CHANGING LIFE OF WOMAN IN CITIES

Kentlerde Yaşayan Kadınların Değişen Yaşamı

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ABSTRACT

Cities mean freedom, luxury, good job, better education, and better health to some people, while poverty, segregation, fragmentation, unsecurity for some others. The global economy is managed and controlled from these cities. For instance New York, London, and Tokyo are the three most significant global cities with a full range of international financial services. Globalization in recent years has brought in the greater participation of women in the labour market. The accelerating global migration to more urbanised regions has both social and economic dimension. There are minorities and lower paid workers within large cities. This, in turn, means that there is social polarization and social exclusion among these residents. The outcomes of this process resulted in powerlessness and polarisation of disadvantaged residents, high crime rate and security concerns, and poor environmentel conditions. International economic relations have shaped the relations between cities and women especially in the globalized cities. This article aims to explain this relationship and a set of urban problems concerning women.

Key Words: Globalisation, city, women, family, security.

ÖZET

Sanayileşme ile birlikte ortaya çıkan şehirleşme, bazıları için bir taraftan özgürlük, refah, iş, iyi eğitim ve sağlık; bazıları için de yoksulluk, dışlanma, güvensizlik anlamına gelmiştir. Günümüzde ise küresel ekonomi büyük ölçüde küresel şehirler tarafından kontrol edilmektedir. New York, Londra ve Tokyo gibi şehirler uluslararası ekonomik ilişkilerin yoğun olarak

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yaşandığı ve biçimlendiği şehirlerdir. Küreselleşme, beraberinde kadınların daha fazla işgücüne katılmasını getirmiş; göçlerin hızlanması kentleşmenin hızlı olduğu bölgelerde sosyal ve ekonomik nitelikli sorunları artırmıştır. Bu yapılanmadan en çok etkilenen de kadınlar olmuştur. Kentsel planlama, kadın güvenliği, kadının istihdamı ve çalışma koşulları, boşanma sonucu ailelerin parçalanması, çocuklar üzerindeki olumsuz etkiler başlıca sorun alanları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu makalede, uluslararası ekonomik ilişkilerin şekillendirdiği, özellikle küresel nitelikli kentlerde yaşayan kadınların karşılaştığı sorunlar ve bu sorunlara etki eden faktörler değerlendirilmiştir.

Anatar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, kent, kadın, aile, güvenlik.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the paper is to explain how globalisation is altering the relationship between city and women, rasing a new set of urban problems. Large numbers of women have moved into paid employment in the cities. Power relations between sexes and within the family unit are changing. However, the accelerated process of urbanization under the new conditions of globalization has given rise to new needs in family life which rest on women's ability to manage the difficulties encountered by city inhabitants in gaining access to the complex network of urban services. These tasks include dealing with the school systems or the healthy bureaucracies, weekly shopping in the supermarket, and such.

On the one hand, as Sassen (1990) has argued international economic change, global patterns of migration of capital and labour, and the rise of a global service sector (mainly financial) have led to the emergence of a new international division of labour. The high status and highly paid jobs in the upper echelons of control and professional functions are increasingly concentrated in the world cities. The global economy is managed and controlled from these cities. For instance New York, London, and Tokyo are the three most significant global cities with a full range of

international financial services- commodity, currency and security markets, leading stock exchanges, banking and specialized business services. As an example, the City of London posseses over 40 per cent of Great Britain's employment in business services (insurance, banking, finance and professional services (McDowel, 1997).

On the other hand, the social forces impacting on cities in recent years include the greater participation of women in the labour market, the requirement of a wider range of skill levels necessitated by the new technologies, and decreased security of employment. The accelerating global migration to more urbanised regions has both social and economic dimension. There are minorities and lower paid workers within large cities. That means there are social polarization and social exclusion among these residents. The outcomes of this process result in powerlessness and polarisation of disadvantaged residents, high crime and security concerns, and poor environmentel conditions. Such uneven development is an inherent characteristic of globalization, and the mosaic of inequality at all geographic scales provides the basis of the urban management challenge for future.

Therefore, this essay is going to be presented into two main parts. In the first part, the relationship between the city and women is to be examined. In the second part mostly the effects of urbanization on women's life are to be explored.

The City

For centuries, the economy has shaped the life of cities. Cities mean freedom, luxury, good jobs, better education, and better healthcare to some people, whereas their mean poverty, segregation, fragmentation, unsecurity for some others. They are the nexus of commerce, gateways to the world in one direction and focus of their own hinterland. Tied together in a vast web of communications and transport. They are also concentrations of energy in a global field. As a result of global and regional transformations, intergovernmental tensions, social unrest, demographic changes, and a potpourri of other factors, cities are in a state of flux. During the 20th century, the world's urban population grew more than tenfold and the average size of the 100 largest cities increased more than eightfold. This change has been fuelled by expansion in the world's economy, most of which has taken place in industrial and service enterprises located in urban areas (UNICEF, 2007). Many cities are also becoming quite large, especially in the developing world. In 2003, there were already 20 megacities with populations exceeding 10 million, and 16 of these were situated in less or

lesser developed countries (see Table 1)   (UN Human Settlements Program, 2003).

In addition, many New Economy jobs are concentrated in larger cities, and some of immigrants have been instrumental in the transformation of local economies, such as the influence of Indian and Chinese-born entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley. Globalization, the information and communication technologies revolution, and creative destruction have all combined in the 21st century to greatly complicate governance and economic development in cities around the world revolution.

Table 1: The world's megacities, 2003

City	Population	City	Population
Tokyo	35.0	Los Angeles	12.0
Mexico City	18.7	Dhaka	11.6
New York	18.3	Osaka-Kobe	11.2
Sao Paulo	17.9	Rio de Janeiro	11.2
Bombay	17.4	Karachi	11.1
Delhi	14.1	Beijing	10.8
Calcutta	13.8	Cairo	10.8
Buenos Aires	13.0	Moscow	10.5
Shanghai	12.8	Manila	10.4
Jakarta	12.3	Lagos	10.1

Note: Population in millions.

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2004.

Today cities on a regional, national, and global basis are competing against one another to attract businesses, manufacturing enterprises, research and development facilities and head offices in an effort to provide well-paid jobs for local residents and in hopes of developing world-class clusters, whether these clusters be related to the auto industry, steel, textiles, energy, transportation, the information and communication technologies, biotech or emerging fields linked to nanotechnology (Uldrich, 2002).

Changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact upon both international economic activity and urban form:cities concentrate control over vast resources while finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social and economic order. Thus a new type of city has appeared. It is the global city. Leading examples are New York, London, Tokyo. Most global trade, investment, and the movement of people are funneled through major cities. As UN-Habitat suggests, 'a country's global success rests on local shoulders (UN Human Settlements Program, 2001). In the United States, for instance, 84 per cent of the nation's employment is concentrated in 319 metro areas.

Women and Housing

Survival, health and optimal development are related to the quality of housing and its surroundings; access to livelihoods, schooling and other services are determined by its location; emotional security, family stability and even the quality of community relations are tied to security of tenure. But the urban poor struggle with housing – getting it, keeping it and coping with its inadequacies. In most cities in low and middle income nations, between 25 and 50 per cent of the population live in illegally built settlements. The quality of housing in these settlements is generally poor and often wretched, made of wood and plastic scavenged from dumps. This is a result not only of low incomes, but also of the reluctance of households to invest because of the uncertainty that they will be permitted to stay.

The location of informal settlements has a logic – they are concentrated in dangerous areas because the more dangerous the site, the greater the chance the residents can avoid eviction. The illegal settlements in a city often coincide with the areas most at risk from flooding or tidal inundation or landslides. Similarly, the most poorly constructed housing is also the most prone to severe earthquake damage, such as the Turkish towns of Adapazari, Golcuk, Istanbul and Izmit (August 1999). In many cities, poor groups also live in large concentrations in dilapidated, over-crowded inner city tenements and boarding houses: in these cases there is a trade-off between the far higher costs that households incur, for example with regard to rent and overcrowding, and the advantages access to services and jobs. Furthermore, such problems are by no means restricted to low-income countries. Most poor people in urban areas in the USA, for instance, face serious housing problems, including rents that can exceed 50 per cent of their incomes (UNICEF, 2007).

Changes in the spatial structure of cities usually affect women more than men, precisely due to the need for daily organization of different

functions. Between 1975 and 1977 in New Delhi, for instance, there was mass displacement of 700,000 people living in 17 irregular settlements, and subsequent impact studies showed that women suffered much greater effects than man from this displacement. Many women, moved far from point of employment, were unable to combine their housework and their jobs, and the cost of transport made it still more difficult to see to all the family business. While the men's employment rate fell by 5 per cent, that of the women fell by 27 per cent (Singh,1980).

Another housing problem specific to women relates to the architecture and organization of dwelling areas. For example, the cooking and cleaning area is treated as a leftover space in many residential projects in developing countries. As a result it is estimated that 70 million women suffer respitory and other health problems due to high levels of household pollution from kitchen stoves (Sehgal, 1995).

Women experience more difficulty than men in becoming owner occupiers in their own right. Female-headed households (either women living alone or single mothers) are generally poorer than male-headed houshold since women continue to earn, on average, significantly less than men and are frequently employed on a part time basis-especially when they have child-rearing commitments. Women living alone as a result of divorce often do not have the skills to compete in the job market as they have generally spent their married lives managing a home and family too busy to gain the formal qualifications and skills required for well paid jobs (Little, 1994).

There has been a significant increase in the number of households headed by a woman. It is estimated that one-third of the world's households are headed by women. In urban areas, particularly in Latin America and Africa, the figure exceeds 50 per cent . . . and globally, the phenomenon is on the increase (Borja and Castells, 1997). Seventy per cent of the world's 1. 300 million poor are women (UNDP, 1995). Moreover, the criteria for eligibility for subsidized housing are based on regular income from formal employment, while women's income often comes from casual work and unstable jobs.

Housing policies in societies subject to rapid processes of cultural and demographic change should be adapted to take account of the increasing diversity of types of household: traditional nuclear families, people living alone, adults sharing accomadition, and families composed of a woman or women and children. In the United States, for instance, one-third of all households were headed by women in 1988, of whom 50 per cent were from ethnic minorities (Caplow et al, 1991).

Local authorities should give priority to contribute to the solution of women's housing problems. Housing associations also must play a role in this respect. In terms of security, environment and social stability to tackle this problem is essential for the whole societies.

Changing Features of Women's Work

There has been a huge change in women's work worldwide. In countries such as China, Thailand and Indonesia rapid industrialisation has turned women into workers in factories and sweatshops in a modern paralel of the industrial revolution. One of the most significant changes to the workforce in the twentieth century has been the unprecedented number of women joining the labor market.(Bilimoria and Kristin, 2006). According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, by the year 2008 women will constitute 48 per cent of the labor force, up from 46 per cent in 1998 (Fullerton and Toossi, 2001). In Spain the National Institute of Statistics says that about 38,4 percent of new joiners to the labour force are women (INE, 2003).

It is certainly true that the number of women in all occupations has risen sharply over the past 30 years. Economic development has increased opportunities for women to participate in fields such as medicine, both as physicians and nurses, teaching, and management. On the basis of a research on women which released in July 2001 by the National Council, it was concluded that women were staying away from lucrative jobs in the computer and internet industries. According to the research it was found that women, who make up 46 percent of the overall U.S. workforce, hold only 12 percent of the science and engineering jobs. On the other hand it is clear that, for well-qualified women managers, opportunities to participate in paid employment are greater now than they were in previous decades.

In 1986, Hymowitz and Schellhardt (1986) discussed an invisible barrier, called 'the glass ceiling' which seemingly blocked women from advancing to senior leadership roles. Since then, many efforts have been made by scholars and corporations to identify particular barriers and biases that have hindered the career advancement of women. In 1989, the US Department of Labor decided to investigate the glass ceiling phenomenon. The Glass Ceiling Commission was established to identify barriers and also to recommend strategies to eliminate discrimination at the highest levels of the organization. The Glass Ceiling Commission found that women in both the public and private sector were underrepresented at senior levels. By the help of government's attention to the glass ceiling problem there had been many changes in the U.S.A. However, it is important not only to assess

progress, but also to continue the discussion about barriers and potential solutions, since barriers do still exist (Davidson and Burke, 2004). For the past 30 years, anti-discrimination and equal pay legislation has been in place to protect and encourage women in employment, and funded organizations have been set up to support working women.

Another subject is globalization which has penetrated into the economies of all countries, breaking down the structures of traditional sectors, commercialising life models. Cultural changes in women world-wide have increased women's desire for independence. But even more important than this demand from women has been the offer of work from companies, government departments and production and distribution circuits. Women work relatively at a lower wage and under more insecure working conditions than their male counterparts.

Job flexebility is also an important subject; it is likely more important than wage levels.Why are 'female' occupations flexible? On one hand, it seems clear that women's responsibility for housework and childcare affects the types of job many women prefer, since job flexibilty in terms of hours (or part-time jobs) and relatively easy entry/exit/re-entry enable women to combine work and family responsibilities more easily. On the other hand, in a changing economy, with constant global interactions and interactions between the local and the global, companies and the employment markets have needed to free themselves from the constraints of a social legislation won through the labour disputes of industrial society. Part-time work, subcontracting, fixed contract work and the processess of informalization of the economy are essential mechanisms of the new model of flexible production.

According to a recent research (Manning and Petrongolo, 2008), The majority of British women will work part-time at some point in their lifetime, and around 45% of women workers in the UK are part-time. Consequently, the types of jobs and the levels of pay and conditions that are available on a part-time basis are of crucial importance in influencing the economic opportunities for women.

Social Security of Women

Women make majority of available workforce in informal sector, working for low salaries on insecure jobs, without indirect incomes and benefits of employees, and without benefits of social insurance. In Britain, for instance**,** being lower paid or in part-time employment women are likely to have less employment protection, fewer occupational benefits in sickness after retirement, fewer fringe benefits while in work and to be vulnerable to

unemployment. In this country, the social security system now formally offers women equality of treatment with men. More women than men receive social security benefits. In spite of such developments there stil exists a problem. Under the provisions of the 1989 Social Security Act unemployment benefit is only paid to women if they are prepared to take full-time work (Booth, 1996, p:41). Whereas, as shown above, in the new type of economy women mostly take part-time job.

Besides, being less likely to meet the conditions laid down in a contributory system, women are less well-protected by the national insurance system because it offers workers protection only agaAints work-related risks, such as unemployment. It does not protect workers agaAints cessation of work as a result of caring responsibilities.

Women and Work-Family Conflict

The complexity of roles and demands lead to difficulties in coping in both family and work domains. These diffuculties have greater importance for women employees because they are not only responsible for their job demands but also for their family. Although research in work–family issues started in the mid-1960s (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965; 1969), the field took off in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. From the early 1980s, research in work and family relationships has mostly focused on conflict and spillover, and managerial practice has focused on policies to ameliorate the negative effects in the workplace of such conflict and spillover. Work–family *conflict* appears when pressures from the roles of work and family are mutually incompatible, such that participation in one role makes it more difficult to participate in the other (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). So there must be a balance between work life and family life. The balance metaphor suggests a performer walking along a tightrope high above a circus ring, carrying two packages. (Piderit, 2007). In the left hand she carries her work responsibilities, and in the right hand she carries her family responsibilities. If either package gets too heavy, she will not be able to continue her forward motion in a controlled way, but will fall to the net or the fl oor, risking her poise or her life. This description suggests that a balancing act is something that women perform while men watch. Like the first scholarship on work–family issues portrayed role conflict and balance as an issue for married women (MacDermid, 2005), with the presumption being that only women who marry and do not resign from the paid workforce have to manage work and family. Early studies of role conflict, dating from the 1950s, focused on husbands' and wives' views of the women's role, and on the costs to women of deviating from their stereotypical role by pursuing employment after

marriage and childbirth (MacDermid, 2005). For women to remain in the workforce while raising children and maintaining their commitments to their husbands was seen as something eccentric.

Women and Home

To adjust economies to global economy, one should explore structural adjustment policies. These policies usually require reduction in health and child-care services. That means that women must assume even greater responsibilities in these areas. Cuts in educatıonal services usually affect negatively adult literacy rates of women or the extension of schooling for girls. Where schools are closed and the distance between home and school is increased, girls, who must help with household tasks, have less oppurtunity for education. Elimination of food subsidies (aid in money, assistance), falling wages and rising prices reduce women's spending power as food providers, and they must daily cope with the pure survival needs of their families.

Long working hours, relatively lower wages, the mass of influx of women into paid work, insecure working conditions in the globalized economies have lead to family breakdown. In many countries-developed and developing-divorce rates are rising and fewer couples are getting married (Vicker, 1991). This reminds us the early periods of the industrial revulation and this can be called a new wave of transformation all over the world.

However, acording to Giddens (The Observer, April, 1999) the debate about family values, that is going on in many countries, might seem far removed from globalising influences. "It is not" claims Giddens "traditional family systems are becoming transformed, or are under strain, in many parts of the world, particularly as women stake claim to greater equality. There has never before been a society, so far as we know from the historical record, in which women have been even approximately equal to men. And this is a truly global revoluation in everyday life, whose consequences are being felt around the world in spheres from work to politics. "

Women, City and Children

It's expected that millions of children of working mothers to be cared for by grandparents and other relatives, friends and other unpaid carers. The bulk of paid childcare is performed by registered childminders, often themselves mothers who cannot work outside the home. Only a small minority are cared for in nurseries or other childcare institutions. A major reason for mothers not working is lack of affordable childcare. One of the

consequences of the failure of childcare has been the much lower level of workforce participation of single mothers compared with mothers in relationships. The lack of free or cheap childcare, making paid work barely worth doing for single women who cannot command an above-average salary. So 61 percent of single mothers do not work, and the problem barely changes when children first attend school, since mothers are still responsible for childcare before and after the school day and cannot work full time.(Wilkinson, 2002)

Many urban children live in chronic poverty and are marginalized; many spend their days digging in rubbish tips desperately searching for something they can sell, and their nights on the streets, where they risk violence and exploitation. According to a report by UNICEF, published in 2007, an estimated one billion children lived in urban areas - close to half the world's children. Over 80 per cent of these children live in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and their numbers are growing fast (UNICEF, 2007). While urban children are generally considered to be better off than rural ones, healthier, better housed, better educated and with access to a wider range of services and opportunities, the reality is that hundreds of millions of urban children live in deep poverty, squalor and misery, says the report. Basic infrastructures and services are often lacking in the poorest quarters of the world's cities, depriving children of their right to live in a healthy environment, according to the report. In order to solve the problem of difficult position of poor urban women and their children, it is of key importance to invest the efforts in integration of women in major economic flows. In order to ensure benefits of women from development programs, it is necessary to consider special circumstances of women when drafting policy conceptions.

Many low income countries still have urban child mortality rates as high as 100 to 200 per 1000 live births, with high percentages of poor urban children only partially vaccinated, or not vaccinated at all, and with high levels of anaemia and a high proportion of severely undernourished children (UNICEF, 2007).

According to the ILO report, "A future without child labour", children - approximately 180 million - are working in the worst forms of child labour - including prostitution, bonded labour, trafficking and hazardous work. Moreover, the figures also show that slavery is not dead, with some 5.7 million children trapped in forced and bonded labour. It is often very difficult for working children to seek help, not just because of their young age, but because they have no birth certificates or official documents and are subsequently "invisible" (Bellamy, 2007).

Children are the responsibility of men and women alike and of society as a whole. As market mechanisms have extended thoughout the world by the process of globalization, kindergarten, school and child welfare have been subjected to heavy pressure in the world as a whole. The situation is of course more critical still for poor children and for children in the large cities of the developing countries.

In the same way, the labour of urban children is an essential part of the survival strategies of the poor in many of the world's cities. Leaving home early, dropping out of school, early pregnancies, addiction to drugs, alcohol or glue, and gang violence, are direct consequences of the premature exposure of still-delicate beings to the daily harshness of our cities. And in recent times the uncontrolled urbanization linked with the new global economy has taken still further the negation of the urban existence of children by forcing them into the productive world of adults in conditions of servitute, or by casting them into the street. The city of children, as present day negation and future promise, is thus one of the most important challenges facing cities worldwide, with different problems and different levels of dramatism according to the levels of development and family conditions (Borja and Castells, 1997).

In cities where mobility is car-based, children are deprieved of urban diversity, except in controlled family situations. Children's playgrounds are set out in modules preconcieved by bureaucracies without any real knowledge of the evolutive psychology of boys and girls at various stages of development and in different societies. When cities such as Barcelona and Paris take initiatives in running festive street activities or educational play areas designed for children, the citizens immediately feel the positive effects of such services on the quality of city life in general (Borja and Castells, 1997).

Women and Migration

In the last years of the twentieth century, the globalization of the economy and the acceleration of urbanization processes have increased the ethnic and cultural diversity of cities. The acceleration of the urbanization process in the world is largely due to an increase in rural-urban migratory movements. According to UN Population Division (2004) there are 175 million migrants in the world and the number has been increasing rapidly. Migration has emerged as a critical global issue, one that now touches almost every corner of the world. One of the distinctive characteristics of global migration today is the feminization of migratory populations around the world (Oishi,2005, p:2). The forces of globalization are increasing the demand for cheap and docile migrant female labor in all regions. Between

1960 and 2000, the number of migrant women around the world increased more than twofold, from 35 million to 85 million; by 2000, women constituted 48.6 percent of the world's migrants (UN 2004). More and more women are migrating not as dependents of a father or husband but as autonomous workers. Female migrants are working in different kind of jobs. For example because of the shortage of public child-care facilities and of time to do household chores, dual-income families are now relying on migrant nannies and housekeepers to take care of the children and to keep the home in order. On the other hand the global economy is generating a class of "new rich" not only in the industrialized world, but also in semi-industrialized and developing countries. These people seek migrant domestic workers and nannies who can provide better care for their homes and children. Also populations in many industrialized countries are aging, and this has increased the need for nurses and other caregivers for the elderly. The United States and the United Kingdom, for instance, are accepting many female nurses from the Philippines.

Migrant women are also in high demand in the global manufacturing sector. Globalization has started a "race to the bottom"; that is, countries around the world are now competing to provide corporations with the cheapest and most docile labor. This global competition has created a large niche for female migrant labor.

In some particular migrant labour flows, women are in the overwhelming majority. In Italy 95 per cent of Filipinos are women. Most are domestic workers and child carers. They are part of a global flow of women from poorer states to wealthier ones, from Sri Lanka and the Philippines to Japan, Hong Kong, and oil-rich Middle East states into the US, for example (Baylis and Smith, 1998, p:111).

This labour migration was largely unnoticed until the Gulf War revealed some 400 000 Asian women workers in Kuwait and a further 100,000 in Iraq. There are between 1 and 1. 7 million women in the domestic worker from South and South-East Asia alone.

This traffic in women is big business. Recruitment agencies, banks, and airlines profit from it. So do the exporting states, in the form of remittances, an estimated $3 billion per year to the Philippinnes for example. This trade contributes to those states' search for hard currency in the face of growing debt pressures, and relieves unemployment at home, too. It is therefore unlikely that the home state will act strongly in support of their citizens' rights when women are subject to abuse in other states; though their own poor record in labour and women's rights is also a factor here (Pettman, 1996, p:69).

CONCLUSION

Living in the city presents special problems to the poor, and to the poor women in particular. The city has borne the brunt of major social and economic change: the exodus of manifacturing employment, the decline in the quality and quantity of social housing, cuts in public services and rising crime. Cuts in public services, which have disproportionately hit metropolitan areas in the last two decades, particularly have hurt women (Booth, 1996). It is they, both as service users and carers, who feel most acutely the lack of safe play space for children, cuts in free or subsidised childcare, increases in the cost of school meals and cuts in social services provision, such as home helps.

Women suffered disproportionately, not only from poor housing, lack of household facilities and possessions and inadequate clothing, but also from risk of road accidents, litter problems and lack of garden and play facilities. They have also moved house more often and had more health problems than those residents in less deprieved areas for the last decades.

As a result, it is easy to blame the city or globalization for problems, but one needs to find solutions to these problems. It can be concluded, the causes of problems are societies themselves. Therefore, they have to think and act about them.

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