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**ATINER's Conference Paper Series
MDT2012-0017**

**Regenerating Fener-Balat:
A Short Analysis of the Area's Planned Transformation
from A Human Security Perspective**

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URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

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ISSN **2241-2891**

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This paper should be cited as follows:

Sahin, Selver B. (2012) "**Regenerating Fener-Balat: A Short Analysis of the Area's Planned Transformation from A Human Security Perspective**" Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: MDT2012-0017.

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Abstract

Using the concept of human security as an analytical tool, this paper looks at the humanitarian and community dimensions of the current urban regeneration efforts in Fener-Balat (Istanbul). It argues that because urban regeneration fundamentally affects the nature of human activity and community life, it requires a human-centric approach to the formulation and implementation of policy interventions. The focus of current regeneration debates informed by neo-liberal economic globalisation, on the other hand, has so far been on technical and operational issues, such as improving the economic competitiveness of the area and reconstructing or strengthening the existing buildings. Furthermore, despite the policy emphasis placed on the protection of the area's 'historic tissue', the social meaning of this 'tissue' and its protection remains unclear. This situation is further complicated by the prevailing policy approach which tends to downplay, if not totally disregard, the greater physical, social, cultural and economic implications of planned regeneration programs for the local communities involved.

Keywords: urban renewal, human security, community, Fener-Balat

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Fener and Balat districts, located on the western side of the Golden Horn (or *Haliç* in Turkish) along the historical peninsula of Istanbul, have experienced a tremendous spatial transformation over the past three decades. These transformative experiences which have taken place in the broader context of neo-liberal economic globalisation illustrate the evolution of contemporary urban planning strategies. In the 1980s, the focus of urban regeneration policies, put forward as a top-down initiative by the metropolitan mayor of the time, was on the de-industrialisation of the area in an attempt to reverse its economic and physical decline. A cleaning project was initiated for the Golden Horn, which was severely polluted with industrial waste from the factories built around the shore as part of the government's industrialisation policies since the 1930s. However, more than 100 historic buildings, dating from the 18th century, were demolished (Bezmez, 2008: 131). In association with the rising importance of tourism, hospitality and service sectors as the key pillars of economic development policies during the 1990s, the focus shifted to the restoration of properties and regenerating the economic and social life in the surrounding historic neighbourhoods. To this end, a neighbourhood rehabilitation project was prepared following the UN Habitat II Conference in Istanbul 1996 (UNESCO, 2008: 28). It was based on a feasibility study jointly conducted by the municipality of Fatih, the French Institute for Anatolian Studies and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) in 1997-8, and was carried out between January 2003 and July 2008 by an international consortium with funding (7 million euro) from the European Union. This project sought to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of Fener and Balat, declared as a world heritage site by UNESCO, and support the social and environmental sustainability of the neighbourhood.¹

The project is viewed by the European Commission as setting a 'successful model' for similar urban regeneration undertakings for elsewhere in the city of Istanbul due to its participatory approach to identify and address the community needs (Representation of the European Commission to Turkey, 2008). However, it did not bring about significant improvements in the social well-being of the majority of the residents, most of whom are low income households, who migrated from Anatolian towns. For instance, according to the results of a survey conducted with approximately 300 women residents of the neighbourhood in March 2004, lack of health services, poor infrastructure, inadequate educational opportunities and safety were the principal problems faced by the community (FSWW, 2004: 16). Due to financial constraints, the project only targeted the partial improvement of approximately 200 residential and commercial buildings, even though approximately 900 buildings were in need of repair (Akkar Ercan, 2010: 848). However, the

¹ The project budget was structured to finance the renovation of 200 historical buildings (€ 3.85m), construction of two social centres and improvement of the Balat market (€ 1m), establishment of a waste management strategy (€ 100,000) and covering the costs associated with the management of the project, such as the logistics and salaries of technical assistance staff (€1.9m). See Akkar Ercan (2010: 846).

renovation of only 121 buildings could be completed during the lifetime of the project (UNESCO, 2008: 28). The changes in land and property values as a combined effect of the restoration of the neighbourhood and marketing campaigns, on the other hand, attracted middle-income groups, including investors and artists, resulting in the gentrification of the area. The originally planned social project of setting up an education centre, where community members would be offered vocational training in the areas of carpentry and tile-work, was cancelled, and the range of the social services was restricted to the organisation of activities for women and children at a newly established social centre (Bezmez, 2008: 157).

The process of urban transformation in Fener-Balat entered a new stage in the 2000s particularly following the adoption of the Law no. 5366 on the 'Preservation and Utilisation by Revitalising of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties' (the 'Renewal Act' hereinafter), which entered into force in 2006. The new law enables local authorities to present regeneration proposals to the Council of Ministers for the designation of degraded historic areas as renewal sites and carry out urban regeneration projects outside the conventional planning system (Dincer, 2010: 4-5). As per the Renewal Act, Fener and Balat districts were designated as a renewal site in 2007. Subsequently, the Fatih municipality council adopted an area-based renewal project which would be implemented on the basis of public-private partnership. The project was contracted to the GAP Construction Company, which would allow landlords to keep 42% of ownership in their properties following the completion of the renewals. The same company also assumed the implementation of a similar project in the nearby Tarlabasi quarter located on the other side of the Golden Horn. However, the Fener-Balat renewal project has just been cancelled by the 5th Administrative Court of Istanbul on the grounds that 'neighbourhood's culture would be lost' (Emen, 2012). The local government is expected to appeal the case at the Council of State.

This paper, using the concept of 'human security' as an analytical tool, seeks to examine the major humanitarian and community dimensions of the current urban regeneration efforts in Fener-Balat. Its methodology is based on the combination of the textual analysis of some of the key policy and legal documents, regulating the planning and conducts of urban regeneration in the country, and the use of information drawn from two short field studies carried out in July 2011 and March 2012. The paper argues that because urban regeneration fundamentally affects the nature of human activity and community life, it requires a human-centric approach to the formulation and implementation of policy interventions. However, a review of the existing policy instruments and field interviews suggest that the focus of current regeneration debates informed by neo-liberal economic globalisation has so far been on technical and operational issues, such as improving the economic competitiveness of the area and reconstructing or strengthening the existing buildings lying on a seismic zone. In this context, the protection of the 'historical tissue' of the area and the importance of creating better local capacity for disaster management appear to be

the most emphasised points in relation to the planning and practice of the above-mentioned renewal project for Fener-Balat. However, in addition to surrounding ambiguities over the social meaning of ‘tissue’ and its protection, the situation is further complicated by the prevailing policy approach which tends to downplay, if not totally disregard, the greater physical, social, cultural and economic implications of planned regeneration programs for the local communities involved.

Human security as an analytical tool

The concept of human security was proposed and discussed in detail in UNDP’s 1994 global human development report, entitled ‘New Dimensions of Human Security’. The concept symbolises a normative shift in understanding security which has traditionally been associated with states and promoting and protecting their interests against externally-rooted military threats.

The UNDP definition of human security advocates taking a human-centric, multi-faceted approach to the idea of security conceived as ‘freedom from fear and freedom from want’ (UNDP, 1994: 24). Looked at this way, security is meant to improve the ability of individuals and communities to exercise ‘safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression’ and ‘protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life—whether in homes, in jobs or in communities’ (Ibid: 23). In this regard, the UNDP report identifies seven key policy areas: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political (Ibid: 24-5). Emphasising the indivisibility and inter-dependency of its material and non-material components, human security, in other words, appears to be ‘a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met, and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community’ (Thomas, 2001: 161). Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s definition of the concept in the UN’s Millennium Report, ‘We the Peoples’ illustrates the widening scope of security as a matter of contemporary policy-making (UN, 2000):

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict.

Human security was also endorsed by international development agencies and individual governments. For instance, the World Bank’s definition of security as a key pillar of poverty reduction strategies in its 2000 report, ‘Voices of the Poor’, is premised on ‘reducing vulnerability’ to the situations of ‘economic shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability, and personal violence’ (World Bank, 2000). The governments of Canada, Japan and Norway incorporated human security into their

foreign policy agenda in varying degrees and, they established a ‘human security network’ consisting of other like-minded states and non-governmental organisations. The network had significant achievements such as the universalisation of the ban on anti-personnel landmines across the globe and the establishment of an international criminal court, but has lost its dynamism in the context of the rising ‘war on terror’ agenda in the post-September 11 period (Bell, 2006).

Since it was proposed, the concept of human security has also been discussed extensively in the policy and academic circles. Proponents of human security as a policy instrument emphasise the people as the primary referent of security against non-military types of threats within states such as hunger, disease, poor public services and political repression by pointing to the diminishing effects on the security and welfare of citizens of the mobilisation of scarce public resources against external threats, such as increased defence spending (UNDP, 1994; Newman, 2001; McDonald, 2002). However, supporters of the concept have been divided by a disagreement over its content and applicability to policy interventions. The government of Japan, for instance, advocated a broader approach encompassing efforts to address ‘all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity- for example, environmental degradation, violations of human rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel landmines, and other infectious diseases such as AIDS-and strengthens efforts to confront these threats’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1999: Chapter 2, Section 3). Canada and Norway, on the other hand, promoted a more narrow definition of human security. The Canadian version focuses on ‘freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives’ (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada, 1999: Section III). This narrower policy focus, according to some observers, is conditioned by the need to separately analyse poverty and violence because ‘any definition that has the consequences of conflating dependent and independent variables makes causal analysis virtually impossible’ (Mack, 2004: 367). Broadening the scope of security without a clearly established hierarchy, critics also argue, makes it difficult for policy-makers to devise practical actions to a wide range of different types of threats from natural disasters and the HIV/AIDS pandemic to human rights violations and political repression (Khong, 2001).

Notwithstanding the surrounding political and practical challenges in relation to the prioritisation of issues, human security provides a useful analytical framework to understand the types of problems threatening the safety of individuals and communities, as it places human beings and the satisfaction of their needs at the centre of policy-making. The concept will be used in the following section to analyse the human and community aspects of the currently planned urban renewal project for Fener and Balat districts.

Regenerating Fener-Balat districts

Urban regeneration goes beyond technical, architectural undertakings to the satisfaction of social, economic, environmental, political and cultural needs of communities, as it deals with almost every aspect of human security. The definition Couch et al (2003: 2) provide illustrates its essentially multi-faceted nature: policies and strategies that seek to stimulate the 're-growth of economic activity where it has been lost; the restoration of social function where there has been dysfunction, or social inclusion where there has been exclusion; and the restoration of environmental quality or ecological balance where it has been lost'. Because urban regeneration is closely related to human activity, it therefore requires a human-centric approach.

A brief discussion of the historical and ethno-cultural structure of Fener and Balat districts, populated by approximately 36,000 people (Akkar Ercan, 2011: 844), may provide a good starting point to understand the human activity in the area. Fener and Balat have historically been home to various ethnic and religious groups, including Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Venetians and Genoese. During the Ottoman era, Fener, where the centre of the Eastern Christian Church is also located, was populated largely by Greeks. Due to their good educational background and command of languages, many Greeks served in the Empire's foreign affairs bureaucracy. Balat was known as a Jewish quarter as it was populated largely by Jews expelled from Spain in the 15th century. The socio-economic and demographic structure of the neighbourhood has changed significantly during the republican era. The area surrounding the world famous Golden Horn was promoted as an industrial centre from the 1930s onwards and attracted peasant migrants from the countryside in Anatolia. Most of the neighbourhood's non-Muslim urban population, on the other hand, emigrated to Greece or Israel by the 1960s as a result of the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the violent events of 6-7 September 1955. The first generation of migrants who came to Fener and Balat in the 1960s largely originated from the city of Kastamonu in the Black Sea region, while the second wave of migrants consisted of 'Easterners', who came from south-eastern Anatolian cities during the 1980s (Author's interview with a local NGO, Istanbul, July 2011). In addition to employment opportunities, cheap housing and the area's proximity to the city centre were among the factors that attracted poor migrants (Dincer, 2010). In association with the Turkish political leadership's decision to open up the economy during the period following the 1980 coup, Fener and Balat districts have also experienced a tremendous process of spatial transformation, which occurred against a background of neo-liberal economic globalisation. As a result of a series of laws (such as the enlargement of powers exercised by the Privatisation Administration) adopted during the 1990s to attract domestic and foreign investors, owners of valuable estates in city centres were provided with 'exceptional development rights', while the powers of the institutions responsible for the execution of the modern planning approach in Turkey, such as the State Planning Institution, were significantly diminished (Dincer, 2011).

The Renewal Act which came into effect in 2006 opened a new chapter in the formulation of urban planning policies in Turkey. The law empowers local authorities to propose the designation of distressed urban areas as renewal sites but provides little room for public discussion and participation in the design and implementation of projected area-based redevelopment initiatives to revitalise these settlements. Article 4 which regulates the expropriation of properties has become a particular source of criticism. While seeking ‘agreement’ is singled out as the basis for the evacuation, demolition and expropriation of buildings in restoration zones, the law allows the ‘applicable private administration or municipality’ to expropriate unilaterally in the event of a failure to reach agreement. In the event of expropriation, the procedure of the ‘realisation of residential projects’, as defined in Article 3 of the Expropriation Act, applies, which entails the sale of the expropriated property to third parties following the completion of the renewal project (Dincer 2010: 4). This has become a particular cause for concern amongst the residents in relation to the exercise of private ownership rights (Author’s interview with Febayder, Istanbul, March 2012). Furthermore, the way in which ‘participation’ is articulated in Article 7 of the Implementation Regulation for the Renewal Act, as one observer describes, denotes a ‘centralist’ and ‘authoritative’ understanding of planning and project development methodology, which put only gives decision-making authority to professionals (Dincer, 2010: 5). As manifested in the title of the said article (‘participation and informing the public’) and the language used in the text of the regulation, ‘participation’ is conflated with ‘informing the public’ and the organisation of ‘consultative meetings’ is left up to the authorities when they deem it ‘necessary’:

Competent authorities shall convene meetings to inform the property owners or local residents within the renovation area, and consult their opinion and ensure participation.

Competent authorities may, where necessary, organise consultation meetings with universities, professional bodies, civil society organisations, public entities and district headmen, and provide information about the project through the press and media.

In 2007, Fener and Balat districts were designated as a renewal site and a redevelopment project, covering an area of approximately 280,000 square metres, was subsequently contracted to the GAP Construction Company. The project is described by the municipal authorities as a significant initiative to improve the quality of life of the neighbourhood residents through renovating risky buildings, creating a vibrant shopping and tourism area, and improving public safety particularly along the coastline (Author’s interview with Fatih municipality, Istanbul July 2011). However, the renewal project generated strong criticisms from civil society organisations concerned with the Sulukule example of 2008, such as forced evictions, as discussed below. In the case of Sulukule, the renewal project was brought to court by the Istanbul Chamber of Architects. The court did not grant the requested motion for a stay of execution for the project with no reasoning being given. This enabled the contractor to proceed with the planned construction of new properties. However, the

court has recently ruled to annul the renewal project on the grounds that it was ‘not in the public interest’ (Vardar, 2012).

In Fener and Balat, locals were organised under a neighbourhood association called the Association for the Protection of the Rights of Property Owners and Tenants and Social Solidarity (Febayder). Febayder organised demonstrations to raise public attention to the flawed aspects of the project. Their criticisms centred on the pursuit of an area-based approach to renovation (rather than on the basis of one-by-one renovation of buildings through obtaining the consent of inhabitants), planned demolition of some of the already renovated buildings during the previously implemented UNESCO project, and lack of public consultation and participation in the process leading to the design and tendering of the renewal project. They, for instance, note that in July 2009, long after the completion of the tender process, neighbourhood residents were posted a notification by the municipal authorities stating their properties were designated as a renewal site (Author’s interview with Febayder, March 2012). They also criticised the municipal authorities for not making the preliminary design project for the planned renewal available to the public on the municipality’s website. Another major source of criticism is the granting of 58% of ownership shares to the contractor company without the knowledge or consent of the landlords. As noted earlier, the Renewal Act does not condition the acquisition of consent. It rather empowers local authorities to prepare and implement projects towards regenerating distressed historic settlements and expropriate the properties there in the absence of agreement. The 58%-42% ratio leaves a landlord only 42 square meters of a 100 square meter-house. If landlords wish to sell their share to the developer, Febayder argues, they get paid 1,000TL per square meter. If they want to buy the remaining 58%, they are required to pay at least five times this amount, as the newly constructed buildings will be luxurious and therefore expensive. Febayder took the project to the court, which has recently cancelled its execution on the grounds that ‘neighbourhood culture would be lost’ (Emen, 2012).

The municipal authorities, which are expected to appeal the case at the Council of State, dismiss Febayder’s claims. They emphasise that they sent invitations out to NGOs, community members and other stakeholders and provided detailed information on the specifics of the project through meetings at their office in the neighbourhood as well as in the municipality headquarters (Author’s interview with project officers from Fatih Municipality, March 2012). The project, they suggest, is supported by most of the residents who have been informed of what it entails and seeks to achieve; improving the quality of life in the neighbourhood, developing a safer environment, and construction of earthquake-resistant buildings. It is only some ‘illegal occupiers’ in the abandoned properties who oppose the project, which has also come to be ‘politicised by some groups’, they add (Ibid). The municipal authorities also stress that residents would not be disadvantaged, because tenants would be provided affordable housing at TOKI (Mass Housing Administration of Turkey)-built blocks, and landlords of residential and commercial properties would be allocated

space in the newly constructed buildings, when the project has been completed. They explain the 58%-42% ratio by reference to the differences between the current number of buildings and those projected to be reconstructed. The existing five or six-storey houses around the Byzantine walls will be demolished and reconstructed as two or three-storey buildings. Because there will be less space available once the construction has been completed, some adjustments will be needed. The question of who will get how much will be determined by a variety of factors such as the location of the buildings demolished and their historic value. The municipality has contracted a private company licensed from the Capital Markets Board to develop these adjustments (Interviews with Fatih municipality, March 2012).

The current policy debates on the regeneration of Fener and Balat have been marked by an emphasis on two key issues: protection of its historic urban 'tissue' and reducing the disaster risk in the area lying on a seismic fault line. For instance, the '2010-2014 Strategic Plan' adopted by the municipality of Fatih county, where the districts are located, identifies urban transformation and renewal as one of its key strategic objectives. The document prioritises the protection of the county's 'historic tissue' in the context of the following problems causing 'physical and social decay' (Fatih Municipality, 2010: 19):

In addition to the problems arising from the fact that our entire county is a historic and therefore a conservation area, high population density and traffic movements also constitute significant challenges within this tissue.

Along with these challenges, high building and population density, insufficiency of social and technical infrastructure needed by the population, functions incompatible with the historic tissue, the threat and damage to this tissue and silhouette by increasing number of apartment blocks, the negative impact of the density of historic assets and the existing street structure on transport routes, the impossibility of constructing new roads or expanding the existing ones within this historic set-up are also important elements. In addition, physical and social decay is also caused by low income users living in the areas forming part of the old tissue, insufficient awareness of conservation and use, damage to historical and cultural values through inappropriate human interventions complicated property ownership issues, the lack of oversight legal loopholes and insufficiencies.

While the impact of the human factor on the 'tissue' is not disregarded, it remains unclear what exactly is meant by the 'historic tissue' and how it should be protected. A brief review of the policy and practice, such as the implementation of the Sulukule renewal project by the municipality, suggests that 'tissue' is approached primarily in terms of the physical appearance of buildings and their facades, which does not help successfully transform the old to the new, as the historic tissue of spaces is reflected in the prevailing patterns of human activity. Regeneration, in other words, is treated as a technical-operational project of architectural restructuring rather than a human experience of sustainability in the 'social domains' of culture, economy, politics and

ecology.² However, as emphasised in the above-noted court ruling on the Fener-Balat project, the physical renewal of buildings alone does not constitute good urban planning, if the neighbourhood culture is not preserved (Emen, 2012). This culture is rooted in decades-old social structures and community relationships. In Sulukule, one of the oldest Roma settlements in Turkey, on the other hand, the old houses of the Roma were demolished to replace them with villas, and around 3,000 impoverished residents, largely tenants, were evicted in 2008. Some of them moved to TOKI-built apartment blocs in Taşoluk, around fifty kilometres west of the centre of Istanbul.³ The changing patterns of human activity in Fatih are also manifested by the booming real estate sector and the flow of middle and high income groups, including artists, journalists and investors, into Fener and Balat following the announcement of the renewal project by the municipality (Interviews with Febayder and Mavi Kalem, a local NGO, March 2012). The area has also become one of the popular settings for the expanding Turkish TV drama production sector in recent years.⁴

While the importance of addressing the social and cultural aspects of urban renewal undertakings is acknowledged by the municipal authorities, the way in which these issues have been approached raise question marks as to whether the recommended policy interventions have been sufficiently explored from a human security perspective. While various interviewees mentioned social projects being developed by the municipality, these appear to be more in the area of hospitality (such as improving the contribution of tourism to the local economy through creating accommodation options for tourists visiting the historical sites and the Patriarchate there) rather than opening child-care or social education centres, creating jobs and offering vocational training for the youth which could arguably be seen as a more pressing need for the area.

Improving the housing quality in disaster-risk areas, as noted above, constitutes another significant element of the stated objectives of the Fener-Balat renewal project. Potential disasters in Turkey, which are associated with earthquakes, droughts, heavy rain and floods, landslides, rock falls, forest fires, industrial explosions and fires, wind and snowstorms, heat waves, fog and transportation accidents, pose a particular challenge to the human security of the population (Badji et al, 2011). The 1999 Marmara earthquake, for instance, claimed the lives of thousands of people. There is, on the other hand, a growing policy awareness of risk reduction rather than post-disaster reconstruction since this destructive quake. However, the way in which risk reduction is articulated by policy planners as a security strategy to create a better disaster response capacity tends to disassociate disasters from human agency. This is

² This argument derives from the concept of “four social domains of sustainability” developed by Scerri and James (2010).

³ The evictions which also received international media coverage were strongly criticised by civil society organisations in Turkey. See for example, Tait (2008), Sulukule Platform (2008).

⁴ During the time of the follow-up field research (March 2012), the author witnessed the shooting of two widely-watched series in the streets of Fener-Balat.

not to suggest that the local authorities disregard the human element of disasters and consider these events as a god-given phenomenon. It is rather to point out that the interactive nature of hazards and vulnerabilities has received little attention in terms of policy planning and implementation. As stated in the 2005 Hyogo Framework for Action, hazards and vulnerabilities, which include physical, social, economic and environmental aspects, interact with each other. However, there is no detailed information in Turkey in relation to the vulnerability to the same of social groups such as women, the elderly, minorities, etc (Ibid). Furthermore, disaster risk reduction efforts in the country have so far been associated with technical and legal measures, while there has been little room for public participation and input in policy frameworks. Community-based initiatives on disaster resilience, such as those by autonomous women's groups, have received very limited support from municipal governments (Yonder and Turkoglu, 2010 cited in Johnson, 2011). The creation of participatory platforms, on the other hand, is important not only in terms of the sustainability and 'ownership' of the general policy instruments devised, but the empowerment of the community through enabling them to articulate their human security needs and get involved in the formulation of integrated policy approaches.

With a view to promoting citizen participation in urban development initiatives, the Municipalities Law was recently amended to allow the establishment of citizens councils. These councils have been set up in some municipalities in Istanbul, including Fatih. However, it is not clear both in the law and in terms of implementation what is meant by participation, and in most cases, citizen councils exist only on paper, or advertised on websites (Ibid). The website of the Fatih citizens council, for instance, opens with some pictures of the county and lists the key regulatory documents and several working groups (such as the protection of consumer rights and the environment working group, social affairs and natural disasters group, and restoration, urban transformation and project-development), but does not provide any information on the activities of these groups in relation to facilitating citizen participation in these policy areas that affect community life.⁵

Conclusion

Rehabilitating distressed inner city neighbourhoods in Turkey and elsewhere has emerged as a challenging policy area throughout the recent decades. While the humanitarian and community dimensions of urban regeneration are recognised by the Turkish authorities, the way in which they have been addressed leaves little room for public discussion and participation.

As evidenced in field interviews, there is a need for more communication and consultation between the municipality and the community to better address the human security needs of the community, such as affordable housing, employment

⁵ The website address of the Fatih citizens council is <http://www.fatihkentkonseyi.com/>.

opportunities, vocational training for the youth, access to education and health services, which are amongst the key issue areas raised by community members and civil society organisations. These issues are already recognised and addressed by the municipal authorities. On the other hand, they can be dealt with more effectively through more integrated policy interventions developed within a more participatory framework.

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