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Power Relations in the Design and Development of Karangwaru Riverside Yogyakarta-Indonesia – Women's Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The design and construction of riverbanks in Karangwaru is a community participationbased development program where stakeholders play a role in the preparation of development and its implementation. The involvement of women as one of the stakeholders is one of the positive efforts for gender equality programs. However, women's voices in percieving the results of such development have never been clearly explored. How women respond to the development process and how power relations are created in a built environment are yet to be revealed. This study aims to see how power relations are formed in the design and development of Karangwaru Riverside. Using the Foucauldian discourse analysis method, this study managed to find 7 (seven) constructs and discourses that surround them. The results show that women have only control over two discourses, namely ethical and social discourse.

Keywords: power relations; women; design; development

ABSTRAK

Relasi Kuasa dalam Desain dan Pengembangan Bantaran Sungai Karangwaru Yogyakarta-Indonesia – Sudut Pandang Perempuan. Desain dan pembangunan bantaran sungai di Karangwaru merupakan program pembangunan berbasis partisipasi masyarakat di mana pemangku kepentingan berperan dalam persiapan pembangunan dan pelaksanaannya. Keterlibatan perempuan sebagai salah satu pemangku kepentingan merupkan salah satu upaya positif bagi program penyetaraan gender dalam pembangunan. Meskipun demikian suara perempuan dalam melihat hasil pembangunan tersebut belum pernah dieksplorasi dengan jelas. Bagaimana perempuan menyikapi proses pembangunan dan bagaimana relasi kuasa yang tercipta dalam lingkungan terbangun masih belum terungkap. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat bagaimana relasi kuasa yang terbentuk dalam desain dan pembangunan *Karangwaru Riverside*. Dengan menggunakan metode analisis diskursus Foucauldian, penelitian ini berhasil menemukan 7 (tujuh) konstruk dan diskursus yang melingkupinya. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa perempuan hanya memiliki kontrol pada dua diskursus yaitu diskursus etika dan sosial.

Kata kunci: relasi kuasa; perempuan; desain; pembangunan

Introduction

Women and rivers have a close relationship in terms of water management and environmental stewardship (Asteria et al., 2018). The river that runs through the city was used extensively by women to support city life in the laundry business, washing cattle, bathing and even socializing. In a time when water sources could only be obtained from rivers, women were socially tasked with fetching water for cooking and cleaning.

Currently, many urban rivers in Indonesia are experiencing pollution and environmental damage. In addition, conditions around riverbanks have also been deteriorating due to population density and violations against the riparian area.

Rivers in several major cities in Indonesia are still the sources of water for people living in their riverbank areas. It is because clean water sources are difficult to obtain by the poor, especially illegal settlers who do not have permanent housing. The only water sources they can access are the city's rivers, which are often polluted with industrial and household waste. (Dewi, 2020)

The Buntung River, which flows through Karangwaru District, is one of the rivers that runs through the urban area of the special region of Yogyakarta. Before it was improved, the river was a source of environmental problems in the area. The polluted water carried garbage and unpleasant odors that disturbed the people living along the river. (Figure 1)



Figure 1. Map of Karangwaru Riverside. (Source: Google Earth, 2023)

The local government through the department of public works and public housing launched the KOTAKU (*Kota tanpa kumuh* or cities without slums) program which aims to environmentally improve urban slums. The program highlights participatory design paradigm in collaboration with local goverment and local community to upgrade urban environment in Indonesia.

Karangwaru is one of the targets of the program that applies the concept of community participation-based development.

This development succeeded in transforming the Buntung River's environment from a slum environment to an organized environment with a path along the river. This new area was named Karangwaru riverside (KRS) as an effort to create a new image for the area that has been transformed into a clean and organized area.

Although the program has succeeded in changing the river's environment's physical quality, KRS development lacked an empowerment program to enhance environmental awareness for the society along the river From the viewpoint of ecofeminism, this type of development is masculine in nature. Ecofeminism argues that the earth and nature are feminine and physical changes that are brought about through environmental engineering are masculine (ÖZTÜRK, 2020; Zein & Setiawan, 2017). Studies on gender and women in the design and architecture of the Indonesian context are not new and have been conducted previously by numerous researchers. (Dharmadiatmika, 2021; Doyle & Senske, 2017; Jabeen, 2019; Maicantis & Paine, 2016; Nugroho, 2017). There are two main themes in research on gender and architecture, namely how architecture and engineering do not provide many opportunities for women to participate and how spaces in architecture are organized for gender-based activities. Gendered division of space is common in traditional architecture. A number of studies that discuss the role of women in development include a study by (Rinawati, 2004) has shown that opportunities for women have been opened, but the results from this have not been optimum because women still experience obstacles pertaining to habits, readiness, and willingness. Although the above studies have discussed the role of women in design and development, there has not been many studies that discuss the outcomes of development from the perspective of women; therefore, there are not enough explanations of the extent the impacts of their participations when viewed from the perspective of the women themselves.

This research aims to understand how the outcomes of physical development in KRS are seen from the perspective of women by asking two questions, namely: (1) what constructs are formed from the social process that occurs and (2) how power relations work in the design and its embodiment in the built physical environment.

This research will contribute in explaining the formation of discursive constructs in the design and development of Karangwaru Riverside. The construct will be explained based on access and control owned by women, so that dominant discourses and those that resist the dominance of the power created can be discovered.

Power relations are authority to control, which according to Foucault, are dynamic strategy and relations that are continuously utilized among subjects. Power is not always negative and is a tool that can be used to regulate and discipline human behaviors. Foucault does not deny that power can be a tool of repression and regulate subjects through discourse produced by the owner of power. The pattern of power relations can be seen by looking at the dominant discourse practiced in a community group. (Foucault, 1980)

Masculine discourses can dominate a community group if power is controlled by masculine groups. Discourse battles will always occur and cause power to be dynamic and always changing.

Foucault (Foucault, 1980) explains several principles pertaining to power, the first being that (1) power is not always bad and tends to be useful for regulating social norms that take place unconsciously in a social order.

This kind of power regulates things without having to apply continuous supervision or has been normalized, so that individuals do not take actions without external pressures.

Secondly, power is actualized through knowledge. Power is always sustained by knowledge that is produced continuously under an authority that determines the production of agreed knowledge.

The knowledge produced by authorities will support the continuity of the power through a regime of knowledge that dominates and marginalizes discourses that are not agreed upon by authority holders.

Both power and knowledge will appear as manifestations of the prevailing discourse, and both are interrelated and cannot be separated because it is the power that determines the production of knowledge that can be produced.

Another principle is that a discourse is a form of power that regulates what is included and what is excluded. Such a discourse can be praxis because it determines what is allowed and what is not. Every ideology, norm, and rule will be produced through power and become knowledge in social constructions.

Any given discourse is not related to what is right or wrong but to the power that regulates it and produces it. Anything that is symbolized in signs in the form of writing, expression, architecture, art, sound, and physical forms can become a discourse and can be applied to regulate relationships and power among subjects. Each of these subjects will place themself in the discourse and take a position to determine the patterns and forms of power that orient to them.

A discourse is formed along with the way of people gain knowledge or epistemology and has specific characteristics in every historical period. This way of knowing determines the form of knowledge produced and is a strategy of a power to be consistent in maintaining a knowledge corridor that is in line with what is agreed upon during the period. Each period has a characteristic called episteme and becomes the authority as a regulating power (Selanon, 2020).

The analysis steps taken based on Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) according to Willig (Willig, 2013) are as follows. Firstly, a discursive construction is the stage where objects are constructed within the text. Secondly, the formation of a discourse is the stage of placing the discursive construct in a broader context and perspective. Next, action orientation is the stage where discourse is seen as a force capable of creating certain actions. The subsequent stage is positioning which allows the subject to be placed in a certain position in a discourse and what obligations are attached to the position of the subject that is formed. The fifth stage is practice that is the limit of actions that can be done by the subject in one discourse. The final stage is subjectivity that is the stage where the subject feels certain feelings in a discourse.

With regard to the research methods, photo elicitation was used to stimulate conversations and capture discourses about the KRS development that were being discussed. There were 20 photos that were presented to the respondents. All of these photos depicted environments or sceneries, and they were categorized into three classifications. These three classifications were comprised of general environmental views consisting of 5 photos, photos depicting environmental elements (12 photos), and



Figure 2. An example of photo stimuli that depicts the environment of a river and riverbanks in general. (Source: Author's survey, 2022)



Figure 3. An example of photo stimuli that depicts environmental elements. (Source: Author's survey, 2022)

those depicting detailed environmental elements (3 photos).

Ten female participants were selected based on their roles in development, namely active and passive roles. The data were obtained through recording the conversations, and these were rewritten or transcribed for analysis. The texts of the conversations were then marked with coding system for the categorization of the conversational themes that appeared.

These themes were then analyzed using the Foucauldian analysis to discover discursive constructs. This construct would subsequently produce discourse contexts, action orientations, subject positions, practices, and subjectivity.

Discussion

A. Discursive Formation

The results of the analysis showed several discursive construct findings which consisted of several discourses. These constructs were the results of conversations and processes of social interaction that were formed from the social structure that surrounded them, and these include the followings.



Figure 4. An example of photo stimuli that depicts detailed environmental elements. (Source: Author's survey, 2022)

(1) Karangwaru riverside was a transformed environment. This construct emerged as an appreciation of changes in the surrounding physical environment that occured.

Karangwaru riverside environment that used to be dirty, slum-like, and disgusting had turned into a beautiful and clean environment. In addition, the safety factor was also a concern for women. One respondent gave a comment on the change as follows:

"In the past, because that place was rather scary, people rarely visited the area, and they rarely went pass or through it. However, now there are many people who go through there; many spend their time there, not only women but also many elderly people. More visitors now can go there and spend their time there." (NR4, 2022)

The above account showed that KRS could be accessed by the elderly, so that the physical changes to the riverbank area now had a safety value compared with its previous state where it was very difficult for the elderly go there. In addition to road access security, psychological and spiritual comfort factors were also a concern for women.

The people felt embarrassed because this environment used to look somewhat eerie. The Javanese people have the perception that a eerie or shady environment is the dwelling place for spirits, so it gives people the feeling of discomfort, making them tend to avoid such a place.

In addition to reducing the eerie and mystical impression, KRS can also be used for various activities such as studying and taking selfie photos. One respondent stated that the riverbank environment looked more attractive with the presence of unique environmental elements, and he could enjoy a more open view of the river.

The changes were surprising, and these amazed the residents as expressed in the account below.

"The change has a wow effect, and it's quite significant – very different from how it used to be, slum-like, and there were lots of bamboo trees, which made it seem mystical and eerie. Now, I can enjoy the view of the river and its environment more clearly; they look greener, there are more photo spots, more snack kiosks, and there are also places to study and to do other activities too. Interestingly, there are arranged seats, all of which are used tires. The plant pots around the seats are made of used tires, and they add an interesting impression to people; people have become interested in the terms "zero point" through the use of used goods." (NR2, 2022)

This change had also caused KRS to be widely known by people outside Karangwaru District. Environmental elements, such as the bridge, were also used as a form of a connecting symbol for both physical connection (a means of crossing) and nonphysical connection (a symbol of togetherness).

The bridge was decorated and became an icon of the unity of the Karangwaru and Blunyah people. The physical change of this bridge was commented on by one of the respondents as follows.

"There are now lots of selfie spots as the area has been overhauled. The Buntung River and its surrounding were seedy, and now it's called KRS, which is a really nice, green, open space. The bridge connecting Karangwaru and Blunyah was just made of bamboos, and it didn't even have handrails. Now, the bridge a solid and strong bridge, and there are also many facilities in the area." (NR1, 2022)

In general, the physical changes in the environment have given a positive image for women in the Karangwaru and Blunyah areas. These physical changes have also created changes in the environmental atmosphere and in activities in the open spaces that have been created. The transformation that had occurred was not only visual, but also in activity patterns and environmental psychology.

(2) Karangwaru riverside is a place for people to socialize. KRS is also a new place to create new activities. The existence of roadway facilities on the right and left of the river bank allow women to do sports such as jogging and walking.

These activities are sometimes carried out individually or in groups as a part of celebrating events or important days as stated by one of the informants below.

"Yes, I feel facilitated by the KRS' existence. It provides additional accesses, and there is a jogging track, then there is a gathering space for residents to organize various events." (NR5, 2022)

The organized events allow residents to socialize with one another in an open space. The

women residents usually take advantage of these activities to meet with one another. If there is no special event, this open space is mostly used by children to play or study.

The availability of facilities in KRS' vicinity is a medium that allows women to meet at big events. Distinctive environmental elements, such as jogging tracks, make it easier for them to do activities together. One respondent explained that she did not get together with other women too often, but if there was a celebration at KRS, she would usually take the time to attend it and participate in it.

"I have been to KRS several times but not often. When there are community events, they are usually held in that place. One example is the Independence Day celebration, eh, if I'm not mistaken; another example is New Year's Eve celebration. Then there are healthy walks too. Yes, I come to KRS only when there are events such as those." (NR2, 2022)

This social space shows that KRS does not only function as a green, open space, but also as a social catalyst to encourage women to meet and gather at certain times.

(3) Karangwaru riverside is a showcase of successes. As one form of urban environmental improvement program, KRS is considered successful in changing the slum environment along the river into a beautiful open public environment.

It has caused KRS to be frequently visited by government officials, educational institutions, and foreign donor agencies. The visits of these guests always require special preparations. Usually the residents are asked to prepare and clean their own house environment, so that things that are unpleasant to look at, such as clotheslines, are hidden.

One of the respondents said that after this environmental improvement project was completed, many guests came to do benchmarking. She was asked to put away things that were considered visually disturbing. The following is her account.

"Yes, so shortly after the riverside area was completed, there were lots of visitors. The area became a model for them if I'm not mistaken. There were a lot of guests. When there were visitors, our clotheslines must be hidden or put away." (NR7, 2022)

Several high-ranking officials, such as ministers and governors, have also visited KRS. Their visits were greeted with a dance performance organized by one of the respondents.

Not all visits were greeted with art performances, but if necessary, art volunteers were ready to prepare themselves to perform art performances. The respondent explained that on this occasion the performers sang a song composed by her mother.

"Sri Sultan was here; some ministers were also here; how many was it? I believe there were 3 or 4 ministers. We also performed a dance to greet them. Once, we danced in front of the ministers while singing a song written by my mother." (NR2, 2022)

Sometimes it was difficult for them to identify who were the guests who visited KRS, but they knew for sure that these guests were high-ranking officials from the central government or people who had national reputations.

It was mentioned by a respondent who tried to remember the guests who had visited KRS. The following is her account.

"KRS was often visited by VIP (very important person). There used to be a lot of activities. There were four ministers, if I'm not mistaken, who came here. The four ministers came together, and Puan was also here, and there is one person whose name was Muluk something. Mister Basuki (Minister of Public Works) also visited KRS, and there was one female minister. A VIP whose name was Gumelar something also came here together with his wife, and there was one person who wasn't popular. And there was one minister whose name I don't know." (NR1, 2022)

The women realized that KRS was an environment built trough assistance that was considered successful by the government, and it was made an example of the success of improving a riverside slum environment. This awareness was indirectly formed from the many important people who visited the area and were greeted with lively performances that required special preparations.

(4) Karangwaru riverside is an area that requires constant attention and routine maintenance.

Respondents generally agreed that KRS was a good and well-organized place. However, they also believed that the place would experience a decline in its quality if it was not properly maintained.

One of the respondents stated that treatments could indeed be given by the residents voluntarily, but this would not guarantee the continuation of good treatments. This respondent even compared it to the care of their homes performed by a domestic assistant.

"Honestly, I feel somewhat bad for the riverside area. The important thing is its maintenance. Who is responsible for this? In my case, I'm sorry to compare it with my situation, I have four domestic helpers. Yes, this does require money." (NR1, 2022)

Respondents generally did not know exactly who was responsible for funding KRS maintenance. They agreed that the maintenance fund had a big role in maintaining the quality of KRS' environment, so that it remains guarded and preserved. One of the respondents stated the following.

"Right, it's poorly maintained. Actually, it was better then. You know, there were lemon grasses, and there was a park. Basically, the area requires maintenance, and maintenance requires funds. In the end, it's all about the money, right?"(NR1, 2022)

In addition to the maintenance fund, this respondent also saw the need for special staff to carry out the maintenance of KRS. The availability of such staff would be basically a form of the continuity of KRS maintenance. This was explained by one of the respondents as presented as follows.

"For me, I suggest there they can hire a caretaker or cleaning staff. Yes, this person should be a professional and paid professionally. We need such a person to keep KRS clean and organized, so that such a condition can be sustained; the cleaning and maintenance shouldn't be once in a while." (NR4, 2022)

(5) Karangwaru riverside is a new space with new problems. As an open public space, KRS is visited by people from outside the Karangwaru region. This becomes a double-edged sword for the surrounding communities. On the one hand, the visits of these people strengthen the image of KRS as a place worth visiting. On the other hand, there is the introduction of social norms that are not in accordance with the norms of the local community. Teenagers from outside the Karangwaru region sometimes use KRS as a place to meet their opposite sex and do things that are not in line with the local community's values. This concern was especially felt by women as expressed by a respondent stating the following.

"Everyone indeed - men and women. This is because we feel very uncomfortable because our place was utilized in that manner, and because we have created this area with great effort. We don't want our icon to get ugly like that. Those teenagers don't seem to have rules. Sometimes the girls sit on the boys' laps in the area, and they are still very young. They may not understand what they are doing. We are just planning to invite these teenagers; we plan to gather them. I mean we will educate them; I may bring in a psychologist or another expert. This will be an event where these kids can really listen to and learn from the speaker." (NR6, 2022)

The respondent felt that there were several things that could be done to overcome this social problem, including organizing reproductive health themed events for teenagers in KRS. In fact, the teenagers visiting the area or spending time there has never been objected. They would not be disrupted if they did not violate the social norms. This was expressed by one of the respondents as presented below.

"The thing is that immoral behaviors have been displayed here. These teenagers came to KRS to date their boy or girl friends. They were courting in this area. They did it here it was comfortable and convenient. There was no one watching over them, and such supervision relies on the awareness of the community here."(NR8, 2022)

The community of Karangwaru has openly welcomed the visitors from outside to enjoy the success of the development of the river bank. The problem that arose was the lack of social control in a firm manner that can be formally enforced. The community was aware of behaviors that violated social norms, and these should not be displayed, but they felt that they did not have a strong authority to punish those who violate these norms. (6) Karangwaru riverside is the outcome of sacrifices and sincerity. The outcome of river bank improvements in KRS basically require new land for widening the riverside and providing open spaces. This area belongs to the residents and must be given up to them, so that the design concept offered as a riverwalk can be realized. Although in the end all community members gave up their land for the construction of the KRS, in the early stages there had to be negotiation and mediation by the government, so that the residents would be willing release part of their land for public use. This was explained by one of the respondents as follows.

"So, before KRS was developed by a project team, whose name I can't remember, consisting of community unit head and village officials, this project had been informed to the residents. We were invited to a hearing held in the village's multipurpose building. This hearing wasn't held just once but many times. The residents who owned land in the riverside area were asked to give up a little of their land to be used as what is now the roadway along the riverside. This part here used to be part of Bu Sari's front yard (pointing at her neighbor's house across the road). She was asked to give up a half-meter of her land for the roadway."(NR9, 2022)

The process of communication and negotiation was not an easy endeavor because of the many sacrifices that must be made by the residents such as shifting their house back, moving the bathroom, and even adding the second floor to their homes. This process was described by one of the respondents as follows.

"In the beginning, KRS didn't look like this. We tried to inform the project to the residents, but it wasn't easy. They were asked to shift their houses to the side. Previously, the river was at the back of their homes. If it had been the opposite, they might have tended to clean the river themselves. It was not easy for the government because their land were very close to the river. So, they had to shift their homes backward and add one floor." (NR4, 2022)

The construction of the roadway along the bank of the Buntung River would not have been possible if the residents had not been willing to give up some part of their land. In addition, they also had to change the structure of their houses because of this project. This sacrifice was not at all small and demanded their sincerity and awareness to share in order to create a good environment for all.

(7) Karangwaru riverside is a dynamic place. Unlike any terrestrial environment, the near-water environment has its own dynamics.

When the rainy season comes, the river water discharge will increase and create a different view compared with that during the dry season. Respondents also had a sensitivity to changes in water color which can indicate differences in the current weather. One respondent explained the dynamics of this change as follows.

"During the rainy season, you can't see the trash because it keeps raining, and the water is constantly changing. So, actually the color of the river water is always changing. If during the dry season rains fall, the water color is gray. In other times, it becomes greenish; sometimes it's milk chocolate; sometimes it's brown like today; sometimes it's black indicating there's lot of mud in the water. It's color is a changing." (NR10, 2022)

In addition to the changing of color, changes in water discharge also occur are also signs of dangers or potential dangers. Even though the water has never risen beyond the river dike, residents are usually alert if the water discharge shows signs of increasing. We can see this from the way they see the signs of an increase in water discharge explained by one respondent as follows.

"The problem is that when it floods it usually doesn't happen right away....not immediately but slowly. It usually rains heavily when it floods..... (the water) go up to this level (a little above the river)" (NR3, 2022)

The changes in the quality, color, discharge, and smell of the river water are always occurring based on the current weather conditions. Often, these changes originate in the upstream region and have an impact on the KRS environment. Garbage disposal activities upstream will also affect water quality in the Karangwaru area.

B. Power Relations within Discourse in KRS

Within the formed construct there is a discourse that surrounds it. Each of these discourses

has different power relations that are formed as a description of the social structure that develops in a community.

Conceptually, the discursive construct and the discourse that surrounds it can be seen in Figure 5. Furthermore, the discussion will focus on the formation of power relations in each discourse that is formed.

1. Aesthetics

The totally changed environment has placed women in a position as appreciators and connoisseurs of these changes. They did not actively bring about the physical changes in KRS, but they properly appreciate these physical changes. These women did not have many choices of actions in this aesthetic discourse although they have had ideas on how to make the KRS environment more spectacular and more beautiful. This discourse has provided pseudo-empowerment where it seems as if women had power, but actually they do not (Putri & Handayani, 2020).

The execution of this idea would experience a long dialogue path and requires process and costs. The subjective experience of women in this discourse is their admiration for the striking change from a slum environment to an orderly environment.

2. Social

As an open space, KRS provides opportunities for women to carry out several activities such as sports, arts-related, and recreational activities. These activities involve

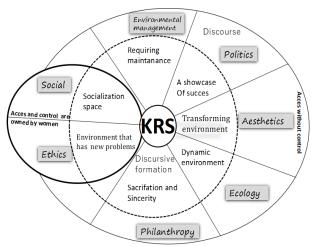


Figure 5. The construct and discourse that is formed in KRS. (Source: Author's analysis, 2022)

women in their planning and execution. This space is temporal but can establish social cohesiveness (Widyaevan, 2022).

They have ideas to make KRS an attractive place for the wider community. Some of these ideas are driven by women, so that they had control over what kind of activities they wanted to organize.

In this social discourse, women have position as initiators and а executors. Opportunities for them to carry out innovative activities are widely opened, and there are many alternative ideas, especially those related to performing arts. Their subjective experience as women in this social discourse gives them satisfaction in expressing their ideas. They feel they have a role in providing added value through organizing activities in KRS. This is because social cohesiveness is easy to be realized in art events or sporting events. Women can work together and enjoy social togetherness in these events.

3. Politics

Political discourse places women in a passive position as they have not developed many initiatives. In this discourse they play more of a supporting role. Their opportunities to carry out activities are also limited because usually there is an activity protocol. Even though there is no control over what they can exercise in this political discourse, women have subjective experiences that make them proud.

The existence of KRS which has received attention from officials and decision makers makes women positioned within an important area or a locality, and this has created the women's sense of pride.

4. Environmental Management

The environmental management discourse places women in a passive position as they choose to be observers. They actually have ideas in the context of the economic discourse, but the bureaucratic route and its execution have made them pessimistic.

Funding for the maintenance of KRS is the basis for them to see what opportunities they can take advantage of in the future. For them, if sufficient funds are available, they would feel capable of overcoming the problems relating to KRS maintenance.

The economic discourse creates subjective feelings that bind women. They see that there are many things that can be done but are limited by the existing circumstances. They are concerned that environmental degradations will gradually make KRS lose its beauty.

5. Ethics

The ethical discourse has placed women in an active position as they act as supervisors and the guardians of norms. They see that ethical values must be maintained in KRS' environment with strict and firm enforcement. They have the control to determine which ones violate the norms and must be dealt with firmly. The ethical discourse places women in a superior position in seeing and determining the ethical values that have been violated. The subjective experience of women in this discourse is the feeling of anger and annoyance whenever there is a violation of ethical values in KRS' vicinity.

6. Philanthropy

A philanthropic discourse is a discourse in which women leave decisions to their husbands. They basically agreed with the riverside widening project, but the decision regarding the surrender and release of their rights was entrusted to their husbands.

The women in Karangwaru saw greater benefits and gains in the future, so they agreed that some part of their land had to be given up for the purpose of KRS development (Dale et al., 2018).

They positioned themselves to support and comply with the decisions, but their inclination was for their husbands to give up some part of their land for the common good. The women played a role in explaining this matter to their family members such as their children. They explained to these family members how the project would make their environment more opened and accessible. As individuals, women experienced how they participated because they had given up part of their family's assets for greater benefits.

7. Ecology

An ecological discourse places women in a passive position. They see changes in the environment and observe these changes thoroughly. This can be seen from their ability to recognize the damage and changes in the micro ecosystem around them. However, there is not much that they can do to deal with these directly. They have always paid attention to the changes that occur in KRS with two opposing feelings. The increased water discharge can be both an entertainment and a spectacle for them, but this also increases their concern about the danger that will arise if the water crosses a safe threshold.

Conclusion

The environmental improvement program in KRS has had a wide spectrum of constructs. The existence of every woman in the construct that was formed was not similar.

Although KRS development has been considered successful in involving the participation of all elements in the society, the role of women in the design and construction of KRS had a different dimension in the discourse that was formed.

The ethical and social discourses placed women in a superior position because they had control and access, so they could make decisions and enjoy the results of these decisions.

In the political and environmental management discourse, women tended to be in a passive position. They could benefit from both discourses, but they had no control over them.

The aesthetic discourse placed women in a position as appreciators. They had no control, but they would demonstrate a high level of appreciation if the design had a durability value. Conversely, if the design was perishable and dangerous, they would criticize the design harshly.

The philanthropic and ecological discourse placed women in a passive position. The ecological discourse was controlled by nature and the weather, so the women could only accept and be aware of the dangers that may arise. On the other hand, in terms of the philanthropic discourse they relied on their husbands to make decisions for the common good. The dominant discourse formed in KRS was the aesthetic discourse in which the environment has transformed from a slum environment into a beautiful and attractive environment. This discourse was a form of success followed by the political, social, ecological, and philanthropic discourses. The discourse that opposed this success was the discourse on environmental management and ethics where women saw that the success of KRS was still incomplete.

The findings of this research were obtained through internal conversations in the social context of Karangwaru and Blunyah residents. External aspects were not seen as sources of data in the formation of discursive constructs.

Furthermore, it is necessary to conduct research to reveal how external factors, such as media coverage, influence or place women in the discourse on the successful development in KRS.

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