tourism, steered by the actors with authority power towards a tourism-based economy with a developer-friendly relationship that has resulted in highly speculative market forces. Although the main aim of the WHS is to protect heritage significant places, it has also attracted a large number of tourists, enticed foreign investors to buy properties, and has resulted in an increase in the rental, beyond the affordance of the middle class locals, forcing original residents to move out of the heritage zone. Shophouses are fast turning into boutique hotels and souvenir shops, catering more to the needs of tourists rather than those of the locals. On the other hand, Penang's strong civil society network is constantly working to pull the urban regeneration agenda towards sustainable heritage tourism to protect the cultural heritage and the natural environment to maintain the WHS status. Using both a cooperative and vocal approach to oppose high profile state-led projects, the relationship between the state government and the Penang Forum (a loose coalition of Penang NGOs) soured. Demands for inclusive, collaborative and participative planning by the civil societies were not easily fulfilled. Penang NGOs, whose members are made up of professionals, academicians, expatriates and activists, have a strong network and are always on the watch on government projects and private properties, ready to take actions when threats to the heritage buildings are detected. In 2009, Think City was set up in George Town with grants from the federal government to test a community-based urban regeneration approach. Not only has Think City gained a

formal entry into the planning system, but it has also in many projects becomes the mediator between the government and the civil societies. However, tipping a balance between heritage and tourism is proven to be a difficult undertaking.

The urban regeneration agenda was steered towards conservation-centric approach with the aim to bring life back to the city. Ipoh has been facing depopulation issues since the decline of the tin mining industries, and bringing more people to the city is the main objective. The strategies in achieving that include reviving tourism that targets local tourists and redeveloping brownfield sites at the old town's border. Sensitive planning was practised, with mechanisms for participation in the local planning through town hall sessions and amendments to gazetted plans. Due to the fact that properties in Ipoh are relatively cheap, as well as the laidback attitude of the people, there were less speculative market forces. Nonetheless, the city needs a boost in its economic development to attract younger generations, and coincidentally, the hipster business model started to make its way into the urban centre. A surge of fresh business owners, most of whom have an attachment to the city because they were born or raised in Ipoh, started coming back to the old town operating hipster concept businesses that grow in magnitude, injecting new life to the old urban structures. Cafes and boutique hotels grow in between remaining traditional businesses. Community initiatives in Ipoh come in the form of grassroots individual and some collective efforts to enliven the city, which is met with facilitation by the local authority. Not only was the urban regeneration agenda being planned together, but they were also responsive to local needs.

Through observations and being immersed with the context studied, this research ascertains that the historic urban centre is the place of heritage and cultural contestation by various ethnicities in the context of a multicultural society - such as among the Malay's, Chinese and Indians in the Malaysian context. This is apparent in the use of certain symbols, colour and patterns as a representation of cultural identity to create soft boundaries of areas in the city belonging to particular ethnic – such as seen in the use of Chinese red lantern in Market Lane and Concubine Lane. This is also a common sight in other case studies like Petaling Street in KL and other ethnic areas in the cases studies like Little India in Ipoh and George Town, as well as Masjid India Street in KL and Kapitan Keling Mosque in George Town. Similarly, Malay elite names are used as street names in the city centre as memories that the place was once occupied as Malay villages before being relocated to the outskirts to make way for urbanisation during the British occupation. Panglima Lane is another name for Concubine Lane, where Panglima Kinta used to own much of the land in the old town area, and JTAR were named after Tuanku Abdul Rahman, a Malay royal leading the negotiations for the independence of Tanah Melayu or Malaya (Malaysia before independence) from British colonisation.

Placemaking in the Malaysian context confronts the issues of power relations both among actors in the formal collaborative and participatory process in making places, as well as a contestation of identity representation among multi-ethnic society and the diversity of Asian urbanism. Hence, understanding the local place-based context is critical to avoid insensitive intervention on the cultural and religious aspects. Inconsiderate actions could provoke tensions between ethnic groups and lead to

racial clash as seen in the 13 May incident.

8.2 Answers to Research Questions

In the beginning of this research, a set of research questions were developed, as a 'guide' for the researcher, who has employed the ethnography approach, as a way to have a 'clear thinking' in order to find her way out of the 'forest of data', and share the findings of this research with others. This section is devoted to answering the set of questions.

Q1: Why is participatory placemaking process being initiated by the actors?

As observed in the case studies, there are several similar reasons why the actors initiated participatory placemaking. This research suggests it is tied to the emotions and meanings that people attached to a place. In the chapters discussing this study's findings (Chapter 5, 6, and 7),

From the local government perspective, participatory placemaking is seen as an act to transform cities that embraces citizen participation to build a sense of ownership –. According to Parés, Martí-Costa, and Blanco (2014), 'citizen engagement is conceived as a way to improve the 'quality' of regeneration policies, and also as a strategy to politically empower the poor.'

Another reason why placemaking is initiated by actors like NGO is to protest against insensitive developments such as seen during the Penang Forum seminar. The forum to plan actions to save Pulau Jerejak from massive redevelopment. The

forum aimed to provide awareness of the historical importance and environmental uniqueness of the island, which ended with pulling together resources to produce a counter-proposal plan to the state government.

Q2: What are the agenda, strategies and process adopted in the participatory placemaking efforts?

There are two main agendas on why people engaged in a participatory effort: to protect the 'something' that they have an attachment to, such as connection to their heritage and the environment. People have the connection to an existing 'something', which they do not want to lose. Penang NGO persistence in highlighting this connection to the past and the connection to the 'here and now' – the coastline and hills – were linked to the larger global threat of climatic issues, risk to their source of food, and hazard to the ecosystem.

The act of protecting the environment is also linked to their aim to pass it down to future generations, which could be associated with the sense of survival and belonging to their roots.

Another reason people engaged in participatory placemaking as demonstrated by the research findings is that they do not agree with the future plan for their place that seemed 'placeless' because it lacks consideration on human aspects or factors.

There are a number of strategies suggested by the respondents, and observed by the researcher during fieldwork. Although community action comes organically from

the grassroots who get together driven by the voluntary spirit for collective action, the community strategizes within themselves for a structured strategy to fight for their course, rather than to move 'without a plan'. Among the strategies mentioned by respondents include conducting proper research about the place, such as about its historical significance, doing cultural mapping to understand the people-economic-environment relationship in a local setting to guide for more responsive and people-centred planning. During fieldwork, the cultural mapping methods were popular where.

Cultural mapping 'maps the community assets and resources, capturing its historical, social, economic and environmental data to inform future development' (Pillai, 2015).

The most ultimate strategy which Penang citizens have demonstrated is by practising the power of citizenship through voting. Penang has been known to put down any government, whether the governing or the opposition in general elections. Hence it is frustrating when they were not given the choice to vote at the local level where they are most impacted. A number of respondents in Penang have voiced out their preference for the local government election to be installed. However, this was not mentioned in the other two case studies.

Q3: How do the emerging models of participatory placemaking influence the sustainability of urban centre regeneration?

Based on the arguments presented in Chapter 2, which suggested that participatory

placemaking is a devolution of power of the government, to allow citizen to have greater power in participation, the relationship between the two parties is important for the success of this process. There are four distinctive models of participatory placemaking identified in this research.

1. Government-led
2. Civil-society-led
3. Non-Profit-Organization-led
4. Community-led

These different models may have similar or different impacts to urban regeneration, based on the distribution and negotiation of power between the government and the actors. This will be discussed further in the research contribution section.

8.3 Research Contribution

The general theoretical contribution of this research is expanding the understanding on participatory placemaking, which has its roots in the global north western region to the context of the global south, specifically in the Southeast Asian region. This thesis draws out the contextual factors that drive this effort, focusing on governance and emotional geography, by looking at three case studies, to identify the general patterns of participatory placemaking that have emerged in Malaysia. In addition, each case study has been deeply scrutinised to understand how contextual characteristics are linked to the identified models.

The government-led participatory placemaking relates to how the government

initiated participation of the public, allowing them to convey their concerns about future planning. Community engagement might also be included in this model, but only to a certain degree, indicating that the government still has control in the level of participation. There are genuine results from the participatory placemaking process, as observed in Ipoh, where the urban regeneration strategies are more sympathetic to the local socio-economy and culture. The government has allowed for amendments to be made to the local plan after it was gazetted, which is a distinctive practice in the Malaysian context, showing some degree of flexibility. In another case study, KL, government-led participatory placemaking occurred in two situations: one, a rigid process when it was initiated by the federal government in an aerial view planning of high profile projects such as ROL, engaging selected stakeholders and side-lining important stakeholders, such as property owners, who the planning will directly impact. When the participatory placemaking is approached from the ground-up, as observed in the incremental upgrading of JTAR barrier-free pedestrian walkway, the process was more successful because the affected community was engaged in collaborative practice.

In the civil society-led model, the success of participatory placemaking is highly dependent on the relationship between the civil society and the government. As suggested by Edelenbos et al., (2018), there are four types of relationships. Co-creation and stimulation could lead to building better planning together, while on the contrary, avoidance and co-destruction may lead to an unsuccessful participatory planning process. This was observed in Penang. The good relationship between the civil-society with the former government has led to a successful venture to obtain

the WHS status. However, the civil-society was in a constant disagreement with the new government, leading to a negative relationship, namely avoidance and co-destruction, despite the fact that both parties were trying to perfect inclusiveness and a participatory approach in placemaking.

The Non-Profit-Organisation (NPO-led) participatory placemaking has better chances of achieving successful result than the civil society-led effort in the context of George Town. The role of NPOs is highly important as a mediator to both parties, reaching out to the community, conveying and working in collaboration with the government in placemaking process. Having several established tools borrowed from PPS, has helped the NPOs to do strategic groundworks. Established networks with international partners have also helped NPOs get access to various expertise needed, which is crucial in building people's capacities in the participatory placemaking process. However, in the early experiments and test-outs, the placemaking models might not be as successful as it was hoped to be. This is obvious in several back-lane projects, which were only successful for several months.

Lastly, the community-led participatory placemaking process has also been identified in the case studies, which saw the community members coming together in a collective action to protect and/or improve their neighbourhood. In most cases observed in the case studies, the actions were triggered by threats to their existing contexts. For example, in Ipoh, the community of Concubine Lane formed an ad-hoc committee to negotiate with the state government and the local authority on the

order to evacuate their neighbourhood because it was labelled as 'unsafe' after the facades of two pre-war building collapsed. The ad-hoc committee fought for the authority to conduct a proper assessment by professional architects and engineers. The ad-hoc committee then worked together in the spirit of 'gotong-royong' to maintain the cleanliness of their area. Similarly, the Market Lane community group who worked in voluntary spirit, has come together to enliven the traditional Chinese culture and heritage because they felt the heritage is threatened by how commercialized Concubine Lane has become, overpowering the traditional heritage of the area. In KL, the voice of JTAR business community became stronger, and they became more united through their association (BARRA) when they came in togetherness to oppose KLCH/FTM proposal to pedestrianize JTAR. This was done mainly to get the authority to pause the project and conduct a proper engagement with the property owners and business operators on several issues that they foresee will occur if the proposal is implemented.

The table below summarises the models of participatory placemaking observed within KL, George Town and Ipoh linking to the way places people make a place through the understanding of place at the theoretical level as mentioned by Cresswell (2005).

Table 19 Summary of participatory placemaking models and connection to urban centre regeneration

Model of participatory placemaking	Understanding of place at the theoretical level	The way people make a place	The impact on the urban regeneration of historic urban centres
State government led	Place as seen from an outsider	Captures the physical attributes of place more than the activities and meaning of place at the local level	Concerns with improving the physical environment which may threaten meaningful places of activities to the public
NPO-led	Place as a coming together of various elements and people.	Strive to create a balance between the various elements and people. May and may not address the 'real' issues on site.	Space activations through activities and physical improvements can attract a congregation of people through quick win projects and pocket park improvements that may sustain in the long run or for a short time
NGO-led	Place as a field of care	Act of active citizenship through the practice of democracy	Protect cultural, heritage significant places and the natural environment of from demolition.
Community- led	Place from the insider view	Emersed in place regularly – and might form a relationship to the place and attachment to place.	The place is an important and meaningful location for activities. Physical attribute of place becomes something very familiar and develop sense of care.

8.4 Practical contribution

It was observed that participatory Placemaking process has been described in various ways by different actors in different case studies. The way they described what placemaking is, has greatly influenced their practical implementation of the project. As discussed in chapter 2, placemaking has been described as a physical construct, social construct, an act of active citizenship through the practice of democracy, and as a collaborative process that engages various actors in a multidisciplinary team to improve their place.

It was also observed that approaching placemaking from a physical construct, has led practitioners to tackle placemaking through physical interventions, hoping that it will activate 'dying' places. Examples of common interventions include back-lane upgrading and pop up pocket parks. Some projects 'appeared' to be successful on the surface, with beautiful landscaping, material upgrading and new paint, and were activated with occasional activities, but in did not sustain for a long time. This is one of the popular 'quick win' projects linked to placemaking that could be based on a superficial understanding of place and lacking the proper full insight.

Some 'quick win' projects are less successful when the placemaker did not fully understand the ecosystem of the context. Some projects imposed 'permanent' change to a 'temporary' usage of place, where in actual fact the place needs to be flexible in nature. This is linked to the 'standardisation' practice by outsider views (professional), who dictates how a place should look like and rejects the possibility for the surrounding community to impose personalisation in the surrounding area.

Intervention in JTAR and Concubine Lane has allowed personalization by the business operators. An initial intervention by the authority in both places act as the foundation or base for the people to add their personality and make the place lively. No activities we forced to happen in the area, but they occurred naturally, exemplified by busking activities and street performances in front of SOGO and the commercial activities in Concubine Lane.

Based on the research outcomes discussed in chapter 7, two techniques are found to be useful in generating sense of place, one is from a personal experience, which increases people's awareness and appreciation to a place, through the act of walking and story-telling, in which it is useful to approach sense of place from the ground-up and collectively building the meaning of the place. Through storytelling, a shared vision of a place could be created with the descriptive narrative approach, which opens up possibilities and variations, giving a place characters that could be shaped by various actors and through different angles.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Plain Language Statement (for placement)

Appendix 2: Plain Language Statement (for Interview) and Consent Letter

Appendix 3: Table 19 List of Interviewee

APPENDIX 1

Plain Language Statement (for placement)

Working Title of Project: Sustainable Transformation of Public Places in the City Centre
Final Title: Participatory Placemaking: Governance and Emotion in the Urban
Regeneration of Malaysia

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman, Doctoral Researcher in Human Geography at the University of Birmingham, under the supervision of Dr. Phil Jones and Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill. This research seeks to better understand the underlying process of involving the users of public places in the making of meaningful urban places in city centre urban regeneration.

I am interested to understand placemaking process and public participation approaches that your institution is practising by being embedded as a participant observer for a duration of one month. This research is interested to explore placemaking from two perspectives, firstly, the 'making' as social process of negotiations in decision-making between stakeholders and the local community; and secondly, the 'making' as personal encounter with the surrounding, enriching personal senses, personal feelings and emotions.

Two methods will be used in this research, that is observation of placemaking activities conducted by the local authority and the placemaking consultant as well as interviewing participants involved in placemaking projects in urban regeneration of public places in Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. Observations of activities during collaboration and participation exercises will be recorded within a field diary. Digital photographs of the activities will be taken with the consent of the participants focussing on the activities and environment rather than the human subject. Any captured image(s) which inadvertently contain human subjects will be blurred using digital manipulation. All data gathered, will be held securely and anonymously for ten years following the study, in line with the University of Birmingham's regulations. The transcripts of the interview and personal information about the respondents will never be disclosed to a third party without the participant's express written permission to do so.

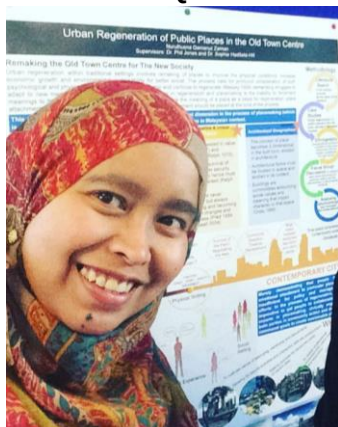
I humbly request if I could be attached to your institution for a duration of one month in any of the months between December 2016 to May 2017. My resume is attached for your perusal. If you have any questions about the research, please get in touch with the researcher, Nurulhusna.

Contact information

Primary Researcher: Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman Doctoral Researcher School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences University of Birmingham B15 2TT [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	Supervisor: Dr Phil Jones Senior Lecturer in Human Geography School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences University of Birmingham B15 2TT [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Your kind consideration is highly appreciated and I will be looking forward to your reply.
Warm Regards.

Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman



Contact Details

Name : Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman
Affiliation : School of Geography, Earth and
Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham,
Edgbaston, West Midlands, B15 2TT United Kingdom.
Position : Doctoral Researcher in Human Geography

[Redacted contact information]

In Brief

Currently a doctoral researcher in human geography with the interest in production of place, place attachment, placemaking, and public participation. Prior to being a doctoral researcher, I am a lecturer in the Centre of Studies for Architecture (UiTM Shah Alam) handling Urban Design Studio for the Master of Architecture (Part II) program.

Education

Phd in Human Geography. 2015 (ongoing): University of Birmingham (UK)

Master of Science in Urban Design
2008 : Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (KL CityCampus)

Bachelor of Architecture (Hons.)
2005 : Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (Skudai, Johor Campus)

Diploma in Architecture
2001 : Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (Skudai, Johor Campus)

Work Experience

November 2008 – present (under study leave)
Universiti Teknologi MARA, Malaysia
Position: Lecturer, Centre of Studies for Architecture,
Faculty of Architecture, Planning and Surveying.

July 2005 – July 2008 : Limkokwing University
Position: Tutor, Architecture Department,
Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment.

Collaborations

March - August 2014 : Cyberjaya Urban Design Framework Proposal for Sepang Municipal Council (M.Arch Studio Project)

September – November 2014 : Proposed Development of Spatial Integration between buildings in Section 14 Commercial Centre, Shah Alam for PKNS Real Estate (M.Arch Studio Project)

Publications

2015

Qamaruz-Zaman, Nurulhusna, Bakri, Aidatul Fadzlin, & Ahmad, Sabarinah Sh., Ab Jalal, Ahmad Tarmizi (2015). Art Installation as Catalyst to Activities and Positive Behaviour in Back Lanes of Shah Alam Commercial Areas. *Environment-Behaviour Proceedings Journal, Maiden, Vol. 1, No.1. June 2016.*

2014

Qamaruz-Zaman, Nurulhusna, Shaberi, Wan Syamilah Wan, Bakri, Aidatul Fadzlin, & Ahmad, Sabarinah Sh. (2014). Functional Dimension of Spillover Activities towards the Liveliness of Sungai Besi Market, Kuala Lumpur. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 153(0), 629-638. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.095>
Bakri, Aidatul Fadzlin, Zaman, Nurulhusna Qamaruz, Kamarudin, Hikmah, & Amin, Nakiah Md. (2014). Reviving the Physical and Cultural Attributes of Ethnic Enclave: A Conservation Approach. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 153(0), 341-348. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.067>

2013

Proceeding

Hailane Salam, Nurulhusna Qamaruz-Zaman and Nik Farhanah Nik Azhari (2013). Visualizing the Tectonics of Heritage Shophouses in Georgetown, Penang. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Research Methodology for Built Environment and Engineering Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 17-18 December 2013
Luqmanul Hakim Shamsul, Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman, Aidatul Fadzlin Bakri, Hailane Salam (2013). The Influence of Public Artificial Lighting on Users Psychology of Being Safe during Night time in Section 7 (Commercial Centre) Shah Alam, Selangor. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Research Methodology for Built Environment and Engineering Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 17-18 December 2013

2012

Qamaruz-Zaman, Nurulhusna, Samadi, Zalina, & Azhari, Nik Farhanah Nik. (2012). Opportunity in Leftover Spaces: Activities Under the Flyovers of Kuala Lumpur. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 68(0), 451-463. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.12.241>

2010

Proceeding

Zalina Hj Samadi, NurulHusna Qamaruzzaman, Firdaus Al-Siddiq Fadzil (2010) Towards Responsive Architecture: An Exploration of Massing in Design Process. ICSAUD 2010 "Issues on Global Energy Crisis and Its Impacts on Design" International Conference Sustainable Architecture & Urban Design 2010 3-4th March 2010, Universiti Sains Malaysia

2009

Proceeding

Samadi (Haji), Zalina and Qamaruzzaman, Nurul Husna (2009). *The Revitalization of Community Centre*. 'National Conference of Research Knowledge & Intellect Application 2009', UiTM Perak

2008

Proceeding

Qamaruz Zaman, Nurulhusna; Sulaiman, Ahmad Bashri; Rosly, Marsitah (2008). Safety Aspect of a Civic Square from the Users Perspective: A Case Study of Merdeka Square, Kuala Lumpur. Proceeding for Seminar Siswazah Alam Bina, UiTM Perak.

APPENDIX 2

Plain Language Statement (for Interview)

Title of Project: Sustainable Transformation of Public Places in the City Centre (Working Title)

Final Title: Participatory Placemaking: Governance and Emotion in the Urban Regeneration of Malaysia

You are asked to take part in this research study by Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman, Doctoral Researcher in Human Geography at the University of Birmingham, under the supervision of Dr. Phil Jones and Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill. This study seeks to better understand the underlying process of involving the users of public places in the making of meaningful urban places in city centre urban regeneration. This research is interested to explore placemaking from two perspectives, firstly, the 'making' as social process of negotiations in decision-making between stakeholders and the local community; and secondly, the 'making' as personal encounter with the surrounding, enriching personal senses, personal feelings and emotions.

Two methods will be used, that is observation of placemaking activities conducted by the local authority and the placemaking consultant as well as interviewing participants involved in placemaking projects in urban regeneration of public places in Kuala Lumpur, George Town and Ipoh. The interview involves talking to a range of participants including policy makers, consultants, professionals, specialists and the local community to get their perspectives on the involvement process and conduct. It will give them a chance to explain or question or raise any issues that they feel are important regarding the process. The interview will last between 40-60 minutes and can take place at a location most convenient to you.

Your participation in the project will add valuable insight to the research and greatly appreciated but is entirely voluntary. Participants can ask at any time for the recordings and transcripts of their interviews to be excluded from the project until the end of the fieldwork (DATE) and there will be no consequences of this. All data gathered, will be held securely and anonymously for ten years following the study, in line with the University of Birmingham's regulations. The transcripts of the interview and personal information about the respondents will never be disclosed to a third party without the participant's express written permission to do so.

If you have any questions about the research, please get in touch with the researcher, Nurulhusna. If you are happy to participate then please fill in the consent form below. This will be kept in the strictest confidence at all times so that your details remain secure and confidential.

Contact information

Primary Researcher:

Nurulhusna Qamaruz Zaman

Doctoral Researcher, School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences
University of Birmingham, B15 2TT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Supervisor:

Dr Phil Jones

Senior Lecturer in Human Geography

School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences
University of Birmingham, B15 2TT

[REDACTED]

Consent

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason
3. I consent to the interview being audio-taped. I am aware that transcripts will be made from the audio recording and that these will be returned to me for verification of their accuracy. If there is any aspect of the transcript that I am unhappy with, then I am free to request that part to be removed from the study at any point until (DATE).
4. I understand that my name or any information that may allow me to be identified will not be included anywhere within the project or further academic publications. Instead a pseudonym will be used to identify me.
5. I am aware that the information provided will be stored securely for 10 years following the study so that anonymised material may be shared with other researchers.

I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

APPENDIX 3

Table 20 List of Interviewees

Num	Date	Time	City	Age	Affiliate	Position	Field	Race	Duration
1	7/2/2017	10.00 AM	JB	37	Ikhlas Johor	Management	Architecture	Malay	1:10:44
2	5/2/2017	12.00 PM	JB	36	IRDA	Assistant Vice President Planning and Compliance	Architecture	Malay	1:16:42
3	22/2/2017	2.30 PM	JB	34	Johor Bahru City Council	Assistant Director of Planning	Planning	Malay	1:20:22
4	23/2/2017	9.00 AM	JB	30	Think City	Programme Executive	Environment	Malay	39:49
5	21/2/2017	4.00 PM	JB	40	IRDA	Assistant Vice President Projects & PMO	Engineering	Malay	35:10
6	20/4/2017	10:00 AM	JB	36	Think City	Programme Manager	Cultural Studies	Chinese	1:18:36
7	1/8/2017	10.00 AM	KL	52	Kuala Lumpur City Hall	Deputy Director	Architecture	Malay	52:06
8	2/8/2017	8.30 AM	KL	29	Kuala Lumpur City Hall	Architect	Architecture	Malay	56:15
9	27/3/2017	2:00 PM	KL	54	Arts-ed	Founder	Sociology	Indian	1:12:15
10	2/8/2017	10.00 AM	KL	42	Kuala Lumpur City Hall	Architect	Architecture	Malay	1:02:43

Num	Date	Time	City	Age	Affiliate	Position	Field	Race	Duration
11	31/3/2017	2.30 PM	KL	41	Think City	Programme Manager	Business	British	1:02:49
12	17/5/2017	2.30 PM	KL	43	University Malaya	Senior Lecturer	Architecture	Malay	1:13:29
13	19/5/2017	11:00 AM	KL	37	International Islamic University	Head of Department Landscape Architecture - Cultural Mapping Consultant	Landscape Architecture	Malay	1:09:44
14	27/3/2017	10.00 PM	KL	59	University of Technology Malaysia	Professor - Urban Design Consultant	Planning and Urban Design	Malay	1:01:03
15	1/8/2017	12.00 PM	KL	35	Kuala Lumpur City Hall	Architect	Architecture	Malay	42:23
16	1/8/2017	4:00 PM	KL	56	Kuala Lumpur City Hall	Vice Director, City Planning Department	Planner	Malay	56:23
17	7/8/2017	3.00 PM	KL	22	Universiti Teknologi MARA	Think Squad	Planning Student	Malay	32:12
18	2/8/2017	4:00 PM	KL	58	Universiti Teknologi MARA	Associate Prof. Dr	Planning	Malay	1:04:23
19	7/8/2017	11.00 AM	KL	52	Batu Road Retailers Association	Vice President	Architecture	Malay	1:19:43
20	14/3/2017	11.40 AM	GT	45	Think City	Director	Economist trained in Banking Industry	Indian Muslim	40:14
21	14/3/2017	5:00 PM	GT	40	Arts-ed	Programme Manager	Sociology	Chinese	53.23

Num	Date	Time	City	Age	Affiliate	Position	Field	Race	Duration
22	4/4/2017	11.30 AM	GT	70	Think City	Director	Economics and Management	Indian Muslim	1:17:26
23	4/4/2017	3:00 PM	GT	62	Senator (Penang State)	Politician Lecturer	Political Science	Malay	41.43
24	6/4/2014	2:00 PM	GT	49	Walker Landscape	Director	Int. Agriculture and Land Management	Malaysian born/British	1.10.39
25	6/4/2017	11:00 AM	GT	34	Penang Women's Development Corporation	Project Officer	Sociology	Malay	1.01.12
26	15/3/2017	10:00 AM	GT	34	<u>PlanMalaysia@Pulau Pinang</u>	Assistant Director	Planning	Malay	54:15
27	16/3/2017	10:00 AM	GT	41	Tourism Promotions	Manager	Nautical Engineering	Chinese	46:56
28	26/4/2017	4.30 PM	GT	34	Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated	Built Environment and Monitoring Manager	Planning	Malay	1.12.08
29	3/4/2017	9:00 AM	GT	35	Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated	Senior Built Environment and Monitoring Manager	Landscape Architecture	Malay	53:30
30	15/3/2017	2:00 PM	GT	52	Penang Heritage Thrust	Vice President	History	Chinese Peranakan	35:57
31	26/4/2017	10:00 AM	GT	61	Laurence Loh Architect	Director	Architecture	Chinese	1.15.27
32	18/12/2016	10:00	GT	34	Think City	Programme Executive	Architecture	Malay	1:12:05
33	6/4/2017	5.30 PM	GT	71	Penang Island City Council	Technical Review Panel	Architecture	Malay	1:15:05

Num	Date	Time	City	Age	Affiliate	Position	Field	Race	Duration
34	21/7/17	6.00 PM	GT	52	Conservation consultancy	Historian	PhD in Social and Cultural Anthropology	British	1:20:08
35	25/7/2017	12:00 PM	GT	44	Universiti Sains Malaysia	Lecturer Researcher	Sociology and Anthropology Planning	Chinese	56:28
36	4/8/2017	12:00 PM	GT	26	Arts-ed	Staff	Sociology	Malay	40:15
37	22/7/2017	2:00 PM	GT	43	Think City	Programme Director Technical Services	Geography	Australian	1:12:15
38	27/7/2017	12.00 PM	GT	35	Laurence Loh Architect	Architect	Architecture	Chinese	55:12
39	22/7/2017	4.00 PM	GT	38	Penang Island City Council	Licensing Officer	Management	Malay	35:20
40	14/7/2017	11:00 AM	Ipoh	35	Ho Yan Hor Museum	Curator	Pharmacy	Chinese	1.11.19
41	14/7/2017	12.30 PM	Ipoh	75	Ipoh World	Managing Director	British Navy	British	1.13.32
42	6/7/2017	11:00 AM	Ipoh	37	Ipoh Tourism	Business Operator	Tourism	Chinese	1:04:34
43	4/7/2017	10:00 AM	Ipoh	22	Happy Eight Hotel	Worker	Hotel Management	Chinese	43:25
44	4/7/2017	11:00 AM	Ipoh	54	Happy Eight Hotel	Managing Director	Designer (Carpentry)	Chinese	1:12:43
45	4/7/2017	11.00 AM	Ipoh	41	Tour Guide Association Ipoh	Member/ Volunteer	Tourism	Chinese	1:12:43

Num	Date	Time	City	Age	Affiliate	Position	Field	Race	Duration
46	13/7/2017	10:00 AM	Ipoh	65	Homestay in Concubine Lane	Business Operator	Aero space Engineering	British	1:02:56
47	24/7/2017	10:00 AM	Ipoh	63	Perak Heritage Society	President	Librarian	Malay	1:08:54
48	9/6/2017	10.30 AM	Ipoh	60	Concubine Lane	Property Owner	Medical Doctor	Singh	57:27
49	8/6/2017	4:00 PM	Ipoh	38	Ipoh City Council	Planner Local Planning Division	Planning	Malay	37:45
50	10/6/2017	2:00 PM	Ipoh	54	Seksan Design	Director	Landscape Architecture	Chinese	1:11:09
51	23/7/2017	10:00 AM	Ipoh	50	Ipoh City Council	Director Town Planning	Planning	Malay	45:32
52	13/7/2017	2.30 PM	Ipoh	42	State Assembly-woman	Exco Tourism Perak	Accounting	Malay	32:42
53	3/8/2017	3:00 PM	Ipoh	62	Perak Heritage Society	Founder	Architecture	Chinese	59:44
54	8/6/2017	2:00 PM	Ipoh	55	Ipoh City Council	Chief Assistant Director of Urban Heritage and Planning Enforcement Division	Planning and Conservation	Malay	1:22:34
55	8/6/2017	2:00 PM	Ipoh	52	Ipoh City Council	Assistant Officer Planning Development and Research Division	Planning	Malay	1:22:34
56	3/8/2017	5:00 PM	Ipoh	35	Ipoh City Council	Architect	Architecture	Malay	1:02:34