

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
COMMUNICATION PhD PROGRAM



DEVELOPING NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION: A CASE STUDY

Fatma Elif SORKUN

114813004

Dissertation Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Aslı TUNÇ

İSTANBUL

2019

Developing Neighbor Collaboration: A Case Study

Komşuluk İşbirliği Oluşturma: Bir Vaka Analizi

Fatma Elif Sorkun

114813004

Tez Danışmanı : Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyeleri : Doç. Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Prof. Dr. Sevda Alankuş

Yaşar Üniversitesi

Doç. Dr. Erkan Saka

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Doç. Dr. Selva Ersöz

İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi

(İmza):

(İmza):

(İmza):

(İmza):

(İmza):

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : 13.12.2019

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı : 157

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Komşuluk İşbirliği
- 2) İşbirlikçi Yaşam Tarzı
- 3) Kent Hakkı
- 4) Kişilerarası İletişim
- 5) Kapalı Yerleşkeler

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Neighbor Collaboration
- 2) Collaborative Lifestyle
- 3) Right to the City
- 4) Interpersonal Communication
- 5) Gated Communities

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my dissertation supervisor, Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç, for providing me invaluable guidance throughout this research. Her vision, sincerity and motivation have deeply inspired me. It was a privilege to study under her guidance. I would also like to thank her for her friendship, empathy, and a great sense of humor. I am extending my heartfelt thanks to my dissertation committee, Associate Prof. Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan and Prof. Dr. Sevda Alankuş for their insightful comments and advice throughout the study. I also would like to thank them for their support, encouragement and enthusiasm.

I am extremely grateful to my family for their love, support, motivation, and care during the whole process of my education life. I would like to thank my mother for all her prayers and good vibes for this study. I am grateful to my father for his advice, moral and financial support. Last but not least, I would like to thank my sister and my nephew for being there for me all the time.

I also thank my class fellow in the Ph.D. program, Dr. Selin Öner, for the stimulating discussions on my subject, and for all the fun we have during the study. I am also grateful to my closest friends, Demet Bekçi and Aylin Albayrak, for their moral support and their patience for all the times when all I wanted to do is talking about my research. I would like to thank my colleagues for their support with the work when I had to put all my energy into the research.

I would like to thank wholeheartedly to all my neighbors for their participation, help and a keen interest in this study. Finally, my thanks go to all the people who have supported me to complete the research work directly or indirectly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
ÖZET.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Questions.....	4
The Case.....	6
The Aim of the Study and Contribution to the Field.....	8
SECTION ONE : LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
1.1. PUBLIC SPHERE, RIGHT TO THE CITY AND GENDER.....	10
1.2. GATED COMMUNITIES	17
1.3. COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION.....	20
1.4. NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION.....	26
1.5. RE-VISITING THE CONCEPT OF CONSUMPTION	30
1.6. INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION THEORIES	34
1.6.1. Uncertainty Reduction Theory	34
1.6.2. Predicted Outcome Value.....	39
1.6.3. Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory	41

1.7. THE INTERSECTION OF NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION, COLLABORATIVE LIFESTYLES, THE INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION THEORIES AND PUBLIC SPHERE.....	44
SECTION TWO: URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN TURKEY	47
2.1. THE POLITICS OF URBANIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION PERIODS.....	47
2.1.1. Development of Urbanization in Turkey Until 1950.....	47
2.1.2. The Developments in Housing Policies and Cooperatives in Turkey Between 1950-1980	49
2.1.3. The Politics of Urbanization After 1980 and Neoliberal Transformation Between 1980-2000.....	52
2.1.4. Neoliberal Urban Transformation Through Mass Housing Administration After 2000.....	54
2.2. TRANSFORMATION FROM MASS HOUSING TO GATED COMMUNITY	56
2.3. NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONS IN TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES	59
SECTION THREE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	61
3.1. RESEARCH METHOD	61
3.1.1 Participant Observation	62
3.1.2. Focus Group.....	64
3.1.3. Case Study Research.....	67
SECTION FOUR: DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS.....	69
4.1. CONDUCTING FOCUS GROUPS AND DATA ANALYSIS CRITERIA.....	69
4.1.1. First Session	72
4.1.2. Second Session	79
4.1.3. Third Session	82

4.1.4. Meeting with The Management of the Complex	86
4.1.5. A New Stage in the Research: Activities Commission	87
4.1.6. Fourth Session: Focus Group with Activities Commission Members.....	89
4.1.7. Fifth Session	92
4.2. NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION PRACTICES AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION EXPERIENCE	96
SECTION FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	105
5.1. RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	105
5.2. DISCUSSION	111
5.2.1. The Right to the City.....	111
5.2.2. Public Sphere and Debate Culture and Urbanization Processes..	113
5.2.3. Urbanization Processes and Ata 2 Houses	114
5.2.4. Gender Relations	116
5.2.5. Interpersonal Communication	118
5.2.6. Re-visiting the Concept of Consumption	119
5.2.7. Collaborative Consumption and Neighbor Collaboration	120
CONCLUSION.....	123
REFERENCES.....	131
APPENDIX.....	148

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ata 2	: Ata 2 Houses and Ata 2 Residential Building Cooperative
ATAG	: Ata 2 Disaster Volunteers
AUM	: Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory
Kent-Koop	: Batıkent Building Construction Cooperatives Union
KİPTAŞ	: İstanbul Housing Construction Plan Industry
OYAK	: Mutual Help Organization of Army Officers
POV	: Predicted Outcome Value Theory
TOKİ	: Mass Housing Administration
URT	: Uncertainty Reduction Theory

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure : Screen Shot of Ata 2 Residential Building Cooperative Block and Villa Distributions.....	6
Figure 1.1: Original and Additional Axioms and Theorems of Uncertainty Reduction Theory.....	38
Figure 1.2: A Schematic Representation of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory	43



LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1923-1945	49
Table 2.2: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1946-1962	50
Table 2.3: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1963-1980	51
Table 2.4: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey after 1980	54



ABSTRACT

This study is a case study on acquiring some right to the city through collaboration on the place where people live, and the reflections of this right in social relations and interpersonal experiences. Understanding the processes of developing “neighbor collaboration” in the case study of Ata 2 Houses in Çengelköy, İstanbul was the peculiar aim of the research. Urban space where social relations are established is also at the center of power struggles. As a result of the urbanization process, the evolution of the complex life towards a more gated community leads to a differentiation that separates itself from publicity. Also, neoliberal urbanization processes and understanding of local government do not allow citizens to participate in decisions about the city they live in and to implement negotiating democracy. In the macro dimension, it can be stated that the urban conflicts resulting from the decline of public spaces by gated communities and private property based housing policies can be seen in the political tension between the complex management and the residents at the micro-scale. Therefore, it has been concluded that social and personal relationships within the complex cannot be handled separately from debates on publicity, gender and space. Through re-visiting certain interpersonal communication theories such as uncertainty reduction theory, predicted outcome value theory and anxiety/uncertainty management theory, the contribution of an increase in interpersonal communication to the formation of neighbor collaborations was examined. Participant observation and focus group discussions were used as methods to understand and evaluate the whole processes of the collaborations better. It has been concluded that with the participation of each individual in the cooperation processes and the formation of a culture of ethical discussion, with the breaking of hierarchical relations in face-to-face communication as well as in instrumental communication, a real public space path will be opened and ‘the right of the city’ will not be a dream in a ‘gated community’.

Keywords: Neighbor Collaboration, Collaborative Lifestyle, Right to the City, Interpersonal Communication, Gated Communities.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, insanların yaşadıkları mekânda işbirliği aracılığıyla bir miktar kent hakkı elde etmeleri ve bu hakkın kişilerarası deneyimleri ve sosyal ilişkilerindeki yansımaları üzerine vaka çalışmasıdır. İstanbul Çengelköy'deki Ata 2 Konutları örneğinde “komşuluk işbirliği” geliştirme süreçlerini anlamak, araştırmanın kendine özgü amacı durumundadır. Öte yandan, sosyal ilişkilerin kurulduğu kent mekânı iktidar mücadelelerinin de odağında yer almaktadır. Kentleşme politikalarının bir sonucu olarak, konut yaşamının daha çok kapalı yerleşimlere dönüşmesi, kendisini kamusal alanlardan ayıran bir farklılaşmaya yol açmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, neoliberal kentleşme süreçleri ve yerel yönetim anlayışı, yurttaşların yaşadıkları kentle ilgili kararlara katılımına ve müzakereci demokrasi uygulamalarına olanak vermemektedir. Makro boyutta, kapalı yerleşkeler ve özel mülkiyet temelli konut politikalarının kamusal alanları geriletmesi sonucunda ortaya çıkan kentsel çatışmaların, mikro ölçekte sitede yönetim ile sakinler arasındaki politik tansiyonlarda da görülebileceği ifade edilebilir. Bu nedenle, site içindeki sosyal ve kişisel ilişkilerin kamusal alan, toplumsal cinsiyet ve mekân tartışmalarından ayrı olarak ele alınamayacağı sonucuna varılmıştır. Belirsizlik azaltma teorisi, öngörülen sonuç değeri teorisi ve kaygı / belirsizlik yönetimi teorisi gibi bazı kişilerarası iletişim teorilerini tekrar ziyaret ederek, kişilerarası iletişimdeki artışın komşuluk işbirliklerinin oluşumuna katkısı incelenmiştir. Katılımcı gözlem ve odak grup tartışmaları, işbirliklerinin tüm süreçlerini daha iyi anlamak ve değerlendirmek için yöntem olarak kullanıldı. Her bir bireyin işbirliği süreçlerine katılımı ve etik tartışma kültürünün oluşmasıyla ve araçsal iletişim kadar yüz yüze iletişimde de hiyerarşik ilişkilerin kırılmasıyla gerçek bir kamusal alan yolu açılabileceği ve kent hakkının ‘kapalı bir yerleşkede’ hayal olmayacağı sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Komşuluk İşbirliği, İşbirlikçi Yaşam Tarzı, Kent Hakkı, Kişilerarası İletişim, Kapalı Yerleşkeler.

INTRODUCTION

I should mention that this study has begun quite earlier than the dates of the case study. I had lived in the neighborhood with my family for two years when I was an adolescent (13-15 years old). The story of how we moved to Ata 2 Houses is linked to the economic policies of the 1994 financial crises in Turkey¹. My father was bankrupted in 1995, and we had to move from our fancy apartment in Nişantaşı to a much more modest flat in Ata 2 Houses [*Tur.* Ata 2 Konutları] in 1996. My whole family was devastated because of our obligatory movement. The situation for me was slightly different.

I have to clarify that a childhood in a building complex in Nişantaşı was not fun at all. Doğu Complex [*Tur.* Doğu Sitesi] was an upper-middle-class settlement. Most of the parents, including my mother, underestimated the value of playing outside for the children. So, my friends and I could rarely get permission to play outside. Although it was a charm for us to play outdoor, we did not have appropriate places to play in front of our apartments, which have been occupied with the cars parked there. If we wanted to play in a park or a playing ground, we had to walk either through the Valikonağı or Ihlamur Street. Since we did not have permission to reach beyond the complex, our greatest pleasure was to play around the car parking lot which was also interrupted continuously with the security guards' warnings such as "do not make this much noise, do not laugh in front of the doctor's house".

When we moved to Ata 2 Houses, I realized that it has no resemblance to Doğu Complex. Firstly, there was plenty of space to play and bike. Secondly, instead of the suffocating feeling of being stuck in a four-blocked high-rise buildings, Ata 2 Houses created a sense of ease and amplitude with the low-rise buildings surrounded by playing grounds for children and pergolas for adults to spend time with neighbors. I knew that it was not an old neighborhood, but in respect to the

¹ According to Celasun (1998); "in the first quarter of 1994, the Turkish Lira (TL) was devalued more than 50% against the US\$, the Central Bank lost half of its reserves, interest rates skyrocketed, and the inflation rate reached three digit levels" (p. 2).

neighborhood relations, it gave the sense of a connected community where people care about one another. I had great memories there.

I decided to move back into the neighborhood in my thirties as a single woman for the second time in my life. Shortly after moving, I realized that either my memories are extraordinarily misleading, or the neighborhood relations have incredibly changed during the last fifteen years. When I was walking to my apartment, when I was shopping in the local grocery, I always heard some complaints from my neighbors about the social life in the complex and the management. I wondered if it is possible to trace those discontents in the social media sites.

I became a member of all the active and passive groups related to the complex on Facebook. I noticed that the most active group with the highest number of members (approximately 700 members) is the “Ata 2 Solidarity Group [*Tur.* Ata 2 Dayanışma Grubu]”. Also, there was the official Facebook page of the complex on which announcements were published. In the complex’s page, the communication was one-way or one-direction only—from the management to neighbors. The last active group was “Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2” [*Tur.* Ata 2 Doğa Dostları] focusing on street animals’ problems. Other than these groups, I realized that there were several passive groups in which a high number of neighbors tried to connect people with similar interests to do social activities together. Unfortunately, their endeavors seem to be failed.

I started asking questions such as: Why did most of these attempts fail? To what extent does the conflict between the neighbors and the management shape the social life in the complex? What does this conflict mean in respect to the urbanization processes in İstanbul? Is it possible to resolve this conflict? Is it possible to take advantage of interpersonal communication theories on the issue? Is it possible to assume that neighbors will want to discuss what we can do collectively (as inhabitants) to have a more peaceful and collaborative social environment? Will there be any volunteers to work for the together determined goals? Will the management and neighbors collaborate? Will these possible collaborations last

long? What does this process mean in respect to the concept of “the right to the city”?

Although life in the complex is a space design that satisfies the users from the physical point of view, the main reason that motivates this study is that social results are not discussed adequately. Therefore, it is important to examine the fundamental transformation in the quality of public spaces not only in the physical dimension but also in terms of neighborhood relations and social interactions. With this assumption, it was also investigated whether the changing spatial structure caused a change in the level of neighborhood relations.

As a result of all these questions that emerge out of my own experience, I decided to study Ata 2 Houses as a case. My memories became my data. My lived life turned into my subject. This reflexive process became my whole academic concern.

I aimed at re-visiting interpersonal communication studies, which are acknowledged as considerably significant for understanding the processes of initial interactions and the possibilities of developing future relationships, especially when interactants regard each other as sharing a common purpose.

Berger and Calabrese (1975) have suggested that when strangers meet, their uncertainty levels become relatively high, and their primary concern becomes to reduce uncertainty or to increase the predictability of their behaviors against each other (Antheunis, Valkenburg & Peter, 2010, p. 100). They suggested that uncertainty reigns if one lacks knowledge concerning others and oneself in a situation (ibid, p. 101). To reduce uncertainty, people gather information to predict others' attitudes and behaviors (ibid, p. 101). This being so, “uncertainty reduction theory” seems to be beneficial for improving communication among the neighbors who can eventually pave the way for neighbor collaboration — and also for the collaboration between the inhabitants and the management.

Moreover, “predicted outcome value theory” of Sunnafrank (1986) seems promising for this study, since, he argued that people are motivated not only to

reduce uncertainty but also to maximize the relational outcomes (p. 9). According to Sunnafrank, reducing uncertainty is not the main motive of individuals. Instead, it is only a means or an apparatus to achieve their primal goal — i.e. maximizing outcomes (p. 4).

Hence, “anxiety or uncertainty management theory” of Gudykunst (1988), which is a derivative of the “uncertainty reduction theory” seemed useful to explain intergroup interaction and effective communication (Hammer et al., 2009, p. 311).

Moreover, I participated in the organization processes of every practice to make sense of how neighbors discuss, compromise, and decide on an issue and how they collaborate and the management. And, finally, I wondered about the possibility to interpret neighbor collaboration from the perspective of the “right to the city”.

The concept “right to the city” treats the city as Habermas (1991) calls the “public sphere” as a whole. However, Ata 2 is —though not a typical one— a *gated community*, and a widely accepted feature of a gated community is the “privatization of the public sphere” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 2), which may imply the lack of it. Moreover, there are criticisms about the conception of the “public sphere” saying it is gender-based (Fenster, 2005, pp. 220-224), and privatization of the public sphere, in this context, may enhance this feature — i.e. being gender-based. These considerations made me even more curious about the Ata 2 case, and this curiosity shaped my research questions.

Research Questions

The research questions of this study popped out of the daily life of the neighbors in the complex. To be more specific, communication among neighbors, the willingness of neighbors for collaboration on social sharing practices, the troubles they have been facing in their social sharing attempts, the conflicts between the neighbors, and the management of the building complex had seemed noteworthy to be studied.

As it was mentioned before, there were two active groups among the neighbors: “Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2” which was organized to help street animals living in the complex and “Ata 2 Solidarity Group” which was founded to check whether the management works in favor of the inhabitants, or not. The significant existence of these groups made it inevitable to use a theory that encompasses group dynamics that may contribute to the goals of this study.

A research problem is the communication strategies framing the dynamics of social life, decision-making mechanisms, motivation for coexistence, co-operation and neighborhood relations, and the social patterns affecting them in a complex that takes place within the duality of the public-private sphere in urban life. Based on this background, the research will try to make inquiries around the following sub-problems:

- (a) How can the study be interpreted concerning the concept “right to the city”?
- (b) Is there a possibility to build a public sphere, an ethical debate culture, in Ata 2 residences?
- (c) Is it possible to suggest that there is a positive correlation between the increase in interpersonal communication and the level of neighborhood collaborative acts?
- (d) Is Ata 2 a typical gated community?
- (e) Is it possible to overcome gender-based relations and conditions inside such a gated community?

The Case

The research was conducted in a neighborhood (actually a “gated community”²) called Ata 2 Housing Cooperative, which was officially established on March 13, 1985. The complex is placed on Üsküdar district, Çengelköy location, Nato Yolu and is composed of 110 building blocks and 550 villas. It has, according to the management, over twelve thousand inhabitants, which is representative enough for such research.

Figure: Screen Shot of Ata 2 Residential Building Cooperative Block and Villa Distributions



Source: <http://www.ata2.org>

Moreover, the diversity of the residents is also important. The variety of age, gender, education level, social background and income distribution of the

² The social life in Ata 2 Houses is complex as its place in the urbanization processes of İstanbul. First of all, it is not a closed settlement although it is located between Nato Yolu which is very close to Güzeltepe (squatter settlement) and Küçükusu (also a squatter settlement)—quite the contrary to gated communities which give priority to distance themselves from squatter neighborhoods as Çavdar (2013) noted (p. 91). Secondly, the residents are neither secularist like Oyakkent inhabitants, nor pious people like most of the gated community residents in Başakşehir. For these reasons, it seems like a unique example.

inhabitants makes this sample representative of the society. This diversity makes the gated community in question a *microcosmos*. Besides, the fact that the researcher had lived before and currently lives in the neighborhood in question surely provides a deeper understanding of the neighbor relations.

Taken the past experiences and daily observations of the researcher³ into account, this study claims that it may be possible to develop neighbor collaboration. Based on the findings of the researcher on Facebook groups that the inhabitants created, it is also assumed that several collaborative consumption practices can be put into practice in the complex.

On the other hand, those groups also gave some clues about the existing conflict between the inhabitants and the administrative body (and former boards of management). The boards of management have been accused of neglecting the official protocols to make sure the owners have their certificate of ownership, which has been troublesome because of the 2B land situation of the complex.⁴ The boards of management have been accused of taking profit from this situation and purposely neglecting official protocols.

This conflict stimulates uncertainties and anxieties in the complex about the future of the neighborhood. Because the management of the building complex is the legal representative of the residents, reducing these uncertainties or anxieties seems complicated. On the other hand, the neighbors seem to be consolidated due to the conflict, through their positions against the management. Taking advantage of this bond, this study investigates the possibility to direct this energy (which is a result of this tension), towards collaborative practices.

³ Who was and is also an inhabitant of the gated community in question.

⁴ Which basically means that the area was supposed to be a forest, yet, the blocks were built anyway. So, the inhabitants cannot get their owner's license about their residences.

The Aim of the Study and Contribution to the Field

This study is a case study on acquiring some right to the city through collaboration on the place where people live, and the reflections of this right in social relations and interpersonal experiences.

The study aims to understand the perceptions of neighbors towards “neighbor collaboration” and broadly towards the neighborhood. This study intends to know whether it is possible to stimulate collaboration in the neighborhood with the involvement of neighbors and the board of management.

In this study, interpersonal communication is examined in a case study through focus groups and participant observation; however, this does not imply that face-to-face communication was idealized. This study originated from the views based on the online connectivity of neighbors. As it was stated before, the first non-scientific observations were gathered through different online groups of the neighbors. Moreover, the participants of focus group sessions were collected by announcing the purpose of the meeting on these online groups.

This study re-visits several interpersonal communication theories (i.e. “uncertainty reduction theory”, “predicted outcome value theory” and “anxiety/uncertainty management theory”) to understand the processes of building collaboration among neighbors and between neighbors and the management.

The ongoing political tension between the managerial board and the inhabitants raises some questions such as whether the neighbors find the opportunity to speak up, whether there is a debate culture that paves the way for a built-up *consensus* between the inhabitants and the board, whether there are women among the ones that can speak up or that are taken seriously, whether the neighbors intend to act cooperatively to build a future city of their own, etc. To answer such questions, a conceptual framework consisting of concepts such as “public sphere”, “right to the city”, “gender” and “gated communities” is used in order to build a sound research, because the study therewithal examines whether there is a possibility to create a

true “public sphere” that is not “gender” biased within the “gated community” in question that may correspond to the conception “right to the city”.

Due to the fact that studying a neighborhood (more precisely a gated community) cannot be regarded separately from the city and the urbanization processes it has been undergone, it seemed valuable to locating Ata 2 Houses within the urbanization processes in İstanbul.

Last but not least, this study will contribute to the collaborative consumption literature through developing local collaborative consumption practices, primarily through developing local collaborative lifestyle practices. Finally, the study revisits the concept of consumption in the context of local collaborative consumption practices.

SECTION ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

While establishing the conceptual and theoretical framework of the research, it is aimed primarily to deal with the neighbor collaboration from the perspective of the right to the city. For this reason, the literature review will start with discussions on city, space and the public sphere. Likewise, these discussions become important when looking at womanless cities as a result of gender inequality. Then, some communication theories (i.e. “uncertainty reduction theory”, “predicted outcome value theory” and “anxiety/uncertainty management theory”) will be examined for understanding to processes of building collaboration among neighbors and between neighbors and the management.

1.1. PUBLIC SPHERE, RIGHT TO THE CITY AND GENDER

Habermas (1991) attracted considerable attention to his concept “public⁵ sphere” for the last few decades. This conception, however, misinterpreted it was, became the main political and academic issue of debate in Turkey for a long while—debates around the limitations on wearing *hijab* or *turban* inside government buildings.

According to Habermas, the prototype of the public sphere is the *agora* (in other words, “market place”) of the Ancient Greek city-states, namely *polis* (Habermas, 1991, p. 3). What makes *agora* the prototype of the public sphere? His answer is simple: In Greek *polis*, there was a sharp distinction between private (namely household, *oikos*) and public (i.e. market place, *agora*). In *agora*, every free citizen in a Greek city had the right to come forward and speak up, tell what he⁶ thinks,

⁵ To understand the term “public sphere”, one must get to know what “public” means. However, the term “public” and its usage (daily or social-scientific), does not carry a stability. Etymologically speaking, the word “public” comes from the Latin word *publicus* which means “common or open to all people” (Valpy, 377). The Latin word *publicus*, if one is to seek further, seems to come from the Latin word *populus* meaning “common people” that comes from the Classical Greek Word *poly* which means “many” (*ibid.*, 354). The word “private”, which is widely accepted as the opposite of “public”, on the other hand, comes from the Latin word *privatus* which means “one's own” (*ibid.*, 367).

⁶ In Ancient Greece, only men were free citizens.

and it was the moral obligation of every other to listen or respond to him. No one was forced to remain silent. Every single word of every free citizen (regardless of who he is) was equally valuable. *Agora* was the basis of this “debate culture”. This was a true public sphere, the essence of it.

During middle-ages, the “public” *versus* “private” dichotomy did still exist, the distinction (i.e. public vs. private) is defined in Roman Law. However, according to Habermas, one cannot argue that there was a standard usage (Habermas, 1991, p. 5). In the feudal system, as Habermas states, “an opposition between the public and private spheres of the ancient (or the modern) model did not exist” (*ibid.*, p. 5). Sociologically speaking, a public sphere as a “separate realm distinguished from the private sphere cannot be shown to have existed in the feudal society of the High Middle Ages” (*ibid.*, p. 7). However, the attributes of lordship (e.g., the ducal seal) were called “public” because lordship was something publicly represented; yet, not as a public sphere; preferably, like a status attribute (*ibid.*, p. 7). This is what Habermas calls “representative publicity”.

After the collapse of feudality, assisted by the development of the capitalist economy, public and private spheres became separate in the modern sense. Bureaucracy, the church, and the army became public institutions. “Civil society came into existence as the corollary of a depersonalized state authority” (Habermas, 1991: 19). The conception of economics⁷ also changed; it no longer is related to the *oikos* (i.e. Greek word for “household”) and took its modern form. The emergence of print culture, the press opened the way for a public life, which, Habermas calls “literary public sphere”. By the time, this literary public sphere evolved into the bourgeois or liberal public sphere.

Habermas claims that this was another historical moment when this prototype partially re-emerged. The places of bourgeois or literary public sphere (e.g. Paris cafés, squares, etc.) were where philosophers, social theorists, political activists,

⁷ The word economics comes from Classical Greek words *oikos* (household) and *nomos* (law), in this case, etymologically speaking, it is the set of laws that helps people govern their household.

etc. had endless discussions or debates on what's going on with the world, society, politics and humanity in general. This also was a debate culture and the signal of the birth of modern democracy. The public sphere, then, is a platform where a debate culture may flourish. So, any expression that uses the term "public sphere" to imply <only> government buildings is a misinterpretation.⁸⁹

Habermas, in his famous work "*Theory of Communicative Action*", enhances his theory of the public sphere by re-building an old concept: *consensus*. According to him, deliberations within the public sphere, within the debate culture, *via* an ethics of debating, may lead to a *consensus* of the equals, which would mean a path to ideal democracy in which the position of the majority should not suppress the minority. Thus, the public sphere is not a place where the decision of the majority is rationalized or legitimized, instead, it is where everyone (however small a minority he or she may belong) speaks up and where every single view is deliberated seriously.

Public spaces are spaces that have an essential place in the formation of social fabric and in the development of social relations between people. These are the areas where cultural differences come together, where people meet for the first time and put their thoughts together. In these places, individuals have the opportunity to see the existence of different and new ideas from their inner worlds (Webster, 2002: 398).

Lefebvre, who introduced the concept of "right to the city" in 1968, re-conceptualizes the city as "urban society". From this point of view, the urban society creates a city and a public space. This right is not a demand for an existing city, but a tool for designing a future city. According to Lefebvre, the purpose of the right to the city is to restructure the power relations that form the basis of urban space by taking control of urban space from the power and capital and transferring

⁸ There seems no need to tell the opposition between public sphere and private sphere since no one confuses them.

⁹ A postmodern version of public sphere may be social media, especially twitter where people, each and every single person, may find the opportunity to Express his/her thoughts.

it to the inhabitants of the city. Thus, Lefebvre refers to the capacity of individuals to create collective actions to counter the social, economic and political order produced by the ruling class in the cities and in this context defines “the right to the city” as a cry and a demand (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158).

Lefebvre defines the right to the city with two rights which are not independent from each other:

“The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 147).

Participation and appropriation rights play an active role for citizens in the use and production of urban space. It is emphasized that all facilities of the city belong to the inhabitants of the city. Considering the different social backgrounds of the inhabitants, the right to the city is the right to housing in all differences.

Harvey (2012) also shows that the right to the city and its citizenship issues are intertwined in the historical process. Harvey treats the right to the city as the right of individual or collective access to the resources of the city and the right to change and reinvent the city (p. 4).

Hamelink (2012) discusses the concept “right to a communicative city” as a concrete example of basic human rights based on Lefebvre's concept of “right to the city”. The right to communicative city represents the creation of architectural, spatial, psychological and topological conditions for an urban environment where people are invited to exchange information and ideas, an urban environment in which autonomy, security and freedom are guaranteed. In a sense, the communicative city right brings other human rights, such as organization and participation in cultural life (pp. 98-101).

Communication plays an important role in the struggle for civil rights. The rhetoric of communication rights represents a counter-hegemonic response to the commodification of the means of communication and information, emphasizes a vibrant and pluralistic public sphere, diversity, and respect for minorities and citizens' participation in the creation to the culture of democracy based on transparency (Cammaerts 2007, p. 5). Urban communication is undoubtedly important as an information supply. In democratically managed cities, citizens need to be well informed about urban issues. In addition, citizens need to be consulted regularly through voting surveys, local referendums or public hearings (Castells, 1991).

Mitchell (2003) bases the right of housing in the city with the publicity of the city. For him, the city is the place of social interaction and the exchange of different people. Therefore, it is public. Publicity demands heterogeneity, so the space of the city provides the basis for heterogeneity. Various people have different projections for the city. People reach the right to citizenship when these different projections agree on shaping the city. Because the city consists of collective projections as an "oeuvre" and thus provides different forms of residence for different people. Don Mitchell points out that the "gender" issue is missing in Lefebvre's model of "city-right" (pp. 18-20).

Gender is a term introduced to sociological literature by Ann Oakley. For Oakley (1972), "sex" is used to separate man and woman biologically; instead, "gender" refers to the social division between masculinity and femininity (pp. 158-159). Therefore, "gender" implies the social dimension of the differences between man and woman. Also, this concept was extended to include stereotypes and cultural ideals of masculinity and femininity in later processes (Scott and Marshall, 2005, p. 276). In other words, "sex" refers to the anatomical characteristics of the person as much as the biological condition, on the other hand, "gender" refers to the representation of social and cultural roles (Newman, 2002, p. 353). Individuals create a sense of self by internalizing gender characteristics and qualities in the process of socialization. They learn what society expects to form them as men or

women. These internalized roles also shape behaviors. Gendered behavior also refers to the differentiation of reactions of the people about the situation or events, depending on whether the subject is male or female (Wharton, 2008, p.31).

Another reaction against the concept of *oeuvre* comes from Fenster. Fenster (2010) blames the identification of the concept of *oeuvre* with public space for this deficiency, i.e., for lacking the “gender” issue. Publicity is perceived as the area of white, upper-middle-class heterosexual men, as it is mentioned in the critique of many feminists. However, many women around the world have been deprived of access to the private sphere due to patriarchal domination. Therefore, Fenster claims that the right to use places and the right to participate in decision-making processes start from the household scale, that is, the right of the house should be discussed before the right to the city (pp. 66-67).

Fenster (2005) states that the discourse on equal social rights is used in a way that expresses the use of public space for services, but it is not taken into account that religious rules and traditional roles determine women's use of public space. In other words, the representations of women's bodies and women are defined in patriarchal and religious forms so that the right to the city is experienced in the form of gender-based exclusion (pp. 220-224).

As a result, structuring urban areas without regard for gender sensitivities and producing them as non-useable spaces for women operates as a planned trap. Moreover, the exclusion and fear experienced by women in the social dimension is made invisible because urban design and urban planning are often seen as spatial issues. The limitation of women's ability to use urban areas is seen not as a problem of urban structure but as women's shortcomings (Fenster, 2005, p. 218).

The role of cities in social and spatial construction of gender is increasingly being considered. The city stands out as the main area of gender inequality. Because the cities serve as crucial spaces in the production, consumption and reproduction process of gendered norms and identities, at the same time, the gendered form of public space and daily routines shape the cities.

Also, the spaces reserved for women are considered safe, small and closed spaces, while the spaces reserved for men are regarded as more massive, non-protected, and open spaces. In this context, the city is seen as an area devoted to the “spaces of men” and “spaces of women” and “men's spaces are public and economic”, whereas “women's spaces are private and social” (Mackenzie, 2002, p. 251). Therefore, due to the gender-based spatial segregation in urban space, women's visibility in the city is reduced, freedom of movement is restricted, and women are confined to the private space.

Bondi (1992) associates the male-dominated structure of urban planning with decision-makers and planners being mostly men and the urban planning process based on male experiences and male perspectives. In this respect, the masculine perspective refers to the use of physical spaces, while the feminist perspective has an experience-oriented approach in the planning discipline. In other words, the masculine perspective corresponds to top-down determinations, while the feminist perspective refers to bottom-up planning (p. 162).

Bondi and Rose (2003) argue that feminist urban geography surveys reveal gender-based inequalities in urban capitalist structure and increase women's visibility as actors in urban space. From this perspective, it is essential to understand the changing inequalities in each city by examining the cities with feminist analysis. This situation depends on understanding and considering the daily experiences of women at local and individual levels (p. 232).

Reading the space from a feminist perspective implies seeing and problematically demonstrating to masculine spatial constructions that are implicitly produced through daily experiences as well as the planned space. By reading space in more detail than considering it as a scale and ground, the mutual construction of these structures with every day, in other words, the gender-power relations of space as a constituent force in social relationships, should be revealed.

Therefore, it will be misleading to try to understand or measure to space only with material indicators. For example, The United Nations Joint Program, Women

Friendly City Project, Turkey in 10 provinces¹⁰, municipalities plans, and programs have been analyzed in terms of women's capabilities with gender perspective. Within the scope of the research, it is concluded that, despite the tendency to develop and improve in terms of various financial indicators, these cities cannot establish equality in the context of social life and have the appearance of a "womanless city" (Günlük Şenesen et al., 2017).

Generally, it may be derived from what has been said that urban debates are far from questioning the masculine field because they are not filtered through the gender lens. The literature and discussions about the city reflect a male-centered perspective. Although "right to the city" is known as the collective right of all citizens, it does not fully cover the city-right of the groups such as women and people with different sexual orientations. For this reason, this right should be revised and elaborated in order to ensure that these groups have access to the right to the city in all areas of daily life. This is only possible with equal participation in planning.

1.2. GATED COMMUNITIES

Gated community is generally defined as residential areas of middle and upper-income households that are closed to the outside and isolated, surrounded by high level and special security measures, offering certain leisure opportunities and formed around lifestyle fiction. It is accepted that these living habits, which emphasize the style, are created by the decomposition of the society and the new consumption trends. In this sense, the gated community should be seen as consumer goods produced by the real estate industry.

Grant (2003) defines closed or gated communities as residential settlements built on private roads that are closed to traffic by a door at the first entrance and surrounded by railings, walls or natural barriers (pp. 277-289). Blakely and Snyder

¹⁰ Kars, Sanliurfa, Nevsehir, Izmir, Samsun within the scope of Women Friendly City Project and neighboring cities which are not included in this scope are Erzurum , Diyarbakir, Kayseri, Manisa and Ordu.

(1997), on the other hand, view closed or gated communities as residential areas, where public spaces are privatized and where access is restricted. They also stated that these structures were controlled and secured settlements with barrier entrances, such as walls or railings so that other people would not enter (p. 2). Roitman (2010) views the common features of closed or gated communities as such: uniformity and/or uniformization (if not uniform) of inhabitants, specialization of public space, hosting outward high-quality residences, offering various facilities and services to residents that are paid on a regular basis and managed by the units that set up rules to control life in it (pp. 31-38).

Blakely and Snyder (1998, pp. 57-58) have covered the closed complex in three main categories: the first is “the lifestyle in complex”; these are the areas where urban clubs and retirees will spend their retreats built on large recreational equipment. It is called this name because it symbolizes an individual lifestyle with certain cultural activities. Second, “prestigious complex”; they are residential areas with the symbol of prestige lived by the upper-income group and the super-rich. And finally, fully security-based “security zones”. These areas can be established either in or outside the city center or in rich or poor areas. Those who live here by feeling the pressure of fear, crime and traffic from their neighborhoods or surrounding neighborhoods, they can take control of their areas with establishing doors and barricades. Thus, the neighborhood is more than a consumption commodity, both a common area and a common fate.

According to Blakely and Snyder (1998), the fact of being the same comes to the forefront in the construction of these settlements. In a sense, this phenomenon includes not only similar ones but also the exclusion. This exclusion mechanism is also an indication of who will be involved. This also defines the class location to include. The gated community, which has become the symbol of the global consumption of its classes, is settlements that are indicative of material and cultural capital for the urban elite (p. 60).

In today's homogeneous life, similar socioeconomic conditions, similar likes, expectations and lifestyles are found in these closed/gated communities. These communities combine people with relatively common characteristics. This leads people who want to be privileged to live within the scope of an ideal home myth, like the US suburbs. In this regard, it can be said that the closed or gated communities with its expanding target group made the ideal home myth in the 1990's to be the ideal type of neoliberal city settlement (Aydın, 2012, p. 101).

Gated communities are essentially based on the argument of creating a world of privileges in the housing market. Depending on the marketing strategies of residences, these privileges may sometimes arise as landscapes, sometimes with improved social facilities and sometimes with the reconstruction of nostalgic spaces. However, security, green spaces, and sports areas are the common points of gated communities that symbolize privileged and segregated life. The services in gated communities vary according to the concept and quality of the complex. Services such as child-care, house cleaning, gym, spa-massage, shopping and valet are some of them. These services are designed to provide people's comfort and to make them feel more special. As the privileges increase, the cost of the houses increases in return for the services provided, and it becomes impossible for ordinary people to access these areas (Özgür, 2006, p. 81).

The socio-economic, cultural and spatial segregation experienced in the cities becomes more apparent as a result of neo-liberal economic policies. the power of the new middle class to design and shape space in an exclusive way has a great role (Özgür, 2006, p. 80). As a matter of fact, urban segregation takes place simultaneously with inequalities in income distribution and social inequalities in societies. This form of divergence, which can be defined as a manifestation of class identity in a way, deepens social inequality on the one hand. While high-income groups use the space effectively as far as economic opportunities allow; the masses deemed economically inadequate are forced to act as if they were an object of space (Harvey, 2009, p. 81). The segregation in cities is realized simultaneously with the income distribution injustices and social inequalities in societies. In a way, this form

of divergence can be defined as a class identity reflected to space, and this deepens the social inequality further (Harvey, 2009, p. 56).

1.3. COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION

Sharing is a non-profit social change between people who know each other. In terms of the dictionary, sharing means the use of something together or common ownership. Today, this concept is expressed in terms such as gig economy, on-demand economy, is expressed in terms such as peer economy, renting economy, but in the literature is more common as Sharing Economy (Sundararajan, 2016, p.27).

The traditional forms of sharing are quite different than the ones in the contemporary age. Sharing between small communities through gift-giving (Mauss, 1990) has transformed into sharing among masses thanks to Web 2.0 technologies (Jöhnemark, 2015, p. 32). This innovative practice of sharing has been called as “sharing economy” (Martin, 2016) and regarded as to be “differentiated from former kinds of sharing by its capacity to further sharing between strangers” (Nica & Potcovaru, 2015, p. 69).

Sharing economy is also known as peer-to-peer sharing (Chasin, von Hoffen & Matzner, 2017), on-demand economy (Cockayne, 2016), platform economy (Kenney & Zysman, 2016), gig economy (Gregg, 2015), access-based consumption (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012) and collaborative consumption (Botsman & Rogers, 2010). Although all these terms have been used interchangeably, several points differ the terms from one another.

The terms on-demand economy, platform economy and gig economy refer to “platform-based marketplaces in which the social and economic character of these platforms are ambivalent” (Cockayne, 2016, p. 73). Those are the platforms in which “supply and demand are matched directly by the system to immediately deliver goods and services” (Botsman, 2015).

The terms “collaborative consumption” and “access-based consumption”, on the other hand, refer to “a focus from individual private ownership to access and more efficient usage of pooled assets” (Piscicelli, Cooper & Fisher, 2014, p. 2) in consideration with “cost consciousness, environmental consciousness, community-focused lifestyle and online connectivity” (Botsman & Rogers, 2010, p. 12).

Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) defined access-based consumption as “transactions that can be market mediated but where no transfer of ownership takes place” (p. 881). That is the point that differentiates access-based consumption from collaborative consumption because the transfer of ownership is possible in collaborative consumption through redistribution markets.

The term collaborative consumption was first used by Felson and Spaeth (1978) and described as:

“Events in which one or more persons consume economic goods or services in the process of engaging in joint activities with one or more others ... such as drinking beer with friends, eating meals with relatives, driving to visit someone, or using a washing machine for family laundry.” (p. 614)

However, the meaning of the term “collaborative consumption” has changed significantly since the digitalization. It has transformed into "people coordinating the acquisition and distribution of a resource for a fee or other compensation" (Belk, 2014b, p. 1597).

Moreover, online platforms have enabled users to share and collaborate in various dimensions. Botsman and Rogers (2010) have identified three broad forms of collaborative consumption; redistribution markets, collaborative lifestyles and product-service systems.

Redistribution markets include big marketplaces where second-hand materials are redistributed (e.g. Craigslist, eBay), free exchanges (e.g. Freeconomy, Freecycle) and swap sites ranging from books (e.g. Thebookswap, BookMooch) to baby

products (e.g. Swapkidsclothes, Toyswap). Collaborative lifestyles mean to share intangible assets like space, time and money. They are ranging from co-working spaces (e.g. The Hub, Kolektif House in Turkey), and social lending (e.g. Lending Club), to time banking (e.g. Quid, Zumbara in Turkey), and crowdfunding (e.g. Kickstarter). Collaborative product-service systems based on the access to certain products and services are such as car sharing (e.g. Zipcar, AtlaGit in Turkey), and ridesharing (e.g. Volt in Turkey) (Tosuner, 2011).

The phenomenon has begun to be described as “the peer-to-peer based activity of obtaining, giving, or sharing the access to goods and services coordinated through community-based online services” (Hamari, Sjöklint & Ukkonen, 2015, p. 2). It has begun to be used diversely in all over the world such as Europe, the United States, South Africa, India, Japan, South Korea and Australia. Cookisto (Greece) is an online platform that meets amateur cooks with people who demand home-cooked dishes. CarTrip (South Africa) is a carpooling enterprise almost as big as Uber in Cape Town. In Latin America, local entrepreneurs launch many carpooling and ride-sharing start-ups such as Safer Taxi in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, Voy Cantiga in Uruguay, En Camino in Chile, Vayamos Juntos in Argentina. India has some vast initiatives such as Kindset (collaborative library), OYO rooms (rental rooms in Delhi, Mumbai, Goa and other cities in India), Wishberry (Crowdfunding platform), and Vroom (ride-sharing).

All the sites that facilitate collaborative consumption practices are defined as collaborative networks executing with four main principles: critical mass, idling capacity, trust between strangers, and belief in the commons (Botsman & Rogers, 2010, p. 12). Critical mass refers to the number of people willing to participate in collaborative consumption. Idling capacity means the capacity of underused goods, skills, time and spaces. Trust between strangers is the trust in the idea of collaborative consumption in general. And, belief in the commons refers to the belief that resources belong to everyone (Botsman & Rogers, 2010, p. 12; Jöhnemark, 2015, p. 35).

The technology as the mediator between monetary and nonmonetary transactions in collaborative consumption has been investigated from various dimensions. First of all, the motives and impacts of free peer-to-peer file sharing were investigated (Weinstock Netanel, 2003). Huang (2005) discussed file-sharing as a form of music consumption (p. 37), whereas Hennig-Thurau, Hennig and Satler (2007) examined online movie sharing and its effect on commercial movie consumption. With the expansion of product and service sharing systems, the scholars began to study the intentions of the participants, the role of the platform on building trust and the market opportunities.

Lamberton and Rose (2012) examined the participation in commercial sharing systems from a marketer-mediated sharing systems perspective (p. 109). The authors discussed “costs and benefits of sharing in promoting commercial sharing options, consistent with a rational utility model; rivalry for the shared product, and perceived product scarcity risk” (p. 122).

Barnes and Mattsson (2017) investigated consumer outcomes for collaborative consumption: “perceived economic, environmental and social benefits with website trust underpinned by the structural assurances of the websites” (p. 281). Kenny and Zysman (2016), likewise, argued that platforms play an important role in facilitating and assuring the collaborative consumption practices (p. 62). Hartl, Hofmann and Kirchler (2016) concluded that “although collaborative consumption based on self-regulating communities, the tendency of participation increases when the platform provides governance” (p. 2760).

Owyang (2013) called the phenomenon “the collaborative economy” that “impacts every sector of society, business and government” (p. 1). The author suggested that the developments in the internet technologies have led to a transformation from brand experience era in which “companies speak at customers through corporate websites”, to customer experience era in which “customers share their opinions requiring brands to listen to”, and finally collaborative economy era in which “power shifts to the consumers” (p. 3). He defined a collaborative economy as “an

economic model where ownership and access are shared between corporations, startups, and people” (p. 4).

The concept of collaborative consumption includes monetary sharing practices and nonmonetary transactions (Fink & Ranchordás, 2017, p. 1315). However, as Albisson and Perera (2012) declared, “most research regards the phenomenon within the framework of monetary transactions and limited consumer interaction; consumer A subscribes to a sharing program and accesses the products and/or services through a centralized distribution center without significant interaction with co-participants” (p. 303).

This situation, on the other hand, has been blistered by the scholars. Morozov (2013), for instance, suggested that the marketing approach leads to commercialize aspects of life that were previously beyond the access of the market (p. 8). Belk (2014a) also criticized the fact that non-profit sharing sites have turned into for-profit businesses (p. 11). He called this transformation as "pseudo-sharing," which is a “business relationship masquerading as communal sharing” (p. 11).

Martin (2016) further argued that “although a critique of hyper-consumption was at the heart of the concept of collaborative consumption at the beginning, it has been successfully reframed as purely an economic opportunity” (p. 149). Cockayne (2016) discussed that “collaborative consumption platforms reproduce labor relations and those relations connect up with supposedly non-economic spheres” (p. 79).

Besides, recently, there is a growing tendency among scholars to discuss the importance of social dimension and human interaction of the sharing practices. Davidson and Infranca (2016), for example, suggested that “many sharing firms depend for a significant amount of their value proposition, on the interactions they facilitate within particular urban neighborhoods and on their ability to leverage the depth of existing local resources” (p. 228).

Furthermore, Jenkins, Moleswarth and Scullin (2014) positioned inter-personal borrowing "as a form of non-market mediated access-based consumption" (p. 131). They explored "the nature of relationships between lenders and their possessions and between lenders and borrowers, highlighting how relationships construct and are constructed by on-going practices of borrowing (and lending)" (p. 133). They emphasized the social aspect of access-based consumption as they declared "borrowing creates and maintains on-going relationships between people" (p. 135).

Collaborative consumption acknowledges that participation "is driven by economic and ecological interests, in addition to an inclination to boost social relationships" (Nica & Potcovaru, 2015, p. 69). Hence, studying collaborative consumption *via* sustainable consumption and production, or, in other words, collaborative sustainability which is defined as "minimizing environmental effects considering the needs of future generations and satisfaction of needs for a better quality of life" (Üstündağlı, Baybars & Güzeloğlu, 2015, p. 132) has become widespread.

Consumption behaviors are significant for sustainability as "every time someone makes a decision about whether (or not) to purchase a product or service there is the potential for that decision to contribute to a more or less sustainable pattern of consumption" (Young et al., 2010, p. 20).

There is a high number of academic works focusing on collaborative sustainability studying predominantly the sustainable consumption and production communities formed because of the government initiatives. The phenomenon of "sharing cities" has been studied thoroughly. McLaren and Agyeman (2015) defined sharing cities as "the marriage of sharing economy with the urban areas" (p. 3).

Cohen and Munoz (2016) provided "a comprehensive view of sustainable consumption and production systems in cities by integrating and examining sharing economy" (p. 87) through discussing the example of Sharing City Seoul that "changed laws to support sharing economy, provided financial and advisory support to sharing start-ups and facilitated citizen participation in the sharing economy" (p. 89).

1.4. NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION

The neighborhood unit is an area where social interaction develops. Neighborhood has different definitions according to physical and psychosocial status. In the physical definition, the neighborhood includes different service categories and facilities near the housing. In the psycho-social sense, the neighborhood is the zone that allows the connection of social relations formed by users (Kellekci & Berköz, 2006, p. 78). Social relations such as neighborhood and family relations are considered as social networks at the micro-level, and they respond to basic security and support needs in society. The neighborhood is the place where communication can be established between residents and the feeling of sharing something in common. Also, the neighborhood is expanding the world of social interaction. Social interaction means that people are in contact with each other and their environment and that cultural, behavioral and sensory shopping environment is formed (Krueger, 2010, pp. 140-142).

Neighborhood can be defined as established close relationships by individuals living close to each other. The change in socio-cultural structure also affected the neighborhood relations and this concept began to change. As a result of changes in social, cultural and family life, the needs and demands of people have changed. People expect different values beyond the housing need. Along with globalization, changes in lifestyles create very different needs, primarily from person to person, from family to family within urban life, and these needs show that the use of space is different. The population of today's cities is increasing, and the cities have evolved into a place inhabited by alienated people in complex and gated communities.

It is not easy to create a socially and physically sustainable environment in a gated community. In this context, it is thought that gated communities are a negative type of structure especially in terms of neighborhood relations and social life, and they can respond to the socio-psychological needs of limited families. Gated

communities reduce the sense of community and weaken social relations between neighbors and even household relations (Giffort, 2011, p. 3).

“Neighbor collaboration” means collaboration among people living in a given space to generate ways to improve their social lives. The phrase “neighbor collaboration” was chosen intentionally because it is different than “collaborative neighborhoods” which has been discussed in the literature in an inter-organizational level which necessitate the involvement of local government and community (Myerson, 2004, p. 6). “Neighbor collaboration” here, is not a solidarity organized via a necessity to respond to an urgent issue as it is often the case for the collaborative neighborhoods (Myerson, 2004, p. 6). On the contrary, the aim of “neighbor collaboration” is to determine long-term community goals.

“Neighbor collaboration”, in this particular case, means the collaboration of neighbors that is voluntarily organized to achieve the goals determined by the neighbors themselves through discussing the ways to improve their social life in the neighborhood. “Neighbor collaboration”, in this study, means an endeavor to create a public debate culture through triggering collaborations via real-life and virtual neighbor groups. The concept also includes the basic premises of collaborative consumption; critical mass, idling capacity, trust between strangers, belief in commons. Hence, neighbor collaboration can be seen as an example of local collaborative consumption practice; a local collaborative lifestyle.

Urban plans offer citizens the opportunity to consider their future and provide effective tools to study their communities. The participation of citizens in neighborhood planning is known as collaborative planning. Collaborative neighborhood planning brings together multiple city departments, community organizations, citizens, local stakeholders, and social service providers to coordinate initiatives to provide a wide range of quality services at the city level and provide a more responsive, interactive environment for residents (Kelly & Becker, 2000).

Gansmo (2012) discussed a municipal planning process for a neighborhood in Trondheim, Norway, as a top-initiated attempt to provide collaborative consumption (p. 495). DuPuis and Rainwater (2015) analyzed collaborative consumption about local governments through home-sharing, bike-sharing, shared offices and ride-sharing (p. 1). The authors discussed the concerns about the subject like public safety and the benefits of it like increased economic activity together (p. 2).

Although voluntarily formed local collaborative consumption (neighbor-to-neighbor sharing) communities seem to be mostly neglected in academic studies, there are a number of good examples of such research. Agyeman, McLaren and Schaefer-Borrego (2013) developed five categories of sharing; material, product, service, wellbeing, and capability. The local collaborative consumption communities have the potential of sharing in all those categories.

Ozanne and Ballantine (2010) illustrated “toy lending libraries provide parents with the opportunity to share communally owned toys in their local neighborhood and thus reduce their consumption of new toys” (p. 486). They explained that parents enjoying toy libraries have different motives ranging from social and community benefits of active participation and group membership to anti-consumption (p. 485).

Daniel et al. (2010) studied the phenomenon "to illuminate how citizens and groups involved with collaborative services and how they can use these services as a strategic tool to propel communities towards sustainability" (p. 4). The researchers questioned local communities, “who are stuck living together rather than intentionally come together, who have a face-to-face interaction unlike virtual communities and who are tied to geographical places” (p. 22). They concluded that “collaborative services increase both tangible and intangible community benefits, including contribution to personal and community well-being, dematerialization and community empowerment” (p. 22).

Belk (2014b) offered another example as such; the Sharehood¹¹ was started in a neighborhood in Melbourne, Australia, by Michael Green. He narrated the case as:

“He (Michael Green) needed to use a washing machine and knew that between him and the nearest laundromat, there were dozens of homes with washing machines sitting idle. So, he started an online sharing service where neighbors could list the things they had available, such as electric drills, bicycles and sewing machines, and others could reserve and use them at no cost. The service not only has saved the neighborhood from having many redundant possessions but also has fostered, more importantly, a strong sense of community.” (Belk, 2014b, p. 1597)

Gregory (2009) studied time banks concerning their potential in sustaining local economies through co-production. Laamanen, Wahlan and Campana (2015) suggested that “time banks can change local cultures” (p. 6) not only because they offer economical solutions but also because they offer a solution to “isolation and depression caused by loneliness through bringing people together in the neighborhood-d” (p. 14). Moreover, Seyfang (2004) explored the potential of time banking in promoting community development and overcoming social exclusion through a case study of a time bank from Glasgow, Scotland (p. 62).

Shaheen, Mallery and Kingsley (2012), explored the development of personal vehicle sharing, including business models, market opportunities and service barriers, through a neighborhood car-sharing model in North America (p. 71). Vasques and Ono (2016) studied a case study on a collective laundry service in a neighborhood in the city of Curitiba and concluded that the collaborative services enhance the quality of life of the neighbors (p. 102).

Most of the collaborative consumption literature in Turkey is based on virtual communities with a marketing perspective. Gümüş and Eser Gegez (2017), focused on the attitudes and intentions of the people who participate in collaborative consumption through collecting data from the participants by questionnaires. The

¹¹ www.sharehood.org

authors concluded that the economic and psychological benefits are effective in shaping the participants' attitudes and behaviors towards collaborative consumption in Turkey (p. 170).

Tosuner (2011), examined the role of collaborative consumption networks, zumbara, community exchange network, free economy and freecycle, in reducing the consumption through content analysis. This study is concluded that collaborative consumption is an alternative to traditional consumption behaviors. Nevertheless, the principles of belief in the commons and trust between strangers should be developed to collaborative networks to be more effective (p. 113).

Likewise, Marangoz, Bayraktaroğlu and Aydın (2017) studied the subject through examining collaborative consumption networks with content analysis. The authors discussed the role of those networks in spreading the collaborative consumption 'movement' (as they called) (p. 134). Yakın and Kacar (2016) analyzed the case of AirBnb in respect to consumers in Turkey (p. 9). Tosuner (2011) investigated the role of collaborative networks in reducing consumption behaviors as well.

1.5. RE-VISITING THE CONCEPT OF CONSUMPTION

As Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) explained from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the economy of Western Europe was said to be defined by production. The "producer" had been seen as the "center" of society (p. 14).

According to Perrotta (2004), enlightenment authors discovered that there are two basic ways of increasing social wealth. One is by keeping the production costs low through a low level of producers' consumption. The other is based on the opposite approach; improving the quality of the production process thanks to increasing consumption by the producers. The connection between an increase in human consumption and an increase in productivity established (p. 503).

Yet, the modernist distinction between production and consumption privileged the former over the latter (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995, p. 240). Modern industrial

capitalism has represented “production to be a value-creating activity and consumption to be a value-destructive activity” (Jaziri Bougaira & Triki, 2014, p. 124). Consumption has been characterized as a profane activity that damages the value that the producer creates (ibid, p. 125). The principle of separations has played a significant role in this thought. The separation of activities into public from into private has reflected in the separation of production from consumption. According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995) capitalism has regarded production as a creation that adds value to human lives; hence, to be considered a sacred activity and consumption as the opposite (p.250).

A dramatic shift began to take place with the end of the Second World War, especially in the United States (Ritzer, 2005, p. 9). The centrality of consumption rather than production had been realized “as reflected by the birth and expansion of the many ‘cathedrals of consumption’ in the 1950s and 1960s – Disneyland, indoor shopping malls, fast food restaurants, and many more” (ibid, p. 10).

Moreover, the separation between private and public had begun to be challenged by the Frankfurt School. Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin and other Frankfurt School thinkers criticized mass media and the consumer culture is created in which “consumers were conceptualized as passive actors, whose choices were manipulated” (Crane, 2010, p. 357).

The shift of approach from privileging production over consumption to considering production and consumption as integral in the 2000s is noteworthy. This has been called “prosumption”, which characterizes consumers as co-producers. As Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) argued:

“a series of recent social changes, especially those associated with the internet and Web 2.0 (briefly, the user-generated web, e.g. Facebook, YouTube, Twitter), have given it even greater centrality... there is a trend toward unpaid rather than paid labor and toward offering products at no cost, and the system is marked by a new abundance where scarcity once predominated” (p. 14).

In addition to that, critical consumption studies have been discussed that consumption of some types of products rather than the others makes a statement about political beliefs and choices (Crane, 2010, p. 358). More significantly, the possibility of individual consumers to bring about social change through using their purchasing power in alternative ways has begun to be discussed (ibid, p. 360). Sassatelli (2006) explained that “the consumer is posited as active, productive and political and responsible for how to consume and what place consumption should take up in daily life” (p. 230).

Therefore, the critical consumer actions are considered as various as “symbolic protest, product boycotting or the purchase of ethically coded products, and the development of alternative provision networks” (Sassatelli, 2014, p. 294). Micheletti (2003) explained political consumer actions as:

“Actions by people who make choices among producers and products to change objectionable institutional or market practices. Their choices are based on attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or non-economic issues that concern personal and family well-being and ethical or political assessment of favorable and unfavorable business and government practice. Political consumers are the people who engage in such choice situations. They may act individually or collectively” (p. 2).

Fonseca (2008) argued that every consumption practice is a cultural practice including even the most trivial ones, “such as those related to eating, bring along a structure of meanings and practices through which identities and social relationships are formed, maintained, and altered” (p. 28).

Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) considered consumption as a “primarily subjective state of consciousness, with a variety of symbolic meanings” (p. 132). Baudrillard (2004) declared that what we consume is signs (messages and images) rather than commodities. He stated that;

“Commodities are no longer defined by their use but by what they signify. And, what they signify is defined not by what they do, but rather by their relationship to the entire system of commodities and signs. There is an infinite range of differences in this system and people, therefore, are never able to satisfy their need for commodities, for difference” (p. 7).

It is stated that today's society is shaped around the indicators obtained through consumption, and the status and class structure is organized through these indicators. In other words, society gains identity and status, not with what it is or what it produces, but with what it consumes, and its class position becomes defined accordingly. Baudrillard (2004, p. 90) states that the concept of need in the logic of consumption is not the need for any object, but the need for difference. The set of phenomena that make up today's consumer society is due to the fact that consumption habits are organized and guided around the needs that are produced virtually. Consumption is no longer simply the fulfillment of needs, but a system of choices and possibilities that make up the reproduction of identity and class indicators. Thus, indicators of social status and class positions of individuals become evident through leisure, housing, or similar consumption habits.

It can be said that with the advent of the Internet, the symbolic meaning of possession of certain goods has changed into access to certain products, services, and lifestyles through membership of specific online platforms. The rise of the collaborative consumption has been explained deliberately by Heinrichs (2013) as: “During the global financial and economic crisis, alternative perspectives on capitalism and consumption were expressed. For the capitalist market society, a third point of view between the poles of repair and regulation of the existing system and the improvement of radical alternatives has attracted attention. The concept and practice of sharing economy and collaborative consumption suggest the use of market intelligence to promote a more collaborative and sustainable society. Featured examples are web-based peer-to-peer platforms covering a wide range of activities, from renting rooms to car-sharing and changing clothes, as well as bicycle and car-sharing schemes. This collaborative lifestyle will disrupt the main

economy and consumerism, increase social cohesion and contribute to minimizing resource use.” (p. 229).

In respect to the concept of collaborative consumption, positive meanings such as sustainability, environmental consciousness, collective well-being, revitalization of community bonds, were attributed to the consumption. Specifically, collaborative lifestyles have been studied as transforming relationships in local communities and as creating stronger bonds in the communities. Nevertheless, some of the collaborative consumption platforms have been criticized for turning into another vehicle in the capitalist system (Martin, 2016).

1.6. INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION THEORIES

1.6.1. Uncertainty Reduction Theory

Berger and Calabrese (1975) have suggested that uncertainty exists to the degree that one lacks knowledge concerning others and oneself in a situation (p. 101). Kramer (2004) defined uncertainty as the inability to predict one’s future behavior or outcome of an interaction (p. 8). Babrow, Kasch and Ford (1998) stated that the difficulty in making probable judgments about a situation causes uncertainty (p. 3).

Berger and Bradac (1982) argued that uncertainty reduction is crucial to grasp the meaning of “how communication functions to help us attain knowledge and understanding of ourselves and others” (p. 5). Mullin and Hogg (1999) argued that uncertainty is an aversive state that should be reduced:

“Because human life is primarily based on building a predictable world in a meaningful way. Uncertainty about one's attitudes, beliefs, feelings and perceptions, as well as about oneself and other people, a negative condition that is often associated with feelings ranging from discomfort to fear” (p. 92).

To reduce uncertainty, one tends to resort to uncertainty reduction strategies: passive, active, and interactive strategy. The passive strategy is the unobtrusive observation, impression formation by observing a person interacting with others.

The active strategy is the impression formation through indirect knowledge acquisition by asking a third party about a person. And, the interactive strategy is the impression formation through direct communication. “Interactive information seeking can be achieved through interrogating the partner, disclosing to the partner with the expectation of reciprocal disclosure and relaxing the partner to give information” (Ramirez et al., 2002, p.220).

For Berger and Calabrese (1975), uncertainty means at least two things; prediction and explanation (p. 101). This means that uncertainty reduction is composed of proactive (predictive) and retroactive (explanatory) processes. The proactive process means to generate “predictions concerning the probable attitudes of the other person”, whereas the retroactive process means to “explain subsequent communication behavior as the relationship progresses” (Berger, 1975, p. 33).

Berger (1979) categorized two different kinds of uncertainties a person might have in an initial interaction with a stranger. Cognitive uncertainty was defined as the uncertainty about the knowledge about others’ attitudes and beliefs. Behavioral uncertainty, on the other hand, was defined as the uncertainty about predicting others’ behaviors in certain circumstances (p. 126).

In initial interactions, due to the fact that people tend to behave in accordance with social norms and rules, behavioral uncertainty can be reduced to a certain extent; however, cognitive uncertainty remains at the high level (Berger and Calabrese, 1975, pp. 99-100). For this reason, the uncertainty reduction theory deals mostly with cognitive uncertainty.

Berger and Calabrese (1975) have presented seven axioms and twenty-one theorems to provide a theoretical perspective for dealing with the initial entry stage of interpersonal interaction (p. 99). The axioms and theorems taken from the original theory to be discussed in this study are listed as follows:¹²

¹² See Berger and Calabrese (1975) to the full list of axioms and theorems.

“As the amount of verbal communication between strangers increases, the level of uncertainty will decrease. As uncertainty is further reduced, the amount of verbal communication will increase (Axiom 1)”, “High levels of uncertainty cause increases in information-seeking behavior. As uncertainty levels decline, information-seeking decreases (Axiom 3)”, “Similarities between persons reduce uncertainty, while dissimilarities produce increases in uncertainty (Axiom 6)”, “Increases in uncertainty level produce decreases in liking, decreases in uncertainty level increases liking (Axiom 7)” (pp. 102-107).

“Amount of communication and nonverbal affiliative expressiveness are positively related (Theorem 1)”, “Amount of communication and information-seeking behavior are inversely related (Theorem 3)”, “Amount of communication and similarity are positively related (Theorem 6p. 108)”, “Information-seeking and liking are negatively related (Theorem 17)”, “Information-seeking and similarity are negatively related (Theorem 18)”, “Similarity and liking are positively related (Theorem 219)” (pp. 107-109).

Although the uncertainty reduction theory has focused on initial interactions, later revisions of the theory extended its scope to later relational stages such as on-going relationships (Parks & Adelman, 1983). Thus, new variables and propositions have been added to the original theory.

Parks and Adelman (1983) suggested that the degree of uncertainty decreased as communication with a partner’s network increased (p. 55). The authors concluded that increased communication with the partner’s family and friends reduce uncertainty as “they may supply ready-made explanations for the partner’s behavior” (p. 57). Hence, they offered one additional axiom and seven additional theorems to the original theory¹³. Additional axiom and theorems (Berger and Gudykunst, 1991) that will be discussed in this study are listed as follows:

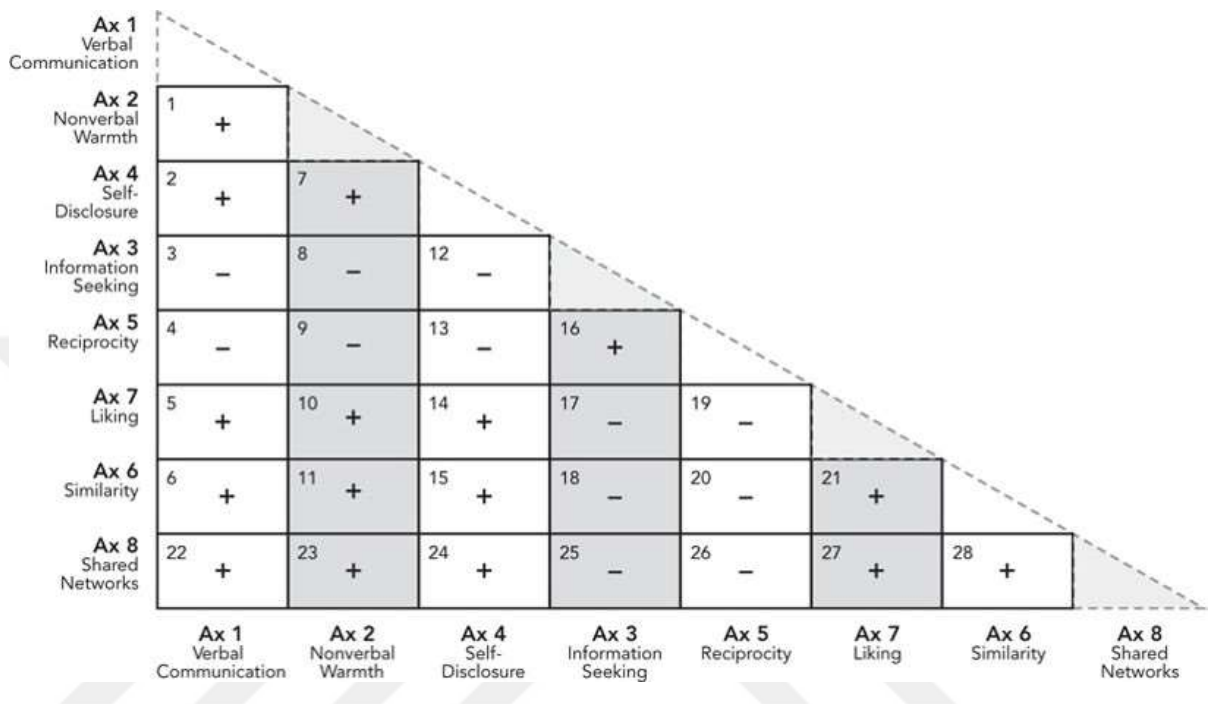
¹³See Berger and Gudykunst (1991); Gudykunst (1995) for all additional axioms and theorems.

“Shared communication networks reduce uncertainty, whereas a lack of shared networks increases uncertainty (Axiom 8)” (p. 37).

“Shared communication networks and the amount of verbal communication are positively related (Theorem 22)”, “Shared communication networks and information seeking are inversely related (Theorem 24)”, “Shared communication networks and similarity are positively related (Theorem 27)” (p. 37).



Figure 1.1: Original and Additional Axioms and Theorems of Uncertainty Reduction Theory



Source: (Griffin 2011, p. 129).

The figure above shows the relationship to principal variables; verbal communication, nonverbal warmth, self-disclosure, information-seeking, reciprocity, liking, similarity, and shared networks. From the relationship between two variables, the axioms of the theory are constructed and from the relationship between two axioms, the theorems are derived.

Although scholars have been widely consistent about the definitions of uncertainty, they have discrepant views about the nature of uncertainty. The founders of the theory (Berger & Calabrese, 1975) regard uncertainty as something to be reduced, whereas some scholars who extend the scope of the theory regard uncertainty as “to be managed: at times reduced, at other times maintained, and at still other times created or increased” (Babrow, Kasch & Ford , 1998, p. 3).

Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) offered that people experience uncertainty in different ways, not necessarily as an uncomfortable tension that requires reduction, the subjective importance of the uncertainty forms the degree of the desire for uncertainty reduction (p. 107). The authors extended the theory's scope to initial intergroup and intercultural interactions and concluded that anxiety is the major factor of communication in such interactions.

Gudykunst and Nishida (1986), furthermore, discussed that the uncertainty reduction processes vary across cultures. They suggested that: "whereas in individualistic cultures like the United States, people tend to reduce uncertainty through an individual direct information gathering process, in collectivist cultures like Japan, people tend to reduce uncertainty through group-based indirect communication" (p. 541).

The theory has been criticized due to its axiomatic character as well. Bradac (2001), for instance, discussed that the axioms and theorems of the theory are not always correct "as in the case of inappropriately high self-disclosure, may well increase an interactant's level of uncertainty about the deviator" (p. 458). Too much information could be confusing, and as a result, could arouse uncertainty.

Furthermore, Kellermann and Reynolds (1990) questioned axiom three and concluded that high uncertainty does not lead to information-seeking behavior, the person's tolerance for uncertainty and his/her desire, which is also related with the importance of uncertainty for the person, to get information is decisive in information-seeking (p. 5). Likewise, Kramer (2004) argued that the theory "fails to account for the rather disparate responses different individuals may have to the same situations" (p. 4).

1.6.2. Predicted Outcome Value

Berger and Calabrese (1975) focused on the influences of uncertainty and uncertainty reduction during initial interactions. The revisions extend the theory include later relational stages. The widening of the scope contains the relationship

between uncertainty and an individual's perceptions of future relational rewards and costs.

Sunnafrank (1986) argued that people are more motivated to maximize the relational outcomes than to reduce uncertainties (p. 9). The author suggested that "uncertainty reduction would not be the primary concern of individuals, but only a means to achieving the more central goal of maximizing outcomes" (p. 4).

Berger and Bradac (1982) defined three conditions that motivate individuals to reduce uncertainty; "high incentive value when one considers the other as likely to provide rewards or costs, deviation when the other's behavior deviates from one's expectation and possibility of future interaction" (p. 32).

Sunnafrank (1986) regarded the incentive value as the crucial aspect of the relationship development. As a result, he concluded that when strangers meet, their primary concern is to predict the outcome value of the future relationship (p. 11). Thus, he suggested that "uncertainty is not the central goal of individuals in beginning relationships, but only an important vehicle for the primary goal of achieving positive relational outcomes" (p. 29). "Individuals should be more attracted to partners and relationships when greater predicted outcome value is expected in the relational future. Increasingly positive outcomes will produce more communicative attempts to intend initial interactions and establish future contact. Increasingly negative predicted outcomes will result in communication attempts to terminate or curtail the conversation and future contact" (p. 10).

The propositions and theorems, which will be discussed in this study are listed as follows:

"During the beginning stages of initial interactions, increases in listeners' nonverbal affiliative expressiveness produce a reduction in their uncertainty levels. When this uncertainty reduction results in positive predicted outcome values (Proposition 1)", further increases in nonverbal affiliative expressiveness occur. Uncertainty reduction associated with negative predicted outcome values produces decreases in

nonverbal affiliative expressiveness (Proposition 2)”, “High levels of uncertainty produce increased information-seeking behavior in the beginning of initial interactions. Decreased uncertainty, when associated with positive outcome value, creates increased information-seeking behavior. When associated with negative predicted outcome values, reduced uncertainty produces decreased information-seeking behavior (Proposition 3)”, “Both similarities and dissimilarities between persons reduce uncertainty. Greater uncertainty reduction will result from similarities when dissimilarities reflect groupings that are not highly familiar to individuals (Proposition 6)”, “When decreased uncertainty is associated with positive predicted outcome values, liking increases. When associated with negative predicted outcome values, liking decreases (Proposition 7)” (Sunnafrank, 1986, pp. 15-26).

“Amount of verbal communication and information-seeking behavior are positively related (Hypothesis 1)”, “Nonverbal affiliative expressiveness and information seeking are positively related (Hypothesis 2)”, “Information seeking-behavior and liking are positively related (Hypothesis 5)”, “Amount of verbal communication and nonverbal affiliative expressiveness are positively related (Hypothesis 10)¹⁴”, “Nonverbal affiliative expressiveness and liking are positively related (Hypothesis 14)¹⁵” (Sunnafrank, 1986, pp. 26-28).

1.6.3. Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory

Gudykunst (1988) stated that “communication is effective to the extent the person interpreting the message attaches a meaning to the message that is relatively similar to what was intended by the person transmitting it”. Griffin (2011) stated that “the theory is designed to explain how effective face-to-face communication is accomplished through managing uncertainty and anxiety” (p. 428).

Gudykunst (1988) defined anxiety as “the emotional equivalent of uncertainty” Anxiety, on the other hand, is mostly affective and refers to the apprehension of

¹⁴ This hypothesis is the same with Theorem 1 of uncertainty reduction theory.

¹⁵ This hypothesis is the same with Theorem 10 of uncertainty reduction theory.

possible negative outcomes, and as “the feeling of being uneasy, tense, worried or apprehensive about what might happen” (pp. 67-81).

As in uncertainty, effective communication results from one's ability to maintain a level of concern between one's maximum and minimum thresholds. A person's maximum limit is the highest amount of concern and still feel comfortable communicating with strangers. Similarly, one's minimum threshold is the lowest level of concern that one might have to care about and interact with strangers (Bruno, 2008, p. 7).

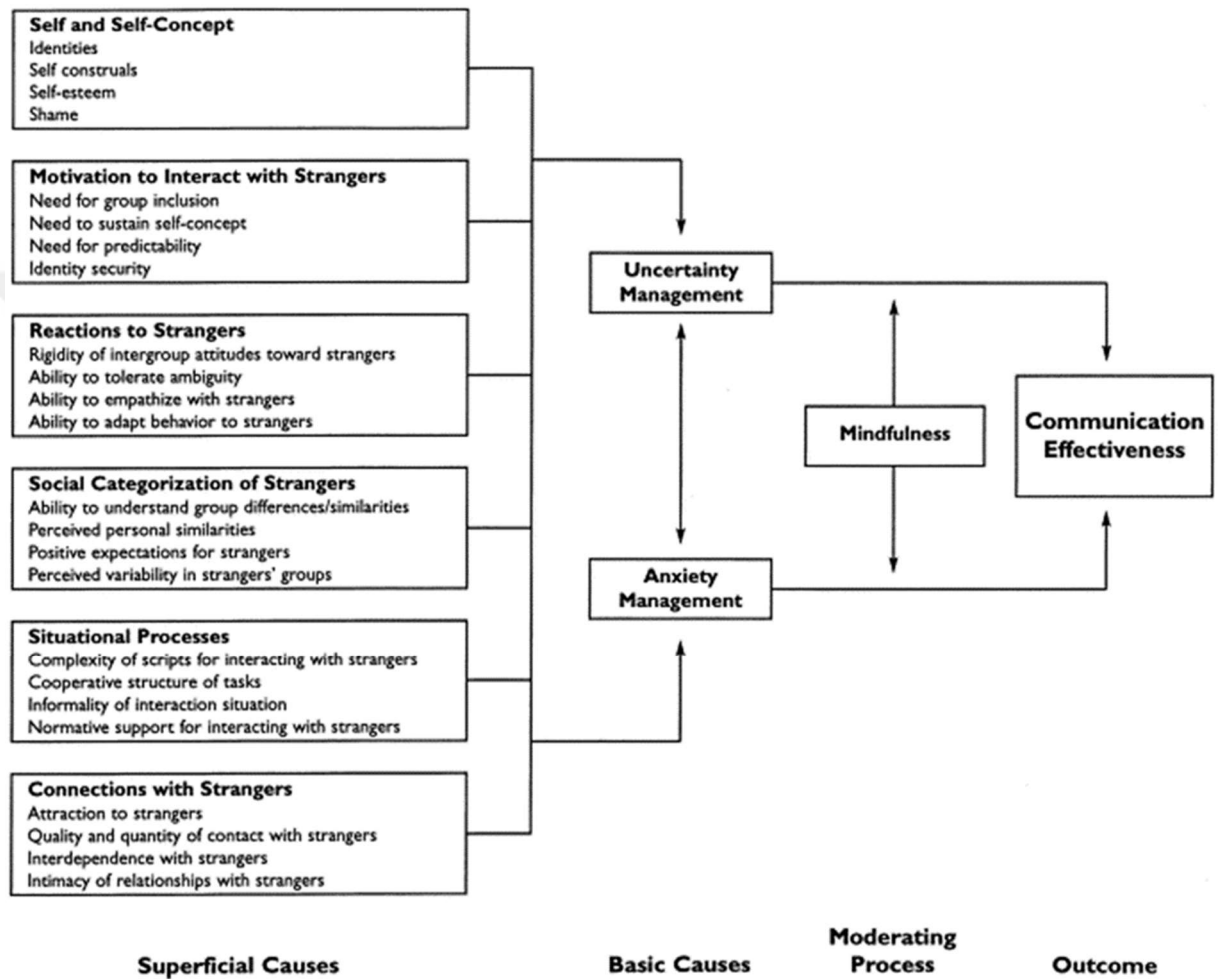
Gudykunst (1988) insisted that in order to effectively communicate with others, the maximum and minimum thresholds must be balanced because “positive communication outcomes may result from successful management of two factors: the uncertainty and the anxiety” (Ni & Wang, 2011, p. 272).

Seven factors affect an individual's uncertainty and anxiety; self-concept, motivation to interact with strangers, reactions to strangers, social categorization of strangers, situational processes, connections with strangers, ethical interactions (Gudykunst, 1995, p. 94). Forty-seven axioms were derived from those factors. The axioms which are regarded as significant for this study are as follows:

“An increase in our tolerance for ambiguity will produce a decrease in our anxiety (Axiom 13)”, “An increase in the ability to tolerate ambiguity when strangers interact will produce an increase in the ability to manage anxiety (Axiom 15)”, “An increase in perceiving that we share superordinate ingroup identities with strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our ability to predict their behavior accurately (Axiom 20)”, “An increase in our positive expectations regarding strangers' behavior will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior (Axiom 24)”, “An increase in the power we perceive that we have over strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and a decrease in the accuracy of our predictions of their behavior (Axiom 26)”, “An increase in the cooperative structure of the goals on which we work with

strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior (Axiom 28)”. (Gudykunst, 1995, p. 67-100).

Figure 1.2: A Schematic Representation of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory



Source: (Gudykunst, 2005: p. 292).

1.7. THE INTERSECTION OF NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION, COLLABORATIVE LIFESTYLES, THE INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION THEORIES AND PUBLIC SPHERE

The study primarily aims at understanding the processes of discussion, decision-making and reconciliation about neighbor collaboration during focus group sessions. So, both verbal and non-verbal communication between people is worth analyzing. Interpersonal communication theories were off the beaten path among communication studies. However, those theories provide many valuable ideas to understand not only face-to-face communication but also online communication.

To understand collaborative lifestyles, we need to look at sharing practices. People don't just share physical products. People with similar tastes and interests share their interests, knowledge, and skills. Collaborative lifestyle is expressed as people's sharing of time, space, talent, and money about their lives (Botsman and Rogers, 2010, p.73). Collaborative lifestyle practices are more active than other systems in terms of face-to-face interviews and socialization.

The online collaborative consumption platforms help people to reduce their uncertainties and anxieties, to build trust, and to predict an outcome value of a possible interaction, and a possible sharing practice, through detailed profiles and reputation scoring as explained by Davidson and Infranca (2016):

“When hosts make surplus space in their home available on Airbnb, potential visitors can see detailed ratings and comments about the space and the host. The same is true for Uber drivers. But, importantly, providers are often given ratings for consumers. Thus, Airbnb guests have their ratings as do car-share passengers and many others.” (p.237)

Taking this into consideration, uncertainty and anxiety reduction may have a positive effect on the process of developing neighbor collaboration without the aid of such professional online platforms.

Moreover, predicting a positive outcome (reward) from a collaboration will be significant for neighbors to participate. That is the reason why this study re-visits “predicted outcome value theory” which contains the correlation between uncertainty and an individual’s realizations of future benefit-costs. Group interactions in focus group sessions are considered as essential factors for the construction of collaboration practices. “Anxiety/uncertainty management theory” is studied since it explains the reduction of anxiety and uncertainty in intergroup interactions.

On the other hand, it is possible to suggest that this case could be studied interpretatively with other perspectives than interpersonal communication theories. Since those theories were designed to understand what factors had an influence on the development of future interactions during the initial interactions, the assumptions of those theories can be helpful to understand the reasons why neighbors want to collaborate on specific subjects and do not want to collaborate on others. As a result, those assumptions were used to analyze focus group meetings to understand the correlation between uncertainty, anxiety reduction, positive predicted outcome value, and the willingness to participate in neighbor collaboration and to develop several collaborative lifestyle practices.

However, the process of establishing cooperation and communication channels takes place on a spatial scale. It is important to examine the space not only from the physical aspect, but also from the point of view of neighborhood and social relations. With this assumption, it is an important issue whether the changing space creates a change in the level of neighborly relations. Examining people's urban experiences and practices of using space is important for understanding social relations.

The city is a socially constructed spatial scale. When looking at the processes of urban participation, it is necessary to rely on urban rights as a conceptual framework. All individuals should benefit from the opportunities and opportunities offered by the city on an equal, balanced basis and in proportion to their needs and

could participate effectively in educational, artistic and political activities. By creating cooperation, people can gain the right to the city in the place they live.

Therefore, it is aimed to investigate the reflections of this right on social relations and interpersonal communication experiences. These experiences also required looking at the public sphere, gender and communication.

The public sphere is where individual differences come together. Public spaces allow people to get to know each other. These fields differentiate the individual from the community and at the same time reveal the similarities and differences of the individual with others. Communication also plays an important role in the struggle for citizenship rights. The rhetoric of communication rights represents a counter-hegemonic response to the commodification of the means of communication and information, and emphasizes a vibrant and pluralistic public sphere, diversity, and respect for minorities and citizens' participation in the creation of a transparent democratic culture. However, instead of a masculine perspective corresponding to top-down determinations in planning, it seems important to develop a feminist perspective that expresses bottom-up planning.

SECTION TWO

URBANIZATION PROCESSES IN TURKEY

In order to grasp the background of the establishment of the case, it is necessary to discuss the processes of urbanization in Istanbul. For this purpose, transformation processes in the context of urbanization politics from the first years of the republic until today will be examined. In particular, the impact of neoliberal policies on housing structure after 1980 will be emphasized. Finally, the spread of gated communities in Turkey and transforming neighborly relations take place.

2.1. THE POLITICS OF URBANIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION PERIODS

This section will be analyzed in periods of urbanization in Turkey. Breaking points in urbanization policies will be taken as reference in the periodization. In this sense, housing cooperatives were accepted as a third sector between the state and the private sector between 1923-1945, which can be expressed as the first stage of housing cooperatives. Low-cost housing for civil servants is characteristic of this period.

In the 1950s, internal migration in Turkey has shown a rapid increase. In parallel with this, rapid and unplanned urbanization has led to an increase in housing demand. During this period, housing cooperatives attracted attention.

In the 1980s, the effects of neoliberal policies on the city were observed intensively. The neoliberal urbanization process that began in Istanbul after the 1980s became more visible and settled in the 2000s.

2.1.1. Development of Urbanization in Turkey Until 1950

In this period, the main political approach and mass housing policies of the framework was single-party regime and statist policies. Independent housing has been established for high-ranking civil servants and military officers, and steps have been taken for the establishment of cooperatives.

Geray (1994) stated that there are three types of cooperatives responsible for building construction: housing construction cooperatives, workplace construction cooperatives and industrial complex building cooperatives (p. 40). Lewin (1981) defined housing cooperatives are not only direct construction, but also the process of housing stock and financial management (p. 14).

Cooperative movement has developed with industrialization and urbanization movement in the 1930s in the early stages of the development process in Turkey (Özkan, 2009, p. 160). In 1927, 24% of the population was living in the cities, while 76% were living in rural areas. This ratio was almost the same until the 1950s (Kunduraci, 2013, p. 70). This situation is regarded as significant because cooperative movement has been seen as a result of industrialization and rapid urbanization resulting from industrialization. The detrimental effects of industrialization, such as migration from rural areas to cities, were not considered seriously in Turkey at that time (Özkan, 2009, p. 160). Hence, there can be stated that the cooperative movement in Turkey, has differentiated itself from its counterparts.

The first housing cooperative was established in 1934 in Ankara, Bahçelievler for high-level executive classes rather than low-income sub-groups as in Western European cooperatives (Tekeli & İlkin, 1984, p. 115).

Although the housing cooperative was an adaptation of Western examples, it was experienced in a completely different context. Therefore, even though cooperative development in Europe has been a movement from below upwards, it began as a movement from top to bottom in Turkey (Özkan, 2009, p.160). From 1934 to 1945, fifty housing cooperatives were formed in Turkey in the same manner (Tekeli, 1996, p. 39, Güney, 2009, p. 171).

Table 2.1: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1923-1945

Period	Housing Cooperative Development in the Period	Main Political Approach and Mass Housing Policies	Legal Regulations on Housing Cooperatives	Institutions Effective in Housing Cooperative Developments and Main Projects	Number of Housing Cooperatives
1923-1945	Initial phase of housing cooperatives. Housing cooperatives were accepted as a third sector between the state and the private sector. Low-cost housing for civil servants in Ankara	Single party regime, Statist policies. Declaration of Ankara as the capital city (1924). Independent lodgings for high ranking officials and military officers	6762-Turkish Trade Law (1926-1935). Laws on agricultural cooperatives	Turkish Cooperatives Association. Bank of Municipalities (Belediyeler Bankası, 1933). First Housing Cooperative: Bahçelievler (Ankara, 1934). Real Estate and Credit Bank (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) Saracoğlu Neighborhood (Ankara, 1944-1945)	1934: 1 1939: 4 1942: 26

Source: (Özkan, 2009 and Işıkkaya, 2016).

2.1.2. The Developments in Housing Policies and Cooperatives in Turkey Between 1950-1980

The urbanization processes in Turkey began in the 1950's when migration from rural areas to big cities started because of industrialization and agricultural mechanization. "Urban population between 1920's and 1945 remained stable, in most cities, below the pre-World War I totals" (Keyder, 1999, p. 145). From the 1950's to 1960's urban population had grown 6% (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 70). From the 1950's, the Social Security Organization (*Tur. Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu*) began to give credits to housing cooperatives. In addition to that, the Real Estate and Credit Bank (*Tur. Yapı ve Kredi Bankası*) continued to provide housing credits (Keleş, 2004, p. 33). According to Özakbaşı (2015), between 1950 and 1964, the

number of housing cooperatives had increased to 455 (p. 429). The Flat Ownership Law [*Tur. Kat Mülkiyeti Yasası*] dated 1965 contributed to the cooperative movement to grow since it gave permission to build apartment blocks in one parcel (Özkan, 2009, p. 172). This situation helped middle-income groups to own apartments.

Table 2.2: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1946-1962

Period	Housing Cooperative Development in the Period	Main Political Approach and Mass Housing Policies	Legal Regulations on Housing Cooperatives	Institutions Effective in Housing Cooperative Developments and Main Projects	Number of Housing Cooperatives
1946-1962	Initial phase of housing cooperatives Rapid and unplanned urbanization process	MultiParty Regime Post -World War II High inflation rates Free trade and capitalist policies New suburbs on the outskirts of the city Emergence of squatters zones (gecekondu)	Squatter Housing Law (5228- 1948) Law on lands belonging to municipalities for housing cooperatives (6188- 1953)	Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1958) Real Estate and Credit Bank Social Security Organization (SSK) Mutual Help Organization of Army Officers (OYAK) Levent I-IV (İstanbul, 1949-1958) Ataköy I-II (İstanbul, 1952-1962)	1946: 50 1960: 1800

Source: (Özkan, 2009, p. 172).

Cooperatives Law [*Tur. Kooperatifler Kanunu*] dated 1969 resulted in a rapid increase in the construction of building blocks in different locations in İstanbul and Ankara (Özakbaş, 2015, p. 423). Flat Ownership Law, Squatter Housing Law, and Land Office Law were also useful in the acceleration of the development of cooperative housing between 1963-1980 (Özkan, 2009, p. 176). Keyder (1999) stated

that “the granting of permits to housing cooperatives, which were generally tipped off by an insider in central or local government that a particular piece of land could be finagled for the cooperative’s use, was a continuation of populist-clientelist mode of the state policy” (p. 151).

Table 2.3: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey between 1963-1980

Period	Housing Cooperative Development in the Period	Main Political Approach and Mass Housing Policies	Legal Regulations on Housing Cooperatives	Institutions Effective in Housing Cooperative Developments and Main Projects	Number of Housing Cooperatives
1963-1980	Municipal Cooperative Housing Cooperatives Law Increase in the number of housing cooperatives Wide-scaled workers housing cooperatives	Five Years of Financial Development Plans First globalization period Industrialization and mass migration from rural to urban areas Uncontrolled urban expansion	Flat Ownership Law (634-1965) Squatter Housing Law (775-1966) Land Office Law (1164-1969) Cooperatives Law (1163-1969)	Real Estate and Credit Bank Social Security Organization Mutual Help Organization of Army Officers Kent-Koop (1979) Municipalities (i.e. İzmit, Ankara)	1964: 2214 1980: 6553

Source: (Özkan, 2009, p. 176).

The relationship between the housing cooperatives and municipalities has been seen as of paramount importance for the development of housing cooperatives (Geray, 1994, p. 41). Hence, the period from 1973 to 1980 can be regarded as important in that sense. Özkan (2009) discussed the relationship as: “After the 1973 elections, social democrats came into the administrations of big cities. Thus, mass housing implications considering social housing policies came into the agenda with social democrats’ run municipalities due to increasing housing need as well as their attempts to develop projects in lines with their ideologies. Some municipalities

pioneered in organizing housing co-operatives. In other words, there were very close relationships between housing co-operatives and local authorities. The Kent Koop, which was established by the Ankara Municipality and thirteen co-operatives on the 17th October 1979, case is a good example of the municipal type of co-operative housing.” (p. 177)

2.1.3. The Politics of Urbanization After 1980 and Neoliberal Transformation Between 1980-2000

In the 1980s marked the urbanization process in Turkey, differentiation or separation is associated with the diversification trend. At one end, the urban poor are trying to survive on the periphery of the city with different methods and relationships than before; the middle classes who occasionally participated in the fight for sharing in the city through cooperatives; and at the other end, the upper classes living behind the high walls protected by private security systems in the land that is closed in the most prestigious areas of the city (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2003, p. 128)

The process of industrialization and settlers lived in Turkey in the years 1950-1980; privatization policy continued for the next twenty years. In this process, the state started to offer capital-oriented support within the framework of neo-liberal economic politics. This has led to an inequality of income between classes. The most significant development behind this gap is the decisions of 24 January 1980. The urbanization process, which has been progressing relatively slowly since the 1950s, gained momentum in the aftermath of these politics and decisions taken after 1980. The rapid urbanization process has been surrounded by problems such as unemployment, poverty and lack of infrastructure, with the inability of rural migrants to participate in the urban labor force (Şengül, 2002).

For the first time in Turkey, in the first half of the 1980s, the rural and urban population was approximately equal (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 70). The rapid urbanization in the 1980s caused housing problems to the low-income groups and workers who migrated from rural areas and built their houses in one night (squatters

house). As a result, the government assured its support for cooperative movements in the 1982 constitution, which resulted in a sharp increase in the number of housing cooperatives and associations (Güney, 2009, p. 172).

In 1984, Mass Housing Administration [*Tur.* Toplu Konut İdaresi/TOKİ] was established (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 70). It gave long term and low-interest loans for the housing cooperatives in the first years after its establishment which caused housing cooperatives movement to experience its “golden years” in Turkey, “both the number of cooperatives and construction permits issued for co-operative houses reached their peaks” (Özkan, 2009, p. 186).

Since the mid-1980s, Istanbul has undergone a major urban restructuring process as a result of a series of transformations that have been activated and legitimized through legal changes embedded in the neoliberal language. The planning and implementation of mega projects, major real estate investments, and the dominance of the finance and services sector within the urban economy are some of these changes. The neoliberal urbanization process that began in Istanbul after the 1980s, became more visible deepened and settled in the 2000s (Candan & Kolluoğlu 2008: p. 12).

Table 2.4: Developments in Housing Cooperatives in Turkey after 1980

Period	Housing Cooperative Development in the Period	Main Political Approach and Mass Housing Policies	Legal Regulations on Housing Cooperatives	Institutions Effective in Housing Cooperative Developments and Main Projects	Number of Housing Cooperatives
After 1980	Golden Period Introduction of Mass Housing Law Financial support to housing cooperatives	Liberalism Integration to World Economy Free Trade Policies Second Globalization Capitalist Urbanization Urban poverty	First and Second Mass Housing Law (1981 & 1984) Mass housing as a commercial concept Gated communities as new housing concepts	Housing Development Administration and Housing Development Fund (TOKİ, 1984) Türk Konut (1985) KIPTAS (1987) Türk Kent (1988)	2000: 35538

Source: (Özkan, 2009, p. 186).

2.1.4. Neoliberal Urban Transformation Through Mass Housing Administration After 2000

In Turkey, after 1980, based on a concentration of investments in real estate and construction activity has experienced two growth periods. Both the growth period was also the period after 1980 took place in Turkey have been subjected to reforms aimed at the growth of neoliberal capitalism. The first period began in the 1980s as the first stage of neoliberal transformation and integration, and the second period began after the process of structural adjustment, which was outlined after the 2001 crisis (Balaban, 2011, p. 25).

With the 2000s, the largest city in Turkey's major intervention is seen that escaped the structure given in the urban space reproduction. With these interventions, policies produced in line with the demands and needs estimations for different segments of society have begun to be abandoned. Instead, rent-oriented urban projects for the reproduction of capital and the processes of urban expansion and

transformation required by these projects were introduced. The rhetoric of neoliberal urbanization, such as competing cities, attracting investment in cities, brand cities, urban marketing and gentrification, has been brought to the forefront, and the role and regulatory mechanisms of the capitalist state have been redefined in order to implement these discourses (Uğurlu, 2013, p. 7).

Mass Housing Administration [TOKİ] was also the focus of a significant portion of the regulations. Contrary to the 1980s, TOKİ has ceased to be an institution that provides financial support to housing projects and producers and has become one of the most important actors in the construction sector (Balaban, 2011: 24). The AKP government saw construction-based accumulation as the engine of development, and the construction and real estate sector became an important instrument of capital accumulation. Many investors started to invest in construction with the support of municipalities and the government. Many new neighborhoods have been established and some slums have been demolished by urban transformation and new complexes have started to emerge (Gürbüz, 2013).

However, beginning from the 2000s, according to Işıkkaya (2016), share of housing co-operatives began to diminish because of the increase in real interest rates, the increase in the dominance of speculative house building, and the increase in building construction of Mass Housing Administration [TOKİ] which is a policy of Justice and Development Party [AKP] government (p. 320). Since 2002, the Justice and Development Party [AKP] government began to consider mass housing administration as a critical tool for urban transformation projects.

To conclude, as was stated previously, mass housing has developed differently and in a different context in Turkey, although it has adopted Western models that were established for low-income groups in the process of industrialization and urbanization. In Turkey, first housing cooperatives were established for bureaucrats. From then on, housing has emerged, on the one hand, as one of the policy tools for the governments used for stimulating the economy, on the other hand, it was seen as a policy for the transformation of the urban space (Işıkkaya,

2016, p. 321). After years of developments in the housing cooperatives, the decline in their number can be explained by AKP government policies. It can be suggested that low-income housing policies are only a small part of larger urban regeneration projects which predominantly composed of gated communities for middle and high-income groups.

2.2. TRANSFORMATION FROM MASS HOUSING TO GATED COMMUNITY

Gated community in Turkey since the 1980s for emerging classes in society has emerged as a product of the efforts to create a new living environment. These buildings were designed to meet the high-quality living demands of the high-income class, which was enriched in Istanbul in the 1980s due to rapid economic growth and consumed a lot. The gated community is built with high standards of social equipment and a high-quality living environment. The most prominent feature of these complex is the 24-hour controlled entrance and exit and their ability to be monitored with a closed-circuit camera system. Thus, secure settlements offering shared and private and customized facilities, protected by walls or fenced security personnel, where the access to public access is restricted or controlled or restricted, have emerged as a new form of urbanization in which public spaces are privatized. These settlements symbolize the disintegration in big cities, while they have made an impact that accelerates social division (Berköz, 2012, p. 174). The gated community offers an elitist lifestyle with a safe, privacy protection; they are also subject to great criticism in the context of the privatization of public spaces in cities. As a matter of fact, these urban spaces are privatized as living clubs for the benefit of the members rather than creating public open spaces.

The emergence of gated communities in Turkey differs from the process in developed western countries. Domestic market penetration of international companies abandoned the substitution of imports of Turkey's economy, the rise of large capital, which wants to transform large cities into global cities, cities in new middle- or upper-middle classes emerge and turn into a lease supply of urban land,

in recent years, considered among the major reasons for the rapid increase in the number of gated community in Turkey (Perouse, 2011).

After 1980, large capital groups and public institutions entered into mass housing production. New urban elite who want to experience a lifestyle according to their social levels and search for luxury residences found themselves living in gated communities. At first, they were built in empty areas in the city, and then, they were spread out to suburban areas. So, the urban elites enhanced the social distance between themselves and the rest with a physical distance. They have estranged themselves from the crowd (Bali, 2002, pp. 111-112).

The first gated community in Turkey was the resorts built on the shores of Marmara and the Black Sea of Istanbul. Later, the complex of high-ranking army members closed housing areas on the banks of the Bosphorus like Sarıyer and Beşiktaş and the houses produced by the housing cooperatives starting in the 1930's were the first examples of closed/gated community in Istanbul. These houses, which were used temporarily for the weekend or summer holiday, were transformed into permanent residences after the development of the transportation network (Pérouse and Danış, 2005, p. 94).

Understanding the feeling that aroused from the rapid and grand urbanization processes in İstanbul is significant to understand people's relations to the city. Understanding a neighborhood that has undergone this kind of an urbanization and re-construction process is a more specific step in this endeavor, as Çavdar (2013) investigated the newly established gated communities in Başakşehir. According to Çavdar (2013) the rise of the Islamist movement, especially in the 1990's had been related to the squatter [*Tur. Gecekondu*] areas and urban poverty (p. 62). She suggested that:

“First, the new pious middle class benefitted from and stimulated this transformation process by both transforming their one-flat squatters [*Tur. Gecekondu*] to multi-flat apartments and/or investing in the new housing projects like Başakşehir.” (p. 63).

It has begun as a policy to move squatter places into the edges of the city in mostly Islamic forms of gated communities. However, the impact of these gated communities was tremendous in the society. According to Çavdar (2013) gated communities were preferred by their inhabitants because of a number of criteria: planned environment, morality (similar moral values with neighbors), security (avoiding poverty and squatters), privacy and investment (p. 90). Through a constant reminding of earthquake danger and constructing a perception of safety from the disaster in the newly built apartment blocks, the gated communities began to be preferred more and more as a lifestyle in the central settlements of the city.

Çengelköy, Nato Yolu Street, has been undergone an important regeneration process starting with the squatters and spreading through individual apartment blocks. The street has turned into one of the grand crane runways in İstanbul. The location of the street, as in the middle of the first and second Bosphorus bridges, became a marketing strategy for establishing gated communities. More importantly, those gated communities promoted moral values as a marketing strategy. For instance, along the street, one can see the posters of Nazenin Estates (Tur. Nazenin Konakları), which promotes a lifestyle with its separate social facilities for men and women [Tur. Haremlik-Selamlık]. Those kinds of gated communities have the potential of changing the character of the neighborhood.

Regeneration policies cover not only squatters and individual apartments, but also relatively older cooperative building complexes such as Ata 2 Houses whose residents demand to take advantage of these regeneration policies (most probably to sell their apartments more expensively). And, this is besides one of the reasons of the conflict with the board of management because the inhabitants believe that if they can have their private ownership license, it will take the attention of the contractors who may want to regenerate Ata 2 Houses as well .

2.3. NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONS IN TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES

The neighborhood relationship is a concept related to the social dimension rather than spatial boundaries. The neighborhood is not just an administrative category. It also refers to the life of a community with a common culture. Neighborhood, which is accepted as the most potent social bond after family ties, includes face-to-face relationships arising from both spatial and social proximity. Although it is mainly based on the spatial closeness of sharing the same housing environment, the neighborhood expresses a long-established and continuous social phenomenon as well as a physical proximity. It is a kind of social relationship that can last in case of moving out of the neighborhood (Güven & Kar, 2013: 27).

Post-1980 neoliberal policies led to income injustice. This process, which has been going on for the last 40 years, has also caused fragmentation in the space. The gated community, one of the new forms of housing production, has become a spatial expression of fragmented society. Gated communities do not form a neighboring unit within themselves. In addition, they separate the neighboring units in the space with their exclusionary structures (Özgür, 2006: p.79).

This kind of structuring reveals that the definition and function of neighborhood in the classical sense has changed. The choice of a sterile life in the security complex tended to see the neighbor as a threat to the contrary of a perception of collaboration.

The first examples of these artificial neighborhood relations are seen in the suburbs in the 20th century. However, since the suburbs established this social environment in a limited context, they started to be seen as areas that support social isolation and reduce the sense of being a society. They were criticized on the grounds that they established physical and socially isolated settlements from the city center, as well as discriminating according to race, religion, social class, and income level. Gated communities have been trying to create a world of their own with an exclusionary attitude towards the city within the confined spaces. In this direction, the complex areas are surrounded by fences or walls, surrounded by high-level security

measures, are presented as self-sufficient settlements with large social facilities, and it is seen that they aim to create an evolved neighborhood (Altun, 2010, p.230-231). Özgür (2006), in his comparison between the shanty neighborhoods and the closed housing estates in the Çekmeköy district of Istanbul, revealed that although they suggested a more suitable environment for social relations with their shared areas, the neighborhood relations were much lower than the shanty neighborhoods. In this context, these complexes are not real neighborhood units.



SECTION THREE

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study designed according to the qualitative method, firstly, the methodological framework will be discussed. The data collection tools used in the research will include basic information about participatory observation, focus group and case study.

3.1. RESEARCH METHOD

The research will be qualitative research aiming at understanding people's viewpoints and tendencies towards "neighbor collaboration". According to Mackellar (2013) qualitative researchers operate under six assumptions which are compatible with the purposes of the study: the focus of the research is the process rather than the results; research has an interest in making sense of what is happening in people's lives and environments; the researcher is the primary tool for data collection and analysis; research includes fieldwork; research is descriptive, seeking for meaning or understanding; and research inductive, building concepts, produces theory and abstractions from details (p. 57).

Participant observation as a methodology and focus groups as a data collection method are regarded to be beneficial in this research since they emphasize the significance of interaction between people for data collection and analysis. Participant observation as a methodology is appropriate for the purposes of this study since "it is exceptional for studying processes, relationships among people and events, the organization of people and events, continuities over time, and patterns, as well as the immediate socio-cultural contexts in which human existence unfolds" (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 12). And, focus group as method is appropriate for this study since it gives the opportunity to analyze the verbal and non-verbal conversation between the group members, the content of what participants express, discuss and negotiate, the influence of the social interaction and the dynamics of the group interaction (Halkier, 2010, p. 71). In this study, there is no clear

distinction between interview data and observational data. Focus groups were not only served as a way to make sense of the verbal reactions of the group members to the subject, but also a way to understand how they react non-verbally to an idea or a group member.

3.1.1 Participant Observation

Observation is a process of systematically observing people, objects and events within the scope of the subject to be examined and diagnosing and making notes. This data collection method is used to obtain more abundant data, especially through the interpretation of the behavior of individuals in the natural environment (Mulhall, 2003, pp. 306-307). “Participant observation is a part of the qualitative research paradigm, where the researcher serves as the primary instrument for observing and collecting data” (Mackellar, 2013, p. 57). It is accepted as both a data collection and a data analysis tool. It has been regarded as a strategic method through which the participant observant can collect any data; narratives or numbers (Bernard, 2006, p. 343).

Malinowski (1961) has been given credit for developing the participant observation method with his emphasis on everyday interactions and observations such as “to take personal interest in the gossip, and the developments of the village occurrences” (p. 7). DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) suggested that it is a method in which “a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (p. 1).

Robson (1993), moreover, offered that “the social world involves subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations. The task of interpreting this can only be achieved through participation within those involved” (p. 195). Taking this statement into account, studying this research through participant observation seems to be relevant through “observing the activities of people, physical characteristics of the social situation and what it feels

like to take part in it” (Spradley, 1980, p. 33) to understand the complexities in the social life of the building complex and the neighborhood.

The participant observation process requires that the researcher participate in a social environment and make descriptive observations about himself, others and the environment (Mackellar, 2013, p.57). The researcher has to decide on the extent of participation. Gold (1958) identified four roles that a participant observer can adapt; the complete participant, the observer-as-participant, the participant-as-observer, and the complete observer (p. 217).

The complete participant is a member of the group being studied. The researcher who holds this role conceals his/her researcher identity from the group to prevent artificial occurrences (Kawulich, 2005), which raises ethical questions. Participant-as-observer (active participation) has actively participated in the activities of the group that is being studied. The researcher reveals her/his identity in the participant-as-observer role. Finally, the complete observer neither participates nor interacts with informants in the course of the study (Gold, 1958, p. 217). Also, it seems quite pretentious to suggest that participant observation is the most sophisticated research design, it is one of the research designs that necessitates the most ethical attention. First and foremost, the researcher has to give priority for the (physical, social, psychological) welfare of the group under study and has to guarantee the welfare of the group through the processes of her/his involvement and detachment (Spradley, 1980, p. 21). The researcher should communicate research objectives to the informants; “the fact that the observer is an observer should be made clear to the group from the beginning” (Robson, 1993, p. 197). Besides, the researcher should honor the informants’ privacy (Spradley, 1980, p. 21).

In this study, the scope of the research is not complex with respect to damage social, physical and/or psychological welfare of the group. There may be some changes in the neighbor relations or the organization of events in the complex, but those are not like creating any damage. To suggest that all neighbors will be pleasant in any type of change in the complex because of this study would be misleading. Some

people will remain indifferent to the situation, and some maybe will never hear about the study or neighbor collaboration. And, yet some neighbors can regard processes caused by this research as unpleasant. However, this research aims at providing a chance for neighbors to discuss and organize a social life in the complex that their hearts desire without causing any difficulties for any other neighbors. Moreover, I am sensitive about my involvement and detachment in the group as a researcher. In this respect, it is significant to remember that I have been living in the complex for almost four years. As a result, my involvement would not cause any more impact than any other neighbor. I am not different from any other neighbors who participated in the study, apart from the fact that I am the researcher. Furthermore, I introduced my research objectives broadly to the neighbors. And, I am not the critical element in neighbor collaboration; therefore, I can suggest that my detachment would not cause any damage to the group

3.1.2. Focus Group

A focus group is a research technique that collects data through group interaction. Morgan (1997) identified focus groups as group interviews in which the moderator guides a small group to discuss specific topics (p. 1). Descriptions of a focus group vary but “usually include a semi-structured session, an informal setting, moderation, and the use of general guideline questions and/or other stimuli such as photos” (Carey & Asbury, 2012, p. 15).

Vaughn, Schumm and Sinagub (1996) suggested two core characteristics of focus groups: “a qualified moderator who guides conversation among the participants to be focused on the subject and the goal of eliciting participants’ feelings, attitudes and perceptions about the topic” (p. 30). Morgan (1997) argued that “if the moderator cannot keep the group focused, it is not regarded as a focus group” (p. 33). Puchta and Potter (2004) stated that “focus group discussion is a task-oriented activity; both moderator and participants orient to the task of producing opinions” (p. 17). On the other hand, it does not involve explicit rules.

Nevertheless, producing informality, asking elaborate questions, and producing varied opinions are significant goals to be achieved in focus groups. Myers (1998) argued that focus groups that are designed for social science research are “complex collaborative projects operating under the shared assumption that the purpose of the discussion is to display opinions to the moderator” (p. 85). Moderator tries to induce all participants to express their opinions with minimum direction (Yin, 2011, p. 136).

“A principal advantage of focus groups is that they yield a large amount of information over a relatively short period” (Mack et al., 2005, p. 51). Each focus group is composed of five to eight participants, and each session took one to two hours. Putting people at ease and creating a relaxed atmosphere is significant. The physical setting is crucial in achieving that goal. Hence, living room settings are offered as the physical space that the focus group practice will be experienced (Puchta & Potter, 2004, p. 46).

Leavy (2014) displayed that two key ideas have become central to the legacy of using focus groups within qualitative research:

(a) Capturing people’s responses in real-time and space in the context of face-to-face interactions and (b) Strategically generating interview prompts in situ based on important themes that are produced in these face-to-face interactions (p. 323).

“Participant interaction is said to be the hallmark of the focus group method” (Belzile & Öberg, 2012, p. 459). Wilkinson (1998) expressed the significance of participant and researcher interaction and interaction among participants as she identified central features of focus group research; “providing access to participants’ own language, concepts and concerns, encouraging the production of more fully articulated accounts, and offering an opportunity to observe the process of collective sense-making in action” (p. 181).

On the one hand, as Morgan (1997) stated that “what the participants in the group say during their discussions are the essential data in focus groups” (p. 8).

Understanding and interpreting non-verbal communication can be tricky. Henceforth, it is expected from the researcher to be careful to make conclusions about her/his observations of participants' body language. Patton (2002) suggested to use body language as a signal and ask for their meanings to the participants (p. 160).

Furthermore, "the methodological discussions about focus group data have slowly begun to include more about the importance of analyzing not just the content of what participants express, discuss and negotiate, but also the analytical consequences of the social form of the focus group data: Group interaction" (Halkier, 2010, p. 71). In this kind of interaction, group members are affected by other members' opinions and emotional intensity.

Patton (2002) expressed the importance of paying attention to the following issues in the interview process: one of the participants can change their minds, show emotional intensity, start to lose interest and change in group energy can be seen (p. 145).

This research will use focus groups before participant observation to discuss neighbor collaboration. All processes of brainstorming, verbal and nonverbal communication between the participants, and producing ideas about the topic at the end of the session will be regarded as significant in the data analysis process. It is hypothesized that focus groups can serve as a means to reduce uncertainty and anxiety between the neighbors as well. Uncertainty reduction, anxiety/uncertainty management and predicting outcome value may result in developing many collaborative practices among the neighbors. For this reason, focus groups are considered as the first step in this research.

3.1.3. Case Study Research

The definition of a case study in the *Dictionary of Sociology* is as follows:

“The detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena, a case study cannot provide reliable information about the broader class, but it may be useful in the preliminary stages of an investigation since it provides hypotheses, which may be tested systematically with a larger number of cases.” (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1984, p. 34)

This definition, however, is oversimplified and a piece of misleading information about the case study. Flyvbjerg (2013) listed five misunderstandings about the nature of the case study:

(1) General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (contextual) knowledge; (2) it cannot be generalized on the basis of an individual event; therefore, case studies cannot contribute to scientific development; (3) case studies are most useful in constructing hypotheses; that is, it is more appropriate for the first stage of a total research process. (4) A case study involves a tendency to confirm the biased thinking of the researcher, (5) It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories based on specific case studies (p. 221).

As opposed to those misunderstandings, the case study research is best to catch the complexity of a single case. Stake (2005) argued against the afore-mentioned misunderstandings about the case study and highlighted that “it is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied” (p. 443). He continued as:

“If case study research is more humane or in some ways transcendent, it is because the researchers are so, not because of the methods. By whatever methods, we choose to study the case. We could study it analytically or holistically, entirely by repeated

measures or hermeneutically, organically or culturally, and by mixed methods--but we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the case.” (p. 443)

As Morgan and Smircich (1980) stated that the validity of a research method derives from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored, case study research is the best suitable method when the aim is to understand complex real-life processes or activities in-depth. In the light of the statement as mentioned above, the reasons why this is a case-study will be apparent, that is to say, to study complex real-life processes in Ata 2 Houses.



SECTION FOUR

DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

In this section, the data obtained from the focus group interviews will be recorded and classified. Details of the process of focus groups and meetings with the Management of the Complex and Activities Commission will be provided. Finally, neighbor collaboration practices and participant observation experience will take place.

4.1. CONDUCTING FOCUS GROUPS AND DATA ANALYSIS CRITERIA

In this research, I adopted the focus group method since it is designed to understand whether an increase in interpersonal interaction among neighbors can lead to collaborative actions in the neighborhood. Since social media allows random selection, I used the advantages of it to sustain the diversity of focus groups while conducting the research. I posted on different Facebook groups, namely, “Ata 2 Solidarity Group”, “Ata 2 Complex” and “Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2”, to invite my neighbors to join focus group meetings. I declared my intent to meet my neighbors in small groups from five to eight people in my apartment to discuss social relations between the neighbors. Also, I informed the participants that the meetings would be held for a scientific purpose. From January 28th to February 12th, the announcements were posted.

I recorded (audiotaped) focus group sessions. Besides, I took notes about how people were talking (e.g., softly, loudly, hesitantly, firmly, joking, etc.) and non-verbal behavior of participants (e.g., gestures, pauses, etc.). Moreover, I focused on analyzing the verbal and nonverbal communication among the participants with the axioms, theorems and propositions of uncertainty reduction theory, anxiety/uncertainty management theory and predicted outcome value theory, which were discussed previously. Furthermore, I analyzed how people interact with each other in terms of whether group members have an impact on an individual’s views and whether they became motivated/demotivated for an idea. Due to the complexity

of interactions in focus group sessions, I tried to analyze thematic patterns in participants' responses. I needed to create categories to understand those patterns.

The following themes were analyzed: different kinds of neighbor collaborations; transportation, social events, material sharing; neighbor collaboration with complex management, neighbors' categorizations of "us" vs "them", neighbor collaboration in the context of gender and right to the city.

I analyzed the frequency of themes (how often concepts were mentioned), the prevalence of themes (how many different people mentioned the concept), the intensity of themes (how much a concept was stated intensively), internal consistency (how consistent they remained in individuals' views), and), and the perception of importance (did participants cite this as an important concept). Although I believe that every single viewpoint is significant no matter it is mentioned by some or just one person, or it is mentioned intensely or not, or the viewpoint has changed as a result of group discussion, I believe those categories can help understand the focus group data in greater depth.

In addition to that, analyzing focus group data concerning the axioms, propositions and theorems of interpersonal communication theories could be limiting at times. Because, although some of the verbal and non-verbal conversations can be interpreted as appropriate to the propositions of the mentioned theories, they can also be interpreted as a result of courtesy or another form of determined behaviors in initial encounters with strangers. I tried to interpret the harmony of focus group data with the theories, but it should be kept in mind that my interpretations are not the sole truth about the data of group communication. It can only be interpreted as a fragment of truth in those encounters.

The focus group sessions began with the request from my neighbors to sign informed consent forms after explaining the scientific purpose of the gathering. Then, the group conversation started with an encouragement to participants to introduce themselves. The sessions generally started with a broad question of the things/situations participants most like and unlike about living in the complex and

if they had any idea of a better example. I did not try to control the whole conversation; I instead tried not to lose focus. Consequently, I solely interrupted when the subject has changed into a completely unrelated topic. I used an ending question that asks each participant to identify the most important concept of the discussion.

In the focus group sessions, I generally sensed that my neighbors were nervous about why I invited them into my apartment without having a clue about their personalities. Besides, they did not have enough information about me at first. I think they were also worried about their neighbors whom they have not met before. It seemed to me that the basic information about the scientific purpose of the meeting and the introduction of the participants helped the group to feel relaxed. In this way, they were able to gather information about all participants in the meeting, including me, which undoubtedly helped them to reduce their uncertainties and anxieties.

It can be suggested that this situation is a consequence of the fact that “an increase in our ability to gather appropriate information about strangers will produce an increase in our ability to accurately predict their behavior” (axiom 38 of anxiety/uncertainty management theory, AUM). On the other hand, they continued to seek further information about the meeting after the scientific purpose was explained. This could also be seen as they were able to predict an outcome value of the occasion. I regarded this as a positive outcome value according to “proposition 3 of the predicted outcome value theory”: decreased uncertainty is associated with an increase in information search behavior when associated with a positive outcome; when it is associated with negative predicted result values, it causes information search behavior to decrease.

In addition, the non-verbal warmth between the group members was increased after the general personal information was shared by each participant. It is per “decreases in uncertainty level will cause increases in non-verbal affiliative expressiveness” (axiom 2 of uncertainty reduction theory, URT). It is also in harmony with the

proposition that “amount of verbal communication and affiliative expressiveness are positively related” (theorem 1 of URT). In addition to that, the amount of verbal communication and affiliative expressiveness are also positively related to liking and similarity (theorem 6 and theorem 7 of URT). It can be suggested that “when decreased uncertainty is associated with positive predicted outcome values, liking increases” (proposition 7 of POV).

4.1.1. First Session

On February 10th, the first focus group composed of five neighbors¹⁶, three women and two men, was gathered. After the initial description of group members, I tried to encourage the group to talk about how the inhabitants can improve the social life and interactions among their neighbors.

First, D.S. started talking (with an enthusiastic tone) and said:

I have some ideas to improve our social life, but first, I would like to mention that I have been collecting signatures from the neighbors to force the management to offer us a ring service in the complex. Please, sign it.

This was the first occasion of willingness to share a product-service system. In respect to the intensity of themes, she explained how she collected signatures with a great passion. I did not ask how she regards the issue since she explained she had been concerned with it for a long time. Consequently, I assumed that this was a hugely significant concern for her. D.S. continued:

¹⁶D.S. is a thirty-one-year-old married woman living in the building complex for four years as a tenant. She has been working for an association for kids with disabilities. T.G. is a thirty-nine-year-old man living in the building complex for three years. He is a tenant as well, and he lives with his girlfriend. He has been working as an independent digital marketer. N.T. is a forty-four-year-old married woman living in the building complex for twenty-one years as a house owner. She has been a housewife for twenty-four years. She has been living with her husband and children. Z.B. is a sixty-four-year-old married man living in the building complex for twenty-two years as a house owner. He is a retired press editor.

I have been working with visually handicapped kids for four years. I realized that they need to socialize with their peers who are not disabled. It is significant for them to feel accepted by society. I think if we can reach our neighbors' kids with disabilities and arrange a playing group consisted of them and other kids in the neighborhood, it would be so helpful for these kids to feel accepted by society.

T. (excitedly said): This is so sensitive. Yes, let us find and help our neighbors in need.

T.G. (sighed): This is a challenging goal. (...) I mean I do not want to be regarded as insensitive to disabled kids, but how we will find them, how we will convince the parents to arrange a playing group, where will the group gather, who will be responsible for those kids' safety when they are playing, all these questions are needed to be considered seriously.

The participants did not solely present their ideas on how we can make adjustments to improve our social lives in the complex, but they discussed the ideas proposed in detail to be sure that everyone will benefit from the idea without causing any harm. This attitude was valuable for this study.

T. (nodded): I agree with him. But, I also like the idea of reaching our neighbors who need help. For example, if we can get in touch with the disabled neighbors, I can donate my father's bed (designed for the people with disabilities) who passed away a few months ago.

This could be considered as an example of a group member's impact on an individual's view. First, N.T. supported D.S.'s idea of spending time with neighbors, and after listening to T.G.'s comments, she changed her mind into sharing material assets with neighbors in need because it is easier and it does not necessitate continuity. This is also the first mentioning of the donation of a material asset. Also, both N.T.'s tone and nonverbal expressions disclosed that it is significant for her (intensity of the theme).

S. (sympathetic smile): That is a perfect idea. I would love to search for a person in such a need.

Due to their similarities on the subject, D.S. and N.T. were more enthusiastic to cooperate to reach our neighbors with disabilities. As uncertainty reduction theory suggested, “similarities between persons reduce uncertainty” (axiom 6 of URT), D.S. and N.T. were seemed to reduce their uncertainties about one another somewhat faster compared to other participants. I came to this conclusion for participants’ showing nonverbal affiliative expressiveness to one another while the rest of the group was talking about how troublesome the idea is. This can be considered as they liked each other because of their similarities. The situation can be interpreted as in harmony with theorem 10, 11 and 21 of URT: “nonverbal affiliative expressiveness and liking are positively related” (theorem 10), “nonverbal affiliative expressiveness and similarity are positively related” (theorem 11), hence “liking and similarity are positively related” (theorem 21).

In addition to that, this situation can be regarded as an example of the proposition that “during the beginning stages of initial interactions, increases in listeners’ nonverbal affiliative expressiveness produce reduction in their uncertainty levels when uncertainty reduction results in positive predicted outcome values, further increases in nonverbal affiliative expressiveness occur” (position 2 of POV). It can be argued as an instance of “when decreased uncertainty is associated with positive predicted outcome values, liking increases” (proposition 7 of POV).

Z.B.: I like the idea because, as you know, one’s garbage is the other’s treasure. Unfortunately, the people living around my block, nevertheless, seem to forget this. They throw away their stuff they no longer use, such as their couches in the street. This creates visual pollution for almost two weeks until the employees of the municipality take the furniture. By the time they arrived, though, the furniture had become further exhausted. So, maybe we can regard the idea in a broader perspective.

The group started to discuss the idea of sharing goods with neighbors in need instead of throwing them away. (Second mentioning of donation of material things).

D.S.: Yes, if we can donate our stuff to one another, it would be helpful. For example, I need a guitar for one of my students, but I'm not sure if she likes to play or not. If I can borrow it from a neighbor for a while, it would be useful until I figure out if she likes or not. (First mentioning of neighbor-to-neighbor lending and borrowing).

T.G. (dissatisfied): Hmm ... If we lend our stuff, how can we trust people do not break them, or damage them. You cannot just give your stuff to a stranger.

He was expecting a negative outcome from such an interaction.

The group began to discuss how irresponsible people can be to the borrowed materials.

Z.B. (argued): How about creating a platform for lending and borrowing? We can take a very small amount of money to be a member of the platform, and this money can be used as a guarantee for the broken goods.

T.G. (shook his head): I do not know, I think it is too complicated. Maybe if there is such a platform, I can be involved. But, mmm, you know there are so many risks. You cannot control whether the borrower damaged the good or the owner after he takes it back. I mean, it cannot be done without professional help.

These can be regarded as concerns for behavioral uncertainty, whereas in most of the focus group sessions, I have discussed the cognitive uncertainty of the participants. Redmond (2015) explained the difference between cognitive and behavioral uncertainty:

“Cognitive uncertainty is the uncertainty in knowing what another person has thought or is thinking or uncertainty about our thoughts. Behavioral uncertainty is

the uncertainty associated with being able to predict or explain a person's behavior, or in knowing what behaviors are expected of us or predicting our actions.” (p. 6)

Since the neighbors had not have experienced any lending and borrowing practices, they had behavioral uncertainties, which are generally defined as societal norms in certain situations. That is the reason why to reduce behavioral uncertainties through verbal and non-verbal communication is not possible (or have not been studied so far).

D.S.: We can ask for help from the management. We can set up a Facebook group linked with their Facebook page, which has almost 1.500 members. If anything goes wrong, the management announces it on its page. I guess this can create social pressure, so the neighbors forced to be honest about the situation of their goods.

I think this statement is significant, especially because it was proposed by a woman. Creating a system for social pressure to protect the material things to be damaged, I think it is not as much as different from creating social pressure to control women's behaviors. And, it should be discussed what we mean from the damage. A little scratch can unjustly be count as a damage. Also, giving the management the power of announcing and condemning the neighbors who did the damage would be not only unethical but also domineering. However, it should be noted that participants seemed willing to cooperate with the management. Over and above, they seemed to regard the management as authority.

The group remained silent. So, I asked there is anybody who thinks this is a good idea. I did not share my opinions about this idea with the group because I do not want to manipulate the conversation. I need to hear people's original and genuine opinions (as long as possible). And, there were no counter-arguments to giving the management such an authority over neighbors' behaviors.

T.G. (hesitantly said): There is a possibility of making it work, but I am still not sure.

Z.B. (nodded): The idea is excellent, but we don't know if our neighbors want to lend or borrow materials from one another. And, we don't know if the management will help with the issue because they cannot even work appropriately about their responsibilities.

As Z.B. took attention to the ill-management practices, the subject has changed into incompetency of the management. Participants began to discuss their problems with the management. This is the first "us" vs. "them" situation of the focus group sessions. Neighbors tended to call themselves as "us" and call the officials of the management as "them". In this categorization, there is also a political stance. For urban participation to operate within the framework of the right to the city, a horizontal relationship plane is required. Discourse, which defines itself in a separate position from the administration, reveals a hierarchical positioning. This distinction like "us" vs. "them" distances away from a public debate.

T.G. (loudly): They helped the mayor to pull votes from the neighbors living in the complex. They said that they were helping him because he promised to give us our property ownership license. But nothing has changed. I think they helped him just because they have personal gains from his victory.

From then on, all participants began to discuss the issue enthusiastically with one another. They mentioned the fact that the management convinced us to donate the land that was belonged to Ata 2 Houses to the municipality for the construction of an elementary school, which was used to construct an İmam Hatip Secondary School (a religious secondary school).

This situation had been discussed in several newspapers and news websites such as *Çengelköy Newspaper*¹⁷, *Oda tv*¹⁸ and *Evrensel*¹⁹. It was discussed as a punishment

¹⁷Çengelköy Gazetesi, 24 July 2014, ATA 2 Sakinleri İlkokul İstiyor. <http://www.cengelkoygazetesi.net/haber/684-cengelkoy-ATA-2-sakinleri-ilkokul-istiyor.html>

¹⁸Oda Tv. Şeytanın aklına gelmez: İlkokul için bağışlanan arsaya bakın ne yaptılar? <https://odatv.com/seytanin-aklina-gelmez-1707141200.html>

¹⁹ Evrensel, 12 September 2014, Oy yoksa imam hatip var. <https://www.evrensel.net/yazi/72242/oy-yoksa-imam-hatip-var>

for the inhabitants of Ata 2 Houses from which the votes for the Justice and Development Party were considerably few, according to Evrensel, the votes were under %25. Evrensel Newspaper discussed the issue with the headline of “If there are no votes, there will be imam”, whereas Oda Tv prepared a news with the headline of “Even the devil cannot think that”.

At the end of the session, I asked the group about how they consider the idea of developing a platform for lending and borrowing. And, I realized that even D.S., who was the most excited about the idea, started to consider it as an incredibly difficult goal to achieve.

D.S. (demotivated): I think it is very nice to help people. But it is tough to organize how to help them. I am not sure if I can do it. And, I am not sure about cooperating with the management.... (Pause). Even so, I think I can talk to the management to understand their reaction to the idea. If they react positively, I can give it a try maybe.

In respect to internal consistency, D.S. seemed to change her mind from trying passionately to find a way to reach disabled neighbors into a “maybe” if the management reacts positively to the idea. This was a result of group interaction since the more people discussed negative aspects of the management, she became demotivated to work for the idea resulting from a negative predicted outcome value of such an interaction with the management.

Public spaces are spaces that have an important place in the development of social relations between people. However, these are areas in which people express their thoughts. However, the fact that managerial levels do not take into consideration the ideas suffers a common ground of discussion (i.e. publicity).

4.1.2. Second Session

The second focus group session was held on February 21st. The group was composed of four neighbors²⁰, because one of the neighbors who was supposed to join, did not participate in the meeting without informing his absence beforehand. The group conversation began with the question to the participants that what they most like and unlike about living in the complex.

K. (seeming disgusted): I don't like the physical atmosphere. What do you think about the new color of the walls in the complex? I mean, isn't it like shrine's green?

E. (nodded): Definitely, yes! It is the worst possible shade of green. And, the management decided on the color without even asking us, right?

K.: I think they did not have a say in choosing the color. The municipality, I guess, chose it because they painted the walls for free as far as I know.

M.K. (shook her head): This is even worse.

The discussion started by focusing on the color but developed into the fact that the management of the building complex is in good relations with Üsküdar municipality, which the participants are against. This was an "us" vs. "them" categorization appeared a second time (concerning the frequency of themes) in focus group sessions. The imam hatip school issue was discussed in this session, as well. The participants declared that they collected signatures about they need an elementary school, but the municipality regarded the signatures of Yavuztürk for

²⁰M.K. is a fifty-nine-year-old woman. She is a retired journalist who has been living in the neighborhood for nineteen years. She has been living with her husband. And, she is a house owner. M.Ç. is a forty-two-year-old man. He is a tennis instructor who has been living in the complex for seven years as a tenant. K.K. is a thirty-five-year-old man. He is a professional climber who has been living in the complex for four years as a tenant. Finally, T.E. is a fifty-seven-year-old woman. She is a children's book writer. She has been living in the complex for eighteen years as a house owner.

their need of an imam hatip as more significant. The issue discussed on Çengelköy Newspaper on 24 July 2014 as:

The inhabitants of Ata 2 Houses collected almost 3.600 signatures from Ata 2 and its immediate vicinity like Doktorlar Complex to outnumber the signatures, almost 2.500 signatures, for the construction of an İmam Hatip School in the area that was given by the Ata 2 to the municipality for the construction of an elementary school. Ata 2 management submitted a petition to the Ministry of Education for an elementary school.

Despite the efforts of the inhabitants, Üsküdar municipality decided to open an imam hatip school in the area which was further resented Ata 2 inhabitants.

K. said: I think most of us are annoyed about the close relationship between the management and the municipality. They are supposed to represent us. Though they cooperate with the municipality whenever they want on every kind of issue concerning the complex, this isn't fair.

Although the management gave petitions for an elementary school, the inhabitants regarded the situation as a cooperation with the municipality. As a result, they started to consider any cooperation, even the painting of the street walls, with the municipality as in opposition to their rights. All participants seemed to be like-minded. They shared their opinions intimately without hesitation. They looked like they discuss the issue as if they constitute the opposition to the management.

This situation seems coherent with the idea that “an increase in the cooperative structure of the goals on which we work with strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior” (axiom of AUM). The group discussed the issue intimately since they have a common goal; to criticize the management due to its relations with the municipality and its closeness with the Justice and Development Party. This discussion took a long time if the limited period of the session is considered. The conversation among group members was seemed to be spontaneous. It can be suggested that this was an

instance of “similarities between persons reduce uncertainty” (axiom 6 of URT). Since group members realized their similarities about their opposition to the management, they reduce their uncertainties about one another’s political stance to an extent. This kind of uncertainty reduction might have led to an increase in the amount of communication. It can be asserted that this is also in harmony with the statement that “amount of communication and similarity are positively related” (theorem 6 of URT). The situation was also supported that “during the beginning stage of initial interactions, both the amount of verbal communication and uncertainty reduction increase. Further increases in the amount of verbal communication occur when uncertainty reduction results in positive predicted outcome values” (proposition 1 of POV).

Urban communication is also a process of providing information. In democratic administrations, citizens need to be well informed about urban issues and need to be consulted regularly through local referendums or public hearings.

After a while, to go back to the subject, I asked if participants have any ideas about a good example of a neighborhood to the social relations of the inhabitants.

K.K.: It would be nice if we do sports with our neighbors. I am a professional climber, and I would be happy to meet my neighbors who are interested in climbing. After the management turned the open basketball court into the closed one, I requested to build a climbing wall for the kids. There is enough space for that in court. And I can be their teacher. But, they didn’t seem interested in this idea. I think to gain environmental awareness, and it is necessary to experience the nature. So, I suggested to arrange outdoor workshops for the kids; with a long walk in the complex where I can introduce different kinds of flowers and trees. They ignored that as well. So, what do you think?

M.K.: You don’t have to wait for the management to arrange an outdoor workshop. You can announce it as a gift for the kids at the end of the semester and hope that there are a number of parents who are interested in those kinds of activities for their children to join.

T.E. (excitedly said): I like the idea of planning activities as a gift for children. I can read for the children. If you (referring to K.K.) like, we can plan an activity where you can give information about protecting nature, and I can read a story about nature at the end.

This was the first occasion of willingness to spend time with neighbors, which the participant cited as an important concept for them. It seemed that sharing their opinions have led T.E. and K.K. to realize their mutual concern which caused them, in my opinion, to like each other, as it is suggested by Berger and Calabrese (1975) in theorem 5; “amount of communication and liking are positively related” (p. 108). Moreover, it also recognized that “when decreased uncertainty is associated with positive predicted outcome values, liking increases” (proposition 7 of POV).

In this focus group session, most ideas were discussed with a purpose to find a way to implement them without taking any help from the management and without needing any permission from them. Neighbors, who are extremely disturbed from the relationship between the management and the municipality, were unwilling to collaborate with the management.

4.1.3. Third Session

The third focus group was gathered on March 16th, with seven participants²¹. The group conversation began with the question to the participants how they consider to improve social relations with their neighbors.

²¹D.A. is a twenty-nine-year-old married woman who joined the meeting with her husband. They have been living in the complex for five years as a tenant. She is a marketer who is currently unemployed. Her husband, S.S. is a thirty-one-year old banker. Ü.Y. is a sixty-three-year old man who has a grocery store in the complex for twelve years. He has been living in the complex for seventeen years with his wife and children. O.A. is a twenty-seven-year-old single man who has been living in the building complex almost for a year. He works as a private security. E.T. is a thirty-seven-year old man who has been living in the complex for six years. He lives with his family. He is currently unemployed. G.K. is a twenty-two-year old woman. She is an undergraduate student who lives with her friends in the complex for almost a year. She participated to the meeting with her roommate K.T., who is a twenty-year-old undergraduate student as well.

D.A. (confidently) said that “We will be willing to join all kinds of activities for the sake of the animals as animal-friendly group”. I regarded this as noteworthy since she talked as the spokesperson of the group. She decided on the specific topic we were going to discuss. This situation can be argued as she was confident instead of anxious when interacting with the group as discussed in AUM axiom 3 and axiom 9: an increase in self-confidence will reduce our anxiety, and an increase in our confidence in our ability to predict the behavior of others will reduce our concern; a decrease in our anxiety will lead to an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior.

S.S. followed her with his suggestion that to help the animals who are abandoned in the streets, it would be great if we can raise charity. From then on, as the two of the managers of the animal-friendly group in the complex have set the discussion topic of the gathering, group members began to discuss how they could raise funds for the animals. This can be considered as they were aware of their power on the group members. They were relaxed when they were talking. They did not hesitate to make eye contact with the participants. This can be regarded as “an increase in the power we perceive that we have over strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and a decrease in the accuracy of our predictions of their behavior” (axiom 26 of AUM). It also supported the idea that “decreases in uncertainty level will cause increases in nonverbal affiliative expressiveness” (axiom 2 of URT).

G.K. and K.T. were the only ones who do not know the rest of the group beforehand other than joining their Facebook page recently. As a result, they can be seen as outsiders with similar interests and concerns. They seemed anxious at the beginning of the initial conversation, including the part where they introduced themselves to the group. This was following the statement that shared communication networks reduce uncertainty, whereas lack of shared networks increases uncertainty (axiom 8 of URT). After the discussion topic became clear, however, they seemed to be relaxed, which is in coherence with “an increase in the predictability of strangers’ behavior will produce a decrease in the anxiety” (axiom 10 of AUM).

G.K. suggested that it would be easier to raise money for the animals if the group could sell hand-made materials like they did on the charity sale that the management organized last month.

G. K.: I admired your stand on the kermis last month. I think you managed to raise funds for the needs of street animals through selling hand-made stuff. We can do it regularly. We can sell stuff regularly.

This was the first occurrence of selling material things to the neighbors. Due to the fact that they have a common goal of helping street animals, the concept was discussed passionately by the group members. This situation can be suggested as an instance of axiom 28 of AUM:

“An increase in the cooperative structure of the goals on which we work with strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior.”

This axiom was especially valid for the two new-comers of the group.

K. T. (nodded with a smile): That’s a good idea. If we can make a website, this could help us with this trade. And actually, we can make a website in which we present the stories of street animals and how we help them, and we can have a donation button where donors could send us money as much as they want. We need to gather a number of volunteers who will make different kinds of hand-made materials.

The two new-comers of the group seemed to have suggestions to make fund-raising easier. They encouraged one another through verbal and non-verbal communication. It is compatible with theorem 1 of URT: the amount of communication is positively related to the effectiveness of nonverbal commitment.

S. (reciprocated): I can make the website if you can gather volunteers.

This seemed significant to argue that although making a website idea was suggested by a woman, and a man asserted that he could make a website because the woman was an undergraduate student in computer sciences, which means she is also capable of doing the task.

A. (shook her head): You sound like it is easy to gather volunteers. I think you do not know that although our Facebook group has almost six hundred members, there were twelve active members at most.

Y. reciprocated: Remember, you cooked jams and sold them in the kermis for the street animals. You can do it regularly, and I can sell it in my store. So, we don't have to find so many volunteers. Maybe E. (referring to his wife) might cook for sale too.

D.A. (smiled): That would be great. Also, if she cooks, no one will buy my jams. She is an excellent cook (laughter).

K.T. asked: Ok, why are we narrowing the topic down to the jams? We can make other stuff as well as bracelets from glass beads when they have free time and leave to the store if it is possible to have a corner for those materials in the grocery.

Ü.Y. (laughed): I think you want to conquer my store just because I love animals. But, okay, I can clear some space for that.

E. T. (hesitantly said): Actually, it might be ... better if such a corner would be placed in the pet store (located in the complex). So, the people who shop there are already animal lovers. It would be easier to take their attention and to lead them to donate.

D.A. (laughed): That's brilliant. Oh my god, I cannot understand why those solutions had not have come to my mind before. Next week, I will talk to the pet store owner for sure. So, who wants to cook jams with me?

This last question seemed significant to me because although I realized that she asked it like a joke, the women in the group laughed and answered positively that they could help cooking, while the men remained indifferent. This was a typical instance of gender roles in society. Men were excited about selling things or making a website to raise funds, and women were willing to cook, sew, or make other kinds of hand-make stuff.

4.1.4. Meeting with The Management of The Complex

After I posted on many Facebook groups that the neighbors have participated, Z.T. (an officer of the management) contacted me. We had set an appointment to meet in person. The meeting began with his statement that my posts on different Facebook groups took the management's attention; they wondered why I want to meet my neighbors that much. In my opinion, the management wanted to talk to me to reduce their uncertainties through an interactive information-seeking behavior (axiom 3 of URT).

I explained to him my intentions and also I gave him a brief information about my study. He gave a pessimistic response to me:

We had done so many things to intensify communication between neighbors, but now we can see that those were idle efforts. Our neighbors have no interest in getting together for an activity except for the active group of our complex; *Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2*. This group organizes activities that are open to all neighbors. We also organized several kermises with their help. However, neighbors' participation was minimal.

I asked him what he thinks as the reason behind this minimum participation, and he stated that:

There is a polarization between the neighbors who are opponents to the management and the neighbors who are supporters. The only possibility to

strengthen communication and relations between neighbors is to gather these two groups of people together, which cannot be done by the management.

As can be seen, “us” and “them” categorization in the complex is well-known. I realized that my efforts at least would end up gathering neighbors from different groups. He added that there are some neighbors enthusiastic about meeting their neighbors, and he can arrange a meeting to gather us. I suggested to invite the neighbors that I met in such a purpose as well. Hence, we decided to organize a Sunday brunch.

4.1.5. A New Stage in The Research: Activities Commission

16 neighbors, including me and management officer Z.T., 6 of whom I met in the focus groups (+ 2 spouses of the invited neighbors) and 6 of whom that Z.T. invited participated to the brunch on March 18th. At this event, Z.T. gave the opening speech and explained that we would like to discuss what social activities we can do with our neighbors, and he introduced me to the rest of the group who has not met me before. I mentioned that I realized that there is a considerable number of neighbors who want to share some social experiences with neighbors. I highlighted that we would like to hear all opinions.

S.Y. said: I have been trying to connect with my neighbors. I have been struggling to sell tickets for my play (he is a theater actor). None of my neighbors have come to the play yet. So, I don't have high hopes, but I would like to participate in art activities with my neighbors.

A.P.: People don't like you when you try to sell something to them no matter what you are selling. Maybe you can announce your play on a Facebook group. I think that's a better way to take people's attention.

G.Y. (nods): I am a public relations manager. And I agree with her. Also, I would like to talk about social activities we can share with our neighbors. I study masculine and feminine energy. I don't want to talk about those right now, because

it is a subject that should be discussed profoundly. Let me just say that, if you understand masculine and feminine energy, so you can have a better social life because all males and females have both kinds of energies and they have to use both in a balanced way, but the society has taught every one of us to embrace just one of them according to our sex. So, if the management arranges it, I can give a free lecture about the issue to the neighbors in the assembly hall. And, mmm, I think it would be great if we have yoga and Pilates lessons in the complex.

It should be noted that Z.T. did not seem to be interested in organizing a gathering for neighbors to learn about feminine and masculine energy. He slightly interested in Pilates lessons. In addition to his indifference, the women seemed disinterested in the subject. None asked a question concerning the subject. This might have resulted from the fact that they did not predict a positive outcome value from learning about feminine and masculine energy. Henceforth, they did not desire to gather more information than G. Y. had already given. Consequently, the situation can be concluded as an instance of proposition 1 of POV:

“During the beginning stage of initial interactions, both the amount of verbal communication and uncertainty reduction increase. Further increases in the amount of verbal communication occur when uncertainty reduction results in positive predicted outcome values, whereas decreases in the amount of verbal communication follow from negative predicted outcome values.”

Z.T.: We (referring to the management) have thought to organize Pilates lessons, but we cannot afford it, and our neighbors are not willing to pay for those lessons. Maybe we can try to find a volunteer instructor. We also want to build a library, with special rooms for kids to enjoy the read and play in the complex. But we cannot afford it.

We seemed to be stuck in deciding whether or not charging for the activities. If we did not charge, the lecturer would not be satisfied. But, most of the people opposed to the idea of developing social activities in the neighborhood and then asking for money for those activities from our neighbors.

G.Y. finally asked: Why don't you (referring to the management) consider to organize activities (for a consideration) that can give you financial support for the library construction?

After discussing all possible ways we decided on a system, the neighbors who either donate books (at least 5 books) to the library would join Pilates lessons for free, whereas others would pay 50 TL for a month.

At the end of the meeting, one of the neighbors asked: "should we give a name to our group? After discussing it for approximately fifteen minutes, we decided on the name as *activities commission*.

4.1.6. Fourth Session: Focus Group with Activities Commission Members

The reason why I considered to organize a focus group from activities commission is that some neighbors seemed to be struggling in getting involved in the conversation during the brunch. The focus group met on May 9 with five participants.²² The session began in a rather distinctive manner than the previous focus group sessions. It seemed to me that all participants have an idea that they wanted to share with the neighbors. They were all enthusiastic about the meeting from the beginning, probably resulting from a positive predicted outcome value from the discussion.

I mentioned that I would like to hear all the opinions they have about the topics we have discussed at the brunch.

²² Ş.Z. is a thirty-eight-year-old single woman who lives in the complex as a tenant for six years. She has been managing a café in Kadıköy. She is also interested in jewelry design. A.D. is a forty-nine-year-old woman. She lives in the complex for twenty-two years. She is interested in painting and pottery design. N.T. is a sixty-six-year-old woman who lives alone in the complex for eleven years. R.S. is a forty-one-year-old man who is a real estate agent. He lives with his son in the complex for almost five years. H.T. is a seventy-two-year-old retired man who lives with his wife in the complex for almost twenty-seven years.

H.T. (excited): Although we talked about the importance of developing environmental consciousness, we did not decide on the precautions we will take. Most of the neighbors still do not recycle. After the complex management provided recycle bins for the building blocks, I tried to encourage my neighbors to recycle. Look!

He showed us the posters he made to raise awareness of his neighbors about the issue. He said that he hung them on the doors of the apartment blocks. He said that, unfortunately, his efforts are wasted. And he said, “We have to do something about it”. In respect to the intensity of themes, this was the most passionately expressed idea in the focus group sessions.

Ş.Z. (hesitantly) said: Although I am aware of the significance of recycling, I do not recycle. One of the reasons behind this is that I live on the fifth floor. Hence, I do not prefer to throw away the waste by myself, and our janitor puts all waste into the same bin and then throws them away in the same bin. So, I think that even if we want to recycle, janitors will not pay attention to it.

This can be seen as an intimate sharing, as she explained why she does not recycle despite the risk of being criticized by the group. This intimacy might have resulted from the fact that the participants had met before so that they reduced their uncertainties as URT suggested: “Low levels of uncertainty produce high levels of intimacy”. Laljee and Cook (1973) argued that “as an interaction progresses intimacy levels of communication content increases”²³. Moreover, she expected a negative outcome from such an attempt as a result of which she did not necessitate to gather more information on the subject. This was an example of proposition 3 of POV: high levels of uncertainty provide more information-seeking behavior during initial interactions, decreased uncertainty is associated with negative predicted result values, it causes information search behavior to decrease.

²³ “Amount of communication and intimacy level of communication are positively related” (Theorem 2 of URT).

The group discussed the concept and decided that if we demand to change this situation, we need to agree with the janitors to collect the waste into different bins, one for domestic waste and the other for recycling. We settled on making an arrangement with the block managers to determine specific dates for the janitors to collect solely recyclable waste. In respect to the specificity of themes, this was the most profoundly discussed topic in the sessions by all of the participants.

I asked if there are any other ideas about our main discussion topic. A.D. (excitedly) said that: Mmm, I am excited about the art activities we mentioned at the brunch. I turned my basement (she is living in a villa) into an art studio. I love to spend time there. Sometimes I paint, sometimes I make pottery as an amateur. Other times, I sit there, read a book or listen to music. I would like to have guests there who want to do those kinds of activities as well. It would be inspirational for me. Also, we can learn from each other... If it is not too much to ask, I want my guests to artistically nurture me, telling a story, reading a poem, etc.

Ş.Z. interrupted her and said that she has a similar idea. She explained that she manages a café in Kadıköy, where she also sells necklaces and bracelets that she designs. She would like to meet her neighbors, who can design jewelry so that she can sell at her store. Then, she turned to A.D. and said she could sell her paintings as well. This was the second occurrence of the idea of collaboratively making things to sell with neighbors.

Participants seemed willing to collaborate with the management to achieve the goals that were discussed by the group. The group was heterogeneous in the sense that there were both opponents and supporters of the management. However, none had discussed any subject about the management. It appeared like they realized that through collaborating with the management and with the neighbors, they could manage to reach their goals that they have desired individually for a while.

4.1.7. Fifth Session

On September 22nd, the fifth focus group meeting was held with six neighbors,²⁴ four men and two women. The group had gathered as a result of the request of one participant (C.B.) to discuss the possibility of developing a neighborhood disaster, volunteers. The conversation began with the C.B.'s motives behind his demand of forming a volunteer group. He explained his idea as:

Recently, as I was watching the news about a possible earthquake in İstanbul, I realized that our buildings are over twenty years old, and yet we do not have a disaster plan. I am indeed an old-fashioned man. But, with the help of my granddaughter, I posted on Facebook (*Ata 2 Solidarity Group/ Tur. Ata 2 Dayanışma Grubu*) about the issue. After that, the management had contacted me and assured me about their support if I can manage to form a group of volunteers who can arrange information meetings for the neighbors. Taking the fact that you all are present in this meeting, I think you are all volunteers (laughter).

In respect to the intensity of themes, he explained his motives devotedly. It was apparent that he perceived the concept as sincerely important. He seemed confident. He did not hesitate to make eye-contact with each participant. This can be interpreted as under AUM's statement that "an increase in the cooperative structure of the goals on which we work with strangers will produce a decrease in our anxiety and an increase in our confidence in predicting their behavior" (axiom 28).

The participants asked him what he expects from us. He responded that if we have any ideas about organizing a conference in which a professional can teach us how to survive natural disasters and how to help others in such cases.

²⁴ E.T. is a sixty-four-year-old man who is a retired teacher. H.S. is a sixty-nine-year-old man who is a retired accountant. T.Ö. is a twenty-seven-year-old woman who is a graduate student. F.U. is a thirty-five-year-old who is an assistant general manager. C.B. is a seventy-three-year-old man who is a retired architect. Y.Ü. is a forty-one-year-old woman who is a sales agent.

T.Ö. (nodded): We can ask support from the management to arrange a meeting for us to learn about the issue from a well-informed person.

C.B. (responded): No. They said they would help us to hold our meetings at the general assembly saloon. That's all. We have to do all the work except arranging the saloon.

F.U. (sarcastic laughter): That's not a surprise. Why would they help us to learn this kind of an important issue? They're busy with organizing kermises.

This was an apparent "us" vs. "them" categorization, which had been declared intensely. In respect to the frequency of themes, except from the focus group with activities commission members and the one with Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2, the concept of regarding the management as "the other" was common in all focus groups.

H.S. (interrupted): They're lately preoccupied with satisfying all neighbors' needs. They almost solved our ownership license problem. Let's not criticize them about every little issue. We can find a professional by ourselves.

This was the first instance of a neighbor's defense of the management to other neighbors. It is not apparent that if the neighbor has been a supporter of the management or if he just started to support after the management announced that ownership licenses would be gathered soon with arranging the mayor to visit the complex and give information about the process to the neighbors.

Y.Ü. (nodded): I agree. Have you met D.S. (one of the managers of Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2)? She probably knows a professional. I can ask her if you want.

Group members agreed to get D.S. involved in the process of organizing conferences. Since all participants had heard about D.S.'s role in the organization of different social events in the complex, they assumed that she would accept to be

involved in the organization (which eventually proved to be an accurate assumption).²⁵

This was an important incidence in respect to women's rights to the city. Although I have sensed an internalized gender role from some participants of focus groups, I realized that it is also significant that a woman has been known with her organizational capabilities for masses.

From the interactions among neighbors in the focus groups, I concluded that:

- (1) Neighbor collaboration can be developed if uncertainty and anxiety among neighbors is reduced.
- (2) Neighbor collaboration can be developed if neighbors expect a positive outcome value from their future interactions.
- (3) Neighbors are willing to participate in a number of collaborative consumption practices, mostly collaborative lifestyles practices.
- (4) In a limited time of a focus group session that usually takes 90 to 120 minutes, the level of predicting a positive outcome value from a collaborative lifestyle practice is higher than material sharing practices.
- (5) It is possible for neighbors to collaborate with the management if a positive outcome value is predicted.
- (6) On the one hand, during the discussions of organizing a collaboration, gender roles can be noticeable in the division of labor. On the other hand, it can be suggested that women are more enthusiastic about voluntarily working for neighbor collaboration. Hence, it can be asserted that women embrace the right to the city. While the masculine perspective in urban planning focuses on the use of physical spaces, the feminist perspective has an experience-oriented approach. The feminist perspective, which expresses bottom-up planning, provides an important framework for discussions of the right to the city.

²⁵ This situation was in harmony with axiom 38 of AUM; “an increase in our ability to gather appropriate information about strangers will produce an increase in our ability to accurately predict their behavior”.

From the focus group discussions and activities commission meetings, I can conclude that my neighbors desire art-related, environment-friendly, cooperative and collaborative relations. Other than lending and borrowing practice that was discussed in focus group sessions, most neighbors predicted a positive outcome value from collaboration. I can suggest that the discussions (online and face-to-face) had helped people to predict an outcome value from collaboration practices through uncertainty and anxiety reduction.

It would be misleading to suggest that all kinds of neighbor collaborations have emerged as a result of this study and an increase in interpersonal communication. Despite the fact that there were dispersed collaborations among neighbors in the complex, and among the Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2 group and the management, it can be suggested that the neighbor collaboration to a greater extent was achieved. I can assert that several factors played a role in the expansion of neighbor collaboration practices:

- (1) initial Facebook posts that I posted,
- (2) neighbors' enthusiasm to express their opinions in small groups,
- (3) neighbors' willingness to form collaborations for specific purposes, and neighbors' collaboration with the management.

First of all, I posted the same post of invitation for focus group sessions on three major Facebook groups with different membership goals. Ata 2 Solidarity Group was organized for voicing opponent views to the management. Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2 was organized for gathering the neighbors together who want to help street animals of Ata 2. And, "Ata 2 Houses/Ata 2 Complex" was the official page of the management on Facebook. The fact that I wanted to come together with all my neighbors who have different perspectives about living in the complex was regarded as interesting by some neighbors, in my opinion, especially for those who do not feel attached to any of those groups entirely. There were far too many responses to my posts, which could be a sign of curiosity as well as a sign of the fact that people want to express their opinions about social life in the complex. Most

neighbors want to join the meetings to express their opinions and to make stronger bonds with their neighbors (as they pointed out).

Secondly, I have to clarify that the participants in the focus groups sincerely endeavored to contribute. They were inclined to express their opinions in small groups. Some of the participants got so enthusiastic about the discussions in the sessions that they shared the opinions discussed in online groups. This was an important factor in the process of developing neighbor collaboration as well. This can be interpreted as a positive correlation between the increase in interpersonal communication and the level of neighbor collaboration.

Thirdly, neighbors were willing to form collaborations for specific purposes. Most of the volunteers were not attached to any of the active groups in the complex. It can be said that they are neither opponents nor supporters of the management. They determined a goal to improve the social life in the complex. And, they focused on accomplishing their goal as a result of which they did not hesitate to search collaboration from the neighbors and from the management. “Activities Commission” and “Ata 2 Disaster Volunteers” [*Tur. Ata 2 Afet Gönüllüleri, ATAG*] was composed in this way. Both groups have collaborated with the management and organized different collaborations.

4.2. NEIGHBOR COLLABORATION PRACTICES AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION EXPERIENCE

It would be misleading to suggest that there was not any collaboration among the neighbors before this study. Even the works of Nature Friendly-People of Ata 2 are proof of that fact. The group has been cooperating with the management for the organization of certain events, as well.

Consequently, I cannot suggest that this was a life-changing study for the neighbors and the neighborhood. However, I can suggest that this study has a positive influence on creating different kinds of neighbor collaborations. It also offers new ways to build different cooperation between neighbors and management. After all,

I can assert that neighbor collaborations have a positive influence on conflict resolution between neighbors and management. Furthermore, many collaborative consumption practices were put into action in the complex.

In fact, conflict is not entirely negative. All change processes involve conflict. Therefore, the main focus is on creative forms of conflict management. The quality of urban communication makes this inevitable conflict a public character.

The communicative city is a place that invites its residents and guests to interact with each other. This kind of urban speech is essential for the resolution of conflicts. Such a speech ground evokes the concept of the public sphere.

First of all, a ring-service has been provided by the management for transportation inside the complex. Even though the complex had built approximately 450 hectares square meters; we did not have public transportation inside the complex. This situation created a major problem for the neighbors to arrive at the main street by walking through the hills in the complex.

One of the participants (D.A.) in the first focus group was determined to gather signatures of neighbors who desire to have a ring service in the complex. She explained the process of collecting signatures. Then, all participants decided not only to sign but also to help her gathering signatures bypassing the message along the neighbors that they are acquainted with. After almost a month from the focus group session, we managed to arrange a meeting with the management and discussed the issue in detail. Eventually, the management announced the ring service every half an hour from the blocks to the main street.

It has been said that collaborative lifestyles empower local communities in various ways. Nevertheless, there are quite a few examples of local communities that have embraced collaborative lifestyles. Different forms of collaborative lifestyles such as recycling, founding “Ata 2 Disaster Volunteers” [*Tur.* ATAG, Ata 2 Afet Gönüllüleri], organizing open-air cinema, organizing art workshops, cooperating

with the management in library construction and organizing Pilates lessons and kermises were argued by the participants.

Re-cycling was discussed first in the brunch of activities commission. Later, on the fourth focus group session, since the participants' number was decreased, we had the opportunity to argue in detail how inhabitants would be motivated to recycle. After figuring out that it would be excessively optimistic to expect people to be self-motivated, we realized that it is necessary to cooperate with the block managers and janitors in the complex. With the help of the complex management, block managers gathered in a meeting to discuss the issue. In that meeting, it was decided to announce that janitors will solely collect recyclable waste on Tuesdays and Fridays. According to the management, thanks to our efforts, there is a considerable increase in recyclable waste gathered from the neighbors.

The idea of composing neighborhood disaster volunteers first expressed by a neighbor who demanded to gather his neighbors who are willing to be a volunteer. The last focus group was organized to discuss this issue with the neighbors interested in the subject. After discussing the possible difficulties that we might face while organizing an informative meeting about disasters, we decided to cooperate with activities commission, which eventually helped us in every step of the organization. At first, the management seemed to be unwilling to be involved in such a process of organization other than providing the meeting hall. But, eventually, we managed to cooperate with the management in other steps of the organization as well.

It can be considered as an unexpected event that one of the neighbors (A.D.) wanted to co-work with other neighbors in her art studio. She required that her guests should be willing to share the story of one of their interesting experiences or share an artistic experience. There have been four meetings in the studio. The guests were mostly women over their sixties. The majority of them were interested in pottery. I regarded those meetings as extremely pleasant, owing to A.D.'s insistence on artistic sharing from all participants. We had to read a poem, tell a story, or advice

a book to participate in pottery making with our hostess. In the second meeting, Ş.A. read a story that she wrote in her youth. On the third one, A.T. gave Alper Canıgüz novels for each of us. She explained that if we exchange books, we can read all his novels. We liked the idea so much that we decided to organize a book club. We planned to read every novel of a writer by exchanging the books. After we all read the different novels, we decided to meet to share our opinions.

The practice of co-working has been experienced in diminishing numbers as well as the excitement for book club. But the management has interested in the idea of neighbors gathering for art-related purposes. They initiated an endeavor of reaching for artists living in the complex. Consequently, a meeting where the theater players, musicians, writers, poets living in the complex were introduced to the neighbors was organized, with the artists who were willing to join the event. The management is planning to organize a successful event where all amateur artist neighbors will be introduced to the public through displaying an art-related performance.

When planning urban participation processes, urban rights need to be relied upon. All individuals should benefit from the opportunities and opportunities of the city equally and could participate effectively in educational, artistic and political activities.

The management has been planning to construct a library in the complex for years. On activities commission brunch, the officer from the management (Z.B.) explained their ideas about the issue. The participants were enthusiastic about making donations for the library. Besides, to raise donations for the library, it was planned to announce that Pilates lessons would be free for the ones who donate at least five books or ten magazines. Pilates lessons were organized on every Tuesday morning and every Thursday evening for a small consideration, except for the ones who make donations for the library. Most participants preferred to donate books.

Yet, the management cannot get the legal permission for the construction of a library from the municipality. However, book donations have been accumulated in the management building. Recently, the management announced that they are

planning to organize a reading room, which can be used during working hours, for the neighbors until they will get the legal permission for library construction.

Kermises have been organized by management every three months almost for two years. They were organized as markets to buy hand-made stuff from the neighbors. During the focus group meetings, various novel ideas about kermises were discussed. With neighbors' and the management's cooperation, we organized a children festival on the kermis on April 23. We worked together to build a playground for the children. We organized storytelling activities for them. We set up a crafts workshop in which they learned to make cathouses and birdhouses which were hanged on the trees by Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2 during the hiking tour in which children were introduced to different strains of trees and flowers in the parks of the complex.

Open-air cinema was one of the ideas that gets credit most both from the management and neighbors. Volunteer neighbors met several times to decide on the film list (whether to be composed of art movies or popular ones). We divided our work, two of us to work on legal necessities to organize a meeting on a public space, and two of us to search to make the most reasonable price for all requirements. Notwithstanding, we were not able to organize open-air cinema. On the other hand, on November 25th, we managed to organize the first of the cinema nights, which we are planning to organize once a month, with a movie called Hatchiko in the general assembly room. The successive events have not been organized yet because we realized in the first event that the room temperature was so low to enjoy watching a movie. Hence, the successive events will be planned for the spring.

Although most neighbors were skeptical about the reliability of re-distribution markets, the subject was proposed for the agenda on almost every focus group session by one of the participants. However, with other participants' arguments, the subject began to be discussed as an issue of trust, which caused the enthusiastic about being discouraged. Despite the general attitude towards re-distribution, several good examples have taken place in the complex thanks to the efforts of

neighbors with a genuine interest in the concept. Volunteer neighbors gathered to make a system that meets needers with donors; we composed a notice board in the management building.

Up until now, donation of a disabled bed, donation of school books, donation of unused diapers for adults, exchange of books (novels), exchange of an underused roller blade with an underused branded school bag, donation of women clothes and shoes, and donation of a secondhand sofa, exchange of a secondhand bookshelf and yoga cushion have been carried out. We had great difficulties with transporting furniture from the donors' house to the recipients. It was not easy to find volunteers to carry the furniture. Besides, arranging a pick-up to move the furniture was necessary. Hence, we (volunteers) decided to quit accepting furniture donations.

On the other hand, permanent applications on charity have been initiated in the complex. Especially, the efforts we have been put with Nature-Friendly People of Ata 2 resulted in a permanent place inside the pet shop in the complex for people to make monetary and non-monetary donations such as animal food, newspaper, food containers for the street animals. This was extremely significant because neighbors had been putting their non-monetary donations on the doorsteps of the group members, which caused certain hardships. Through settling a permanent place, the donations became accessible for all group members and other volunteers to feed and preserve street animals. Besides, it caused a substantial rise in the amount of monetary donations.

Last but not least, the management announced to organize *Thursday Meetings* every Thursday evening from eight to ten p.m. beginning on the first Thursday of March. The fact that the management regarded it beneficial to organize continuous series of meetings with neighbors to answer their questions or to consider their problems about the complex is significant for the relations between the management and neighbors as well as for the conflict resolution. I believe that if those meetings are organized as planned, the neighbor collaboration and conflict resolution can be strengthened.

I do not mean to expect that continuous conversation meetings would be the solution to every kind of problem that neighbors are faced with. But, these meetings can be beneficial to reach an understanding between the neighbors and the management. It can also be effective in expressing what people want in their neighborhood, what physical changes they do and do not want, what social relations they want to create, what kinds of social facilities they need, in which ways they want to build a relationship with their environment, etc.

Most neighbors still have a perspective regarding the management as the provider of social services in the complex. Those neighbors were hesitant to participate in volunteer groups that were formed to make a change in the social life of the complex. These meetings can be a way to include those neighbors in the creation of social practices, as well. This, eventually, can strengthen neighbor collaboration.

Participating as a researcher in neighbor collaboration processes was an extraordinary experience for me. It should be reminded that I had been observing the relations among the neighbors and the problems we were facing in the complex as a neighbor long before this study has begun. I began observing as a participant when neighbor collaboration commenced through people gathering for a determined purpose.

Being a participant observer was sometimes compelling. Keeping a balance with the participation and the observation was not an easy job. In some instances, I enjoyed more being there as a participant than observing as a researcher. I should express that I indulged in all the collaborations as a neighbor, and I think even when this study ends, and I am detached from the collaboration practices as a researcher, I will be attached in the processes as a neighbor for a long time.

I tried not to be over encouraging for any collaboration though I give all my support. I did not want to be a leader in the organization's processes of activities. Henceforth, neither I solved all the problems in the processes, nor did I do all errands to make the processes easier. I was sensitive about my presence in the processes to not to

create artificial relations. In addition to that, I carefully observed the work-sharing in the creation of collaboration practices.

From these observations, I can conclude that there was a non-spoken hierarchic work sharing. Although management officers seemed to be enthusiastic about the collaboration with neighbors, most of the time, they gave the information about how an activity should be organized and then leave all the work for the volunteers to do. For instance, in the organization of the children festival, we (volunteers) worked in the process of building the stage, the playground, and workshops for the children with two blue-collar officers employed by the management. We supplied and prepared all the materials necessary for the event. The management officers helped us in our decision-making process by offering their views about the best ideas. They also supported the event by finding sponsors from a nearby private school, which provided a puff playground.

This work sharing can be regarded as hierarchic since the management officers did not work in the field with us, they instead grasped a leader position and visited the hall during the preparations to check if it was going well. Nevertheless, none of the volunteers questioned the work share or the creation of hierarchy by the management in the collaborations. The reasons why people did not feel uncomfortable or preferred to say nothing about the hierarchy that I feel can be studied in future research.

Moreover, in most of the collaborations during the discussions of the work share, men were tended to assign women gender-based works. But, in most situations, women did not agree with the work share and demanded a work that they think they were best at doing. For instance, in the organization of cinema night, the management assigned us (women) to choose a family movie, whereas men were assigned to work in all other steps in the organization, such as providing the projection screen at best price, preparing the assembly hall, etc. We (women) did not agree with the work share and demanded to participate in other steps in the organization.

A similar situation occurred in the organization of the children festival for which the management asked if women could get in contact with other women to prepare home-cooked snacks to be sold. We told them that management officers could be responsible for the stands as they were on other kermises, and we can work to prepare workshops for children. Management tends to assign women gender-based roles in organizations. When we demanded other roles, they did not reject our desires. However, we felt their tendency during the organization processes.

I believe that it should be highlighted that not only the society expects certain gender-roles from the women, but also women (at least some women) are unconsciously willing to behave appropriately to the gender-roles that are internalized by them. As a woman researcher, the processes of this study has shaped my consciousness about the gender-roles that I had unconsciously internalized. I realized that, though I am firmly self-confident in taking responsibilities of planning and organization, I have a high tendency to avoid outdoor responsibilities. Participating in the collaborations, such as preparing the assembly hall for a gathering, visiting local artisans to bargain for the best price for a piece of equipment for an event, was influential for me to overcome my preference for desk jobs in the organizational processes. I realized that I could be useful in every step of an organizational process. This study was not planned to use in-depth interviews with women participants of neighbor collaboration. But, I wonder that there may be other women who had undergone a similar self-realization in the processes of organizations.

SECTION FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. RESEARCH FINDINGS

This humble study, which was originated from the personal life story and past experiences of the researcher, was carried out *via* natural observations and the focus-group sessions held by the researcher herself as a participant-observer. As a former and an actual resident of the Ata 2 Houses,²⁶ the participant-observer tried to reveal the possibility of creating a gender-less public sphere in the name of “right to the city” out of a gated community²⁷ *by* triggering the “neighbor collaboration” among the inhabitants. The researcher also tried to test the validity or the instrumentality of some interpersonal communication theories²⁸ that may promise to resolve conflicts between people.

To this end,²⁹ the government’s reconstruction policies that promise unearned income [*Tur. rant*] to the residents of an area seemed to be the main obstacle. The street that Ata 2 Houses were located on has suffered a huge transformation for the last few years. The individual apartment buildings and the last squatters have been regenerated as gated communities with separate facilities for women and men. It is understood that some of the apartment owners in Ata 2 want the demolition of Ata 2 buildings to be reconstructed as a brand-new gated community. Taken this situation into account, since the primary motive of the residents was to get “unearned income”, developing a collaborative lifestyle and arguing women’s “right to the city” in Ata 2 Houses could be seen as an idle effort. The right to the city is not a right to find collective ways to boost their unearned incomes, and it is

²⁶ A gated community.

²⁷ A concept which is identified with the privatization of the publicity, i.e. restriction of the public sphere—which is against its nature.

²⁸ Namely, [i] uncertainty reduction theory, [ii] predicted outcome value theory and [iii] anxiety or uncertainty management theory.

²⁹ Namely, creating a gender-less public sphere in the name of “right to the city” out of a gated community²⁹ *by* triggering the “neighbor collaboration” among the inhabitants.

the exercise of a collective power over a collective right to participate in urbanization processes.

As a result of the urbanization process, the evolution of the complex life towards a more gated community leads to a differentiation that separates itself from publicity. Therefore, it has been concluded that social and personal relationships within the complex cannot be handled separately from debates on publicity, gender and space.

Another obstacle: the main reason behind the social mobility of the inhabitants <before the study> have always been getting their owner's license. This, again, seems inappropriate to the primary concern of this study, i.e. the conception "right to the city." A cooperation acting by the city-right would behave otherwise—they would be against the housing or settlement of 2B areas.

On the other hand, participants have provided a political approach over the administration (i.e. the board of management) and proposed a system where residents participate in management on a horizontal basis. The emphasis on autonomy in this proposal and the positioning against the hierarchical structure included the idea of organizing the place where they live according to their demands—the main proposition of the right to the city?

Neighbor collaboration experiences in Ata 2 may be regarded as a fragment of this *city-right* as the neighbors cooperated to develop specific practices that they want in the neighborhood. In this context, neighbor collaboration and neighborhood collaborative lifestyle practices may be seen as instances of neighbors' say in their social and physical environment—some sign of an emergence of a *public sphere*. The development of certain collaborations was the cues of what kinds of social relations that the neighbors desire: they, at least the ones who participated in this study, want art-oriented, environment-conscious, collaborative relations.

However, some of these were "men only" or "women only" practices and in some of these practices, the labor was divided according to the gender roles that the

society assigned, i.e. they were gendered. This may be a sign of the privatization of the publicity, which may imply that Ata 2 may be a stereotypical gated community.

The data gathered from the focus groups may elaborate. For instance, women demanded to organize different kinds of indoor activities such as sharing an art-studio with other neighbors, whereas men were interested in outdoor activities like organizing a hiking tour for the kids. Furthermore, during the discussion of fundraising for street animals, women were given the task to cook, to sew, to make stuff to be sold by the men who can sell them through making a website.

Although these could be interpreted as women that participated in the study embraced the gender-based roles that the society dictates, such a proposition would be an over-generalization due to the fact that there were other instances that can be read as women have challenged gender roles and they did not hesitate to show that; e.g., thanks to the months of efforts of collecting signatures (or petitions) of women, the inhabitants have managed to convince the board of management to provide a ring-service to solve the transportation problem inside the complex.

The fact that it is an ambiguous situation (that is, whether gender roles are embraced in Ata 2, or not) makes it hard to say that Ata 2 is a stereotypical gated community with the privatization of publicity based on a judgment that the public sphere in Ata 2 is gendered. What is more adequate to argue is that Ata 2 is not a stereotypical gated community, there are indications of “right to the city”³⁰ and however genderless it may not be, there is (or emerged) a public sphere that begins to create a debate culture that challenges the authority of the managerial board in the direction of a pluralistic society.

At this point, the reading of space from a feminist perspective means to show the implicitly produced masculine spatial constructions through daily experiences. As a constituent force in social relations, the gender-power relations of space need to be revealed.

³⁰ Especially the collaborative practices among the neighbors.

The data collected in this study showed that neighbor collaboration practices and collaborative consumption led the residents to get to know each other and, thus, to get to know each other's goals along with what they can succeed together. This means that they have overcome the anxiety of being alien to each other (or the uncertainty) and that they become able to predict the positive outcomes of their cooperation. The more they got to know each other and what to come from acting together, the more they became eager to cooperate or collaborate. Hence, it may be asserted that three interpersonal communication theories that were mentioned above (i.e., uncertainty reduction theory, predicted outcome value theory and anxiety or uncertainty management theory) *do* work—at least, in this context. It may be suggested that neighbor collaborations have emerged thanks to the ability to predict outcome values for such occasions through online posts about collaborations, focus group sessions and activities commission meetings. These collaborative acts have pushed the residents to cooperate with the management as well.

The very first thing to mobilize and consolidate the inhabitants to act in cooperation had been their rage against the board of management (especially about their lack of success in providing their owner's license). So, this rage was both the *stimulus* of the cooperation among the residents and political tension—a conflict to be resolved so that the board of management would act following the residents' goals, which it is supposed to be.

The most important finding from the study was that when the inhabitants cooperate for common objectives, the political tension between the neighbors and the administration is reduced. If we evaluate this situation in terms of the city-right, having a voice on the social life of the place where people live has a positive role in the resolution of the conflicts with the managerial authority. Thus, this study would be considered as interesting concerning examining the relationship between the “right to the city” and conflict-resolution. However, since this study does not aim to provide an in-depth discussion of conflict resolution, it is only focused on how the tension between the residents and the complex management is reduced. It

would be more useful to conduct such an investigation using the conflict resolution literature.

From the beginning to the end of the study, the conflict between the neighbors and the management has been solved to a great extent. There were several reasons behind this resolution. First and foremost was the acquisition of the building registration certificates of the complex by the board of management. This is one of the most significant reasons behind the conflict resolution. These certificates are regarded as the official guarantees for private ownership licenses for which the applications have been made by the board of management.

Nevertheless, private ownership situation was not the sole problem responsible for the conflicts in the complex. More than thirteen thousand people have been living in the complex, and most of them, according to the managerial board, are tenants. Their complaints about the management were quite different than the apartment owners' complaints. They were not satisfied with the social, physical conditions of the complex.

Most of the neighbors that were participated in neighbor collaborations were the people with such concerns. They worked together to make their social environment better. They did not criticize the board of management during the collaboration practices. They seemed content in cooperating with the managerial board to provide a social life in the complex that they desired.

In addition to that, even before the process of application for building construction certificates began, in the Ata 2 Solidarity <Facebook> Group (which was the group that most severely criticized the management about the private ownership licenses), neighbor collaborations with the management had echoed positively. One of the administrators of the group, for instance, wrote that:

“I am very glad to see the recent formations in our complex. People are enthusiastic about planning social activities for all of us to join. The management announced that they would support these kinds of organizations. It is pleasant to see that they

are our opinions. And, if we want a social organization, they help us to reach our goal. To give credit where credit is due, management's stance in this issue is fulfilling.”

There were many positive responses to the post above. Hence, the assumption that conflict resolution has solely resulted from the ownership license process would be inadequate.

Collaborative lifestyle practices that were experienced in the complex may be seen as another reason behind this resolution of the conflict.³¹ In Ata 2 Houses, the ring service was put into practice by the board of management to provide a solution for inhabitants' problems of transportation *inside* the complex. Although the practice of re-distribution markets for the neighbors was disrupted with the hardships of transporting heavy furniture, book and toy swaps were successfully put into practice in increasing numbers. Collaborative lifestyles were experienced through sharing space (art-studio), knowledge (seminars on first aid in disasters), and social spaces (using assembly hall for different purposes other than the managerial meetings, creation of reading room).

Predicting positive outcomes also seemed important for conflict resolution. The parties of the conflict in Ata 2 were willing to solve their conflict when both parties expect positive outcomes from the resolution. On the other hand, it should be reminded that even in its slightest sense, there was a shift, in favor of the neighbors, in the power balances among the neighbors and the board of management, which could also be a reason for the conflict resolution. Further research on the effects of power-relations and the shifts in the power balances will be beneficial. It is possible to assert, however, that everyday conflicts in the neighborhoods can be solved to a certain degree through the experience and exercise of one of “the right to the city,” which has the potential to change power-relations in favor of the citizens.

³¹ As it is stated before, the studies on consumption communities in neighborhoods showed that local collaborative consumption practices foster community bonds and enhance the quality of life of the participants.

5.2. DISCUSSION

In light of the research findings, it would be better to discuss the processes and outcomes of neighbor collaboration with the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. Hence, the concepts taken separately and a discussion for each has presented in the below.

5.2.1. The Right to The City

According to Lefebvre (1996), the right to the city is to restructure the power relations that form the basis of urban space through transferring the control of the urban space to the inhabitants of the city. In the light of his definition, the neighbor collaborations developed in Ata 2 Houses can be interpreted as a fragment of the right to the city.

Lefebvre refers to the capacity of individuals to create collective actions to get their right to the city. In Ata 2 Houses, as the neighbors discussed what changes they desire in the social life of the complex, they realized their capacity to create collective actions; thus, activities commission and other groups for specific purposes emerged. Those groups were either worked individually or with the management. In both cases, the collective actions of those groups have restructured the power relations in the complex.

The change in the power balance in the complex can be traced through social media. The communication patterns of the management have changed to a considerable extent. A detailed analysis of the management's Facebook page will make it apparent that at the initial stages of the study, there was a one-way communication pattern of the management. I think, the neighbor collaborations emerged with the study, which has a positive effect on management's views about the neighbors and it has become more sensitive about taking neighbors' opinions about social and physical situations in the complex. This has resulted in the development of sequential meetings between neighbors and management on (almost) every Thursday evening to discuss everything related to the complex life. Rather than

announcing the decisions taken by the management, the administration of the complex has turned into valuing the opinions of neighbors.

In this respect, it can be said that, as Lefebvre mentioned, the right to freedom; to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit and the right to the oeuvre; to participation and appropriation have been grasped by the inhabitants of Ata 2. They collaborated voluntarily to create a change of balance in use, production of public space in the complex. Neighbors participated in the decision-making processes of creating solutions for transportation inside the complex, using the assembly hall other than general meetings, using spaces in the management building such as the development of reading room, and recycling. Hence, it can be asserted that neighbors used as Harvey described their right to change and reinvent the city, in this case the complex.

Furthermore, as Drucker and Gumpert (2016) suggested “the past and the future of cities are rooted in the fundamental need to communicate” (p. 1367). The communicative city, as Hamelink (2012) discussed, represents an urban environment where people are invited to exchange ideas and information. Jeffres (2010) emphasized that the concept of communicative city mainly focuses on how communication affects citizens and cities in turn (p. 101). He attracted attention to the concept of communication capital which is defined as “communication patterns that facilitate social problem-solving in the community” (Jeffres, Jian & Yoon, 2007).

In this respect gatherings of neighbors to discuss problems and to exchange views on how to create a better social life in the complex seems significant. The positive effect of technology on communication should be mentioned. Without Internet-mediated communication, it would be extremely difficult to complete this study. I have benefitted the advantages of technology in all the stages of the study, from making non-scientific observations to gathering neighbors to focus-group meetings; from diffusing ideas in the focus-group meetings to the general public on social media groups to attracting the management’s attention to be involved in the

neighbor's collaborations. For the purposes of this study, Facebook and Whatsapp groups were adequate to discuss public issues and gather for common purposes, but I believe it would be better to develop more sustainable communication channels through multiple media.

5.2.2. Public Sphere and Debate Culture and Urbanization Processes

Habermas (1991) regarded the Greek *Agora* as the essence of the true public sphere where every single opinion was equally valuable. *Agora* was also the basis of debate culture. The public sphere, then, is a platform where a debate culture may flourish. Habermas clarified one of the most critical aspects of the public sphere is that access is guaranteed to all citizens. Citizens assemble freely to express their opinions. And, they behave as a public body neither on behalf of a business or private interest. In addition to that, he highlighted that “a portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body”.

In the context of Ata 2 Houses, it is possible to suggest that there were public spheres before the study has begun. Ata 2 Solidarity Group – Facebook Group – can be regarded as one of the virtual public spheres where inhabitants freely debate the issues concerning life in the complex. However, the administrators of this group had been candidates for complex management yet could not win the elections. This situation is discordant with one of the fundamental aspects of the public sphere of Habermas’s definition; citizens behave as a public body. Since the administrators of the group have a private interest in creating a social media group, this virtual group cannot be regarded as a public sphere.

In addition to that, Habermas enhanced his public sphere concept in his famous study “Theory of Communicative Action” with the concept of consensus. He suggested that building an ethical debate culture reaching a consensus is achievable. And, this consensus implies that every single view is considered vigorously regardless of belonging to the majority or minority, that is to say, regardless of power relations.

Power relations, on the other hand, is an important part of the social life in the complex. The power relations and the tension resulted from it can be sensed in both virtual and real communities in the complex, either with respect to the administration between the opponents and supporters or with respect to gender.

Even if I devoted my energy to create an atmosphere where all participants in the focus group meetings and volunteer works feel that all individual opinions and contributions are equally valuable, there were some instances that I observed that participants acted appropriately to internalized roles. Reminding the focus group meeting with the Ata 2 animal-friendly group briefly would be beneficial to explain this.

The spokesperson of the group had decided on the main issues to discuss in the meeting. She was confident as she has a leadership position in the group. The group began to argue the topics that she decided on through attributing gender-roles for participants to divide the labor for specific tasks. Neither the leader nor other women in the group seem to be troubled with this kind of labor division according to gender-roles; i.e., women were given roles of cooking, sewing, making hand-made stuff to be sold for the sake of street animals, whereas men were given organizational roles. The group acted as a whole according to power-relations and gender-roles without questioning any of them.

Creating an ethical debate culture as Habermas argued, begins with the individuals internalized the idea that it is their right to express their opinions freely and all opinions are equally valuable. He does not mention, however, how to change the ideas internalized beforehand. In Turkey, especially with respect to gender, it is difficult to challenge an individual's internalized ideas and beliefs. This situation applies to inhabitants of Ata 2 Houses as well.

5.2.3. Urbanization Processes and Ata 2 Houses

Ata 2 is not one of the gated communities where gender-based relations intentionally constructed. Ata 2 can be considered as a peculiar case in the

urbanization processes in Turkey. It established as a housing cooperative in 1984 after Mass Housing Administration (Tur. Toplu Konut İdaresi/TOKİ) was established to give long-term low-interest loans for housing cooperatives (Özkan, 2009, p. 186) with the government's support.

Although the cooperative movement in Turkey differentiated itself from its Western European counterparts in respect to the fact that first housing cooperatives were established for high-ranking bureaucrats rather than for low-income groups (Tekeli and İlkin, 1984, p. 115), from the beginning of 1980's to the 2000's, it had become one of the significant urban policies of the governments³². This situation had changed in 2002 when the Justice and Development Party began to consider mass housing as a critical tool for urban transformation through the rise of the gated communities for middle- and high-income groups (Işıkkaya, 2016, p. 321).

The most peculiar aspect of those gated communities is that they offer a certain lifestyle with similar moral values with neighbors (Çavdar, 2003, p. 90). Especially, Islamic forms of gated communities began to be developed in the periphery zones of the city and then spread into the central settlements. Çengelköy, Nato Yolu Street on which Ata 2 Houses has been located, has been undergone such a regeneration process. Along the Street, which has become a "grand crane runways", it has become impossible to ignore posters of the newly established Islamic gated communities which are highly proud of their separate facilities for men and women.

To remind the definitions of gated communities can be beneficial to understand why Ata 2 is not a typical gated community, and yet why there is the possibility of it may soon become one. Gated communities defined as residential settlements built on private roads that are closed to traffic by a door at the entrance and surrounded by walls or natural barriers with privatized public spaces (Grant, 2003; Blakely and

³² In 1980's, the rural and urban population became approximately equal which has had reflections on housing problems for low-income groups, the development of squatter houses, and hence, the implementation of new housing policies. A sharp increase in housing cooperatives emerged after 1982 when the government assured its support for cooperatives in the constitution (Güney, 2009, p. 172).

Synder, 1997). Roitman (2010) added an important aspect to this definition; uniformity and/or uniformization (if not uniform) of inhabitants (p.31).

Apparently, it is not possible to assert such a uniformity in a closed settlement with over twelve thousand inhabitants of Ata 2 Houses. Besides, nor the entrance of the complex is closed, or the public spaces are privatized for the inhabitants only. Taken Kermises for instance, every neighbor from the neighborhood has the right to participate either as a stand owner (seller, entertainer) or as a guest. Although Ata 2 Houses was planned to be built as a closed settlement, it became one neither through its security nor through its use of public spaces. That is the reason why it cannot be interpreted as a gated community.

Yet, most of the Ata 2 residents seem to be willing to sell their houses to the contractors who want to demolish the complex and build a brand-new gated community like its counterparts along the street. The characteristic of a neighborhood can be changed completely through spreading new Islamic gated communities.

5.2.4. Gender Relations

Oakley (1972) defines “gender” as the social division between masculinity and femininity (p. 159). Newman (2002) describes it as whereas “sex” refers to the anatomical and biological characteristics of the person, “gender” refers to a representation of social and cultural roles (p. 353).

Butler (1990), however, questions those definitions. She asks what “sex” is; natural, anatomical, hormonal or chromosomal (p. 7). She brilliantly questions how the duality of “sex” was established (p. 7). And, she asserts that “only men are ‘persons’, and there is no gender but the feminine” (p.19). Hence, “what the person ‘is’, and, indeed, what gender ‘is’, is always relative to the constructed relations in which it is determined” (p. 11). The heterosexualization of desire requires and institutes the production of discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between “feminine” and “masculine”, where these are understood as expressive attributes of “male” and “female” (p. 17).

As Witt and Wood (2010) point out, “gender identities arise because most people accept or internalize, at least some aspects of the cultural meanings associated with their biological sex” (p. 635). “Certain kinds of “gender identities” fail to conform to the norms of cultural intelligibility” (Butler, 1990, p. 17). So, we began to internalize gender roles that are most appropriate to our social, cultural, religious identities. As a result, as Butler (1990) calls it, we began to perform gender. But we do not realize that we perform gender because we deeply internalized our gender roles, so we mistakenly think as we have gender. Therefore, for me, it is extremely difficult to study gender.

Because gender is a social construction that is strongly and deeply internalized by most individuals, even though an awareness about it arises, it is still hard not to perform gender-roles. After all, how can a person differentiate something that is internalized deeply from her personality? As Bornestein (1994) argues, society does not construct gendered roles, it constructs gendered people. So, we need a social deconstruction.

However, in my opinion, in Turkey “gendered people” are constructed over and over in everyday life. Hence, it is not possible to assert that Ata 2 Houses is genderless. Yet, it can be asserted that with respect to participating in decision-making processes and using public spaces, Ata 2 Houses is not a gendered settlement. But it is still a settlement where people carry gender-roles into their daily lives. The data gathered from focus group meetings may elaborate on this situation.

Women demanded to organize different kinds of indoor activities such as sharing an art-studio with other neighbors, whereas men were interested in outdoor activities like organizing a hiking tour for the kids. Furthermore, during the discussion of fund-raising for street animals, women were given the task to cook, to sew, to make stuff to be sold by the men who can sell them through making a website.

Islamic gated communities, however, are gendered settlements where, as Fenster (2005) states “the representations of women’s bodies and women are defined in

patriarchal and religious forms concluding in gender-based exclusion” (pp. 220-224). During the neighbor collaboration practices, however, women have challenged gender-based roles and lead most of the social organizations and cooperation processes with the management.

5.2.5. Interpersonal Communication

The basic premise of Berger and Calabrese (1975) is that people face two kinds of uncertainties; behavioral and cognitive uncertainty; during initial interactions. Behavioral uncertainty was defined as the uncertainty about predicting others’ behaviors in certain circumstances (Berger, 1979, p. 126) which, herewith, can be reduced to a certain extent because people tend to behave in accordance with social and cultural norms (Berger and Calabrese, 1975, pp. 99-100). Cognitive uncertainty, on the other hand, means the uncertainty about the knowledge about others’ attitudes and beliefs (Berger, 1979, p. 126). Hence, it remains at high levels during initial interactions between strangers (Berger and Calabrese, 1975, pp. 99-100). The uncertainty reduction theory argues that uncertainty should be reduced in initial interactions to build a “healthy” communication between strangers.

In the initial stages of this study, I found this theory very useful to understand the interactions between neighbors. And, still I cannot say I did not benefit from it. Nevertheless, I came to understand the theory from a different perspective. And, the fundamental premise of the theory; the uncertainty should be reduced; became to be problematic for me. Gender-roles as social constructions dictates women how to behave and make a more predictable social world. Being able to predict the social world is reconstructing the cultural and social norms and rules. Although the theory helped me to analyze focus-group interactions, I agree with scholars who criticized it and regard uncertainty as “to be managed: at times reduced, at other times maintained, and at still other times created or increased” (Babrow, Kasch and Ford, 1998, p. 3) not to be reduced in all situations.

One of the revisions of the theory made by Sunnafrank (1986) constituted Predicting Outcome Value Theory (POV). He argued that people are more

motivated to maximize rewards from their interactions than to reduce their cognitive uncertainties (p. 9). He suggested that uncertainty reduction is only a means to achieving the goal of maximizing relational outcomes rather than a primary concern of people in interaction (p. 4). When neighbors become able to predict positive outcomes from their collaborations through getting to know each other and setting common goals, they become eager to cooperate.

Another revision of the theory made by Gudykunst (1988) constituted the Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM). He offered that people experience uncertainty in different ways, not necessarily as an uncomfortable tension to be reduced and defined anxiety as the emotional equivalent of uncertainty (p. 107). Henceforth, he suggested both uncertainty and anxiety should be managed in interpersonal interactions. And, he emphasized that tolerance for ambiguity, superordinate ingroup identities, power relations, cooperative structure of goals are important for uncertainty and anxiety management. This theory seemed valuable to understand not only group dynamics but also debate culture which also necessitates every single view to be important regardless of power-relations. But, power-relations can create considerable anxiety on individuals. The management of such anxiety would be beneficial to be able to participate in the public sphere. This study is not designed to analyze how individuals manage uncertainty and anxiety and how it is reflected in their civic rights. This kind of study would be beneficial to understand the communication processes for individuals when participating in the public sphere.

5.2.6. Re-visiting the Concept of Consumption

With the establishment of factories that produce goods in mass quantities by machines, the dichotomy between production and consumption had appeared favoring the former over the latter (Firat and Vankatesh, 1995, p. 240). Production was seen as a value-creating activity whereas consumption was regarded as a value-destructive activity (Jaziri Bougaira and Triki, 2014, p. 124). Then, as the enlightenment authors discussed the dichotomy, a connection between

consumption and production was developed (Perrotta, 2004, p. 503). Consumption began to be considered as an instrument to increase production. It is apparent that still production was privileged overconsumption.

After the Second World War, on the other hand, the situation had changed in favor of consumption with the expansion of shopping malls in the United States (Ritzer, 2005, p. 9). The scholars had begun to discuss the consumer. First, consumers had considered as passive actors whose choices were manipulated (Crane, 2010, p. 357). Then, the symbolic meanings of consumption for consumers began to be argued. Baudrillard (2004) argued that commodities are no longer defined by their use but by what they signify and what we consume is signed (messages and images) rather than commodities (p. 7). Hence, the studies on the concepts of critical consumption and critical consumer has begun. Critical consumption studies have been discussed that consumption of some types of products rather than others makes a statement about political choices (Crane, 2010, p. 358). Accordingly, the consumer has been positioned as active, productive and responsible for how to consume in everyday life (Sassatelli, 2006, p. 230). Consequently, the possibility to bring social change through using the purchasing power of individual consumers in alternative ways has arisen (Crane, 2010, p. 360).

5.2.7. Collaborative Consumption and Neighbor Collaboration

Collaborative consumption has been an alternative way of consumption. The term first used by Felson and Spaeth (1978) and described as; “events in which one or more persons consume economic goods or services in the process of engaging in joint activities with one or more others” (p. 614). With the digitalization, the meaning of the concept has turned into “people coordinating the acquisition and distribution of a resource for a fee or other compensation” (Belk, 2014, p. 1597). Online platforms have enabled users to share and collaborate in various dimensions; redistribution markets, collaborative product-service systems and collaborative lifestyles. Redistribution markets are platforms where second-hand materials are redistributed either through selling, bartering or giving for free. Collaborative

product-service systems are based on access to certain products and services such as car-sharing, and, ride-sharing. Collaborative lifestyles mean sharing intangible assets such as social lending, time-banking and co-working.

It has been argued that collaborative lifestyle practices in small communities like a neighborhood increases community benefits “including contribution to personal and community well-being, dematerialization, and community empowerment” (Daniel et. al., 2010, p. 22). When the neighbor collaboration practices emerged with this study examined it can be said that those kinds of community benefits have increased to a considerable extent. For instance, the ring service, the reading room, the use of the meeting room other than general assemblies, and, neighbors’ getting a say in administrative affairs of the complex are empowered the community as well as contribute to personal and community well-being.

However, the main critique of collaborative consumption should not be ignored. The scholars have been blistered the marketing approach of collaborative consumption that leads to commercialize aspects of life that were previously beyond the access of the market (Morozov, 2013, p. 8). This situation results in the reproduction of labor relations in non-economic spheres (Cockayne, 2016, p. 79). One of the incidences in the neighbor-management cooperation demonstrates such an example. In the children festival, the management made an agreement with a private school to lend us some of their playground materials, tools and toys that resulted in the school’s taking advantage of the situation to use the gathering as a marketing strategy with their huge posters on every corner of the hall. Thus, a festival designed for kids turned somehow into a vehicle of the market. In addition to that, neighbor-management cooperations created a hierarchy through putting management representatives in the leader positions nevertheless the decisions were made by both neighbors and the management. Though the collaborative lifestyle practices have helped to change the power balance in favor of the neighbors, avoiding the reproduction of new power-relations seems extremely challenging.

To conclude, the data collected from natural observations and focus-group sessions carried out by the researcher as a participant-observer indicates that (i) ATA 2, despite being a gated community, hosts a public sphere that may be interpreted in the context of city-right. However, it is not certain that this publicity is privatized in terms of gender—this ambiguity requires further research to be cleared. (ii) This publicity emerged or developed during the study by stimulating neighbor collaboration and collaborative lifestyle practices. (iii) As the residents collaborated, the uncertainty which came from not knowing each other and each other's goals have been diminished, and they became able to predict what to come from these relationships. Thus, they became more enthusiastic about collaborating and co-operating. (iv) This whole process helped the community (a) to resolve the conflict between the managerial board and the residents, and (b) to change the balance of power relations within the community and between the inhabitants and the board of management.

It has been concluded that with the participation of each individual in the cooperation processes and the formation of a culture of ethical discussion, with the breaking of hierarchical relations in face-to-face communication as well as in instrumental communication, a real public space path will be opened and the right of the city will not be a dream in a gated community.

CONCLUSION

I would like to summarize the position that I came to the end of the fieldwork from the motivation that I started with this study. I decided to study on Ata 2 after I started living there for the second time—after a long break, as a woman. Ata 2 used to represent the “true childhood experiences” part of my childhood since it was the symbol of my rescue from Nişantaşı where it is not hard, but impossible to be, act or behave as a child. Unlike our times in Nişantaşı, I could child myself during the time we were living in Ata 2.

However, when I moved there for the second time as a grown-up, as a woman, I realized that the place I sanctified was, in fact (or became) a gendered gated community that lacked a true public sphere with sulky people. The place I remembered was supposed to be where there was a culture of neighborhood—yet, it was not the case. There was also tension between the managerial board and the inhabitants, and both parts seemed unhappy. Apartment owners were nervous because they still could not get their owner’s license. The tenants were not happy because the board of management was not paying attention to their needs and demands. The board of management was not content because they could only react because of the tension—they had lost the enthusiasm to be proactive, or even active.

Long story short, it was a huge disappointment. I have lost a blessed childhood element of my memories. I had to do something. The problem was obvious. The solution, though not easy or even impossible to achieve as an individual, was also obvious: I had to act to improve the social life and publicity in Ata 2. I had to trigger the possibility of a collaboration among the inhabitants. I had to stimulate the board of management to participate in this collaboration process. But how? I decided to turn this motive into a case study as my PhD thesis.

I started with raw or natural observations. I tried to participate in whatever happens inside Ata 2 as I studied the literature concerning collaborative lifestyle practices, interpersonal communication, public sphere, gender, and, the right to the city. As I was building up my conceptual skills to understand the case better, I started digging

into whatever happens online in social media among Ata 2 residents, and I joined their groups. The more I participated, the eager I became to act and study.

I realized that the interpersonal communication theories —which claim that as people get to know each other and as they see the outcomes of their potential relationship, i.e. when they overcome the uncertainty, their anxiety fades away— actually do work. The more people engaged in common practices or activities, the better they got to know each other. The more they got to know each other, the more zealous they became to collaborate. As they collaborate, they could speak up and build a horizontal relationship with the board of management, which implied the reduction of the political tension within Ata 2. This would mean that the way for a true public sphere (i.e. an ethical debate culture) was opening and that “right to the city” may not be only a dream within a gated community.

Then, it was time for focus group sessions. They helped me understand how people think, this time, not only from their deeds but also through their expressions and discourses.

Before the research started, I thought that mediated communication is as important as face-to-face communication in my observations about the complex. The theories of interpersonal communication in the research process were instrumental in assessing face-to-face communication, but mediated communication was as valuable as face-to-face communication. On the other hand, when the findings are considered, it can be said that face-to-face communication and mediated communication are intertwined in many processes, from gathering focus groups to forming volunteer groups for the issues discussed there.

The focus groups made me realize that, no matter how much people collaborate, they still keep a bit of their tendency to act or behave according to prescribed gender roles. Collaboration sometimes required a division of labor, and the tasks were divided according to gender. This was the main obstacle to build the hope for a true public sphere inside a gated community: the “gendered” privatization of publicity.

At this point, I need to get away from my personal story and briefly recall the theoretical structure in the background. The public sphere is where individual differences come together. Public spaces are those that differentiate the individual from the community and, at the same time, reveal the similarities and differences of the individual with others. All individuals should benefit from the opportunities offered by the city on an equal and balanced basis and have the opportunity to participate effectively in educational, artistic and political activities. Since the activities carried out within these areas are specific only to a certain group, they do not have a full public character. Although the quantity of activities is high, the quality of public use is poor as the possibility of encountering different people is eliminated. Also, people do not need to use public spaces in their environment and withdraw from them. It separates the public spaces around it with strong border elements and weakens its connection with the city. Therefore, publicity can be reconsidered in the housing areas, and the experiences of encountering the whole urban space can be increased.

The space is not a passive stage, nor a material ground on which people claim merely within the framework of property relations. Understanding of space as an extension of social relations makes it an effective part of these relations. Space is produced by social relations and also participates in the production of these relations. On the one hand, the ground of publicity as the stage of collective word and action; on the other hand, it can be said that it is the public itself as a common. Also, the city is not just a physical environment; It is a socially constructed spatial scale. Therefore, while planning and implementing urban participation processes, it is necessary to rely on urban rights as a conceptual framework that emphasizes the social dimension and strengthens the city and urbanity.

As a result, the common areas where access is not restricted, and which have full public space characteristics, allow people to get to know each other. Reducing spatial segregation also reduces social segregation and the feeling of exclusion and marginalization among segregated groups. Instead of closed settlements that trigger spatial segregation in urban areas, physical and visually connected settlements

without strong access constraints should be planned with public common spaces capable of joining different parts.

The city is a specialized settlement type as the intersection point of diversity and differences. Urban life obliges bodies to represent different thoughts to live together. Living together creates an environment of diversity and difference and, also creates conflicts or conflicts caused by this environment. Individuals become part of the social life cycle by sharing the contradictions encountered in urban life with the society in line with social consciousness. The other part of this cycle is the connection between the places where the problems are raised and the individuals. Considering the spaces that individuals choose to address their problems, common public areas become even more important.

Urban spaces have become the center of conflicts. Alternative solutions such as the prevention of these conflicts and negotiating democracy for a city democracy in which citizens are the real owners of the city are being considered. In these negotiation processes, common public problems are discussed, and public spaces where all citizens are involved in the solution of the problems are mentioned. Urban democracy implies that public interventions should be planned as multi-functional and multi-focused. Communication and communication tools are one of the most important elements that will open the channels of dialogue in the solution of urban conflicts and enable the citizens of the city to develop ideas freely. Citizens need to create a public debate on urban issues. Participation is very important to increase the sense of responsibility and awareness about local problems. This is necessary for a democratic and pluralistic urban environment. Instead of communication strategies that reproduce inequalities and conflicts and exclude those in the minority, based on a rights-oriented structure and based on the idea that another communication is possible, cooperation strategies aim to create a communication environment with public responsibility.

The modern city has been one of the most important areas of conflict of conflicting interests. While urban space is the scene of these struggles, the social forces

involved in these struggles reproduce and transform the space consciously or unconsciously. In this context, the struggles on space in space are at the center of the power struggles. The new paradigm shaped by the values of consumption and consumerism creates a new city and aims to improve the lives of the citizens in such a city; there is no approach to use living spaces, public buildings, and spaces for public benefit.

The political and economic restructuring created by the process of neoliberalism and governance policy in cities adversely affected the participation rights of the inhabitants, and control was transferred from citizens and elected government to supranational companies and structures. Neoliberal urbanization processes and understanding of local government do not allow citizens to participate in decisions about the city they live in and to implement negotiating democracy.

As the urbanization processes enhanced, neighborhood relations have changed. Instead of knowing your neighbor in person, now, new neighbor relations are created and continued from virtual online groups. This study, with the concept of neighbor collaboration, intended to combine both communication strategies; face-to-face and mediated communication; to understand the possibility of creating a public debate culture and experiencing a fragment of the right to the city in a gated community through triggering collaboration and collaborative lifestyle practices.

Since the 1980s, Istanbul has entered a major urban restructuring process as a result of a series of transformations parallel to neoliberal policies. The implementation of mega projects, major real estate investments, and the dominance of the construction sector in the urban economy are some of these changes. The neoliberal urbanization process that began in Istanbul after the 1980s became more visible and settled in the 2000s. Neo-liberal politics have had a significant impact on the socio-spatial structure of Istanbul.

When we look at Ata 2 from the macro dimension, it can be said that it is important for individuals to come together, engage in joint activities, and equal participation in decision-making mechanisms in the context of the right to the city. The Gezi Park

movement can be expressed as the struggle of citizens who hold the right of use and production of urban space in the face of neoliberal urbanization practices such as regulation of public spaces according to the priorities of capital, exclusion of city citizens from local decision-making processes, and neoliberal urbanization practices such as the highwayization, non-pedestrianization and concretization of Taksim. The most important reason for the opposition of these regulations, which transformed the daily life of the citizens of the city with the public responsibility in the face of these arrangements that reconstructed the city life such as the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and the construction of a shopping mall in the city center, was not presented to the public with a deliberative approach and no public discussion was conducted.

As a result of the urbanization processes, the evolution of housing life into more closed settlements leads to a differentiation that distinguishes itself from publicity. At the macro level, it can be stated that urban conflicts resulting from the retreat of public spaces by gated communities and private property-based housing policies can be seen in the political tension between the administration and the inhabitants on the micro-scale complex.

Although it is a 'gated community', Ata 2 hosts a public space that can be interpreted in the context of the right to the city. This has arisen or evolved by promoting neighbor collaboration. Through using the advantages of online connectivity of neighbors, it has become possible to gather neighbors to make public debates. This process had eventually formed into the creation of voluntary neighbor groups that have specific goals to improve the social life of the complex. The whole process helped the community resolve the conflict between the board and the inhabitants to a great extent as well as change the balance of power relations between the community and the inhabitants and the board.

In the case of Ata 2, neighbor collaboration, between neighbors and between neighbors and management, will encourage participation in voluntarily organized collaborations to improve social life within the complex, and through the formation

of a culture of ethical discussion, a real public space path can be opened through non-hierarchical organizations. It was concluded that the right to the city would not be a dream in a 'gated community'.

In summary, this research has attempted to reveal the possibility of creating a public space on behalf of the right to the city from a gated community by triggering neighbor collaboration. It also tried to test the validity or tools of some interpersonal communication theories that could promise to resolve conflicts between people. The participants proposed a system in which the residents participated horizontally in the management. The emphasis on autonomy in this proposal and positioning against the hierarchical structure, the idea of organizing the place where they live, can be considered as the foundations of the right to the city. In this context, neighboring and neighbor collaboration lifestyle practices can be seen as a sign of the emergence of a public sphere in the social and physical environment of neighbors.

An important contribution of this research is that neighbor collaboration practices and collaborative consumption lead residents to get to know each other and thus to learn about each other's goals together with which they can be successful. This means that they overcome the anxiety of being alien to each other (or uncertainty) and can predict the positive results of their collaboration. The more they know each other and act together, the more willing they are to cooperate. Therefore, it can be said that interpersonal communication theories (uncertainty reduction theory, predicted outcome value theory, and anxiety or uncertainty management theory) work in this context. It can be said that neighbor collaborations have emerged through the ability to estimate outcome values for such situations through online publications on collaborations, focus group sessions and activities commission meetings. These actions of collaboration led residents to cooperate with the administration.

Another significant finding of the study was the reduction of political tension between neighbors and management when residents collaborated for common

goals. If we evaluate this situation in terms of the right to the city, having a say about the social life of the place where people live plays a decisive role in resolving conflicts with the management. Therefore, this study can be seen as meaningful in terms of examining the relationship between the right to the city and conflict resolution. However, since this study does not aim to provide an in-depth discussion of conflict resolution, it focuses solely on how to reduce tensions between residents and complex management. It would be more helpful to conduct such an investigation using the conflict resolution literature.

The main focus of the study is on collaboration and communication strategies. The debate on space and gender inequality was also very important. However, issues such as the right to the city, space, gender could be included within the limitations of the research. Therefore, new studies focusing directly on these concepts can be studied in the future. In this study, gender was discussed in the discussions on the public sphere, but it can be looked directly at the complex life through gender.

The case discussed in this study is a complex established in the 1980s. Although it is a reflection of neoliberal housing policies after 1980, it is not a typical closed campus. In this sense, this study can be repeated in closed settlements that emerged after the 2000s. Likewise, the questions that cannot be answered within the limitations of this study can be focused in the future.

REFERENCES

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. S. (1984). *Dictionary of Sociology*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Agyeman, J., McLaren, D. & Schaefer-Borrego, A. (2013). Briefing: Sharing Cities, in *Friends of the Earth*, (September), 1-32.
- Albisson, P. A. & Perera, B. (2012). Alternative Marketplaces in the 21st Century: Building Community Through Sharing Events. in *Journal of Consumer Behavior*, 11, 303-315.
- Altun, D. A. (2010). Kapalı Konut Siteleri ve Mahalle Kavramı, in *İdeal Kent Dergisi*, 2, 216-244.
- Antheunis, M. L., Valkenburg, P. M. & Peter, J. (2010). Getting Acquainted Through Social Network Sites: Testing A Model of Online Uncertainty Reduction and Social Attraction. in *Computers in Human Behavior*, 26, 100-109.
- Aydın, S. (2012). İstanbul'da Orta Sınıf ve Kapalı Siteler. in *İdeal Kent*, 6, 96-123
- Babrow, A. S., Kasch, C. R. & Ford, L. A. (1998). The Many Meanings of Uncertainty in Illness: Toward A Systematic Accounting. in *Health Communication*, 10, 1-23.
- Balaban, O. (2011). İnşaat Sektörü Neyin Lokomotifi, in *Birikim Dergisi*, 270: 19-26.
- Bali, R. (2002). *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life-Style'a, Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar Yeni Yaşamlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Bardhi, F. & Eckhardt, G. (2012). Accessed-Based Consumption: The Case of Car Sharing. in *Journal of Consumption Research*, 39, 881-898.
- Barnes, S. J. & Mattsson, J. (2017). Understanding Collaborative Consumption: Test of A Theoretical Model. in *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 118, 281-292.

- Baudrillard, J. (2004). *The Consumer Society. Myths and Structures*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Belk, R. (2014a). Sharing Versus Pseudo-Sharing in Web 2.0. in *Anthropologist*, 18 (1), 7-23.
- Belk, R. (2014b). You Are What You Can Access: Sharing and Collaborative Consumption Online. in *Journal of Business Research*, 67 (8), 1595-1600.
- Belzile, J. A. & Öberg, G. (2012). Where to Begin? Grappling with How to Use Participant Interaction In Focus Group Design. in *Qualitative Research*, 12 (4), 459-472.
- Berger, C. R. (1975). Proactive and Retroactive Attribution Processes. in *Human Communication Research*. 2, 33-50.
- Berger, C. R. (1979). Beyond Initial Interaction: Uncertainty, Understanding and The Development of Interpersonal Relationships. H. Giles & R. N. St. Clair (Eds). in *Language and Social Psychology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Berger, C. R. & Bradac, J. J. (1982). *Language and Social Knowledge: Uncertainty in Interpersonal Relations*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Berger, C. R., Calabrese, R. (1975). Some Explorations in Initial Interaction and Beyond: Toward A Developmental Theory Of Interpersonal Communication. in *Human Communication Research*, 1, 99-112.
- Berger, C. R. & Gudykunst, W. B. (1991). Uncertainty and Communication. in *Progress in Communication Sciences*, B. Dervin and M. J. Vogt (Eds.), Vol. 10, 21-66. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Berköz, L. (2012). Güvenlikli Yerleşimler: Konut Kullanıcılarının Yaşam Tercihlerindeki Değişim, in *İdeal Kent*, Sayı:6 172-189.
- Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (second edition). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

- Blakely, E. J. & Synder, M. G. (1997). *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- Blakely, E. J. & Synder, M. G. (1998). Separate Places: Crime and Security in Gated Communities. M. Felson and R.B. Peiser (eds.), in *Reducing Crime Through Real Estate Development and Management*. Washington: Urban Land Institute. 53-70.
- Bondi, L. (1992). Gender Symbols and Urban Landscapes. in *Progress in Human Geography*. 16(2), 157-170.
- Bondi, L. & Rose, D. (2003). Constructing Gender, Constructing the Urban: A Review of Anglo-American Feminist Urban Geography. in *Gender, Place and Culture*. 10(3), 229-245.
- Bornstein, K. (1994). *Gender Outlaw on Men, Women and the Rest of Us*. New York: Routledge.
- Botsman, R. (2015). Defining The Sharing Economy: What is Collaborative Consumption And What Isn't?. in *Fast Company*.
<https://www.fastcompany.com/3046119/defining-the-sharing-economy-what-is-collaborative-consumption-and-what-isnt>
- Botsman, R. & Rogers, R. (2010). *What's mine is yours: The rise of collaborative consumption*. New York: Harper Business.
- Bradac, J. (2001). Theory Comparison: Uncertainty Reduction, Problematic Integration, Uncertainty Management, And Other Curious Constructs. in *Journal of Communication*, 51 (3), 456- 476.
- Bruno, D. (2008). Testing Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory across Hispanic-Non-Hispanic Barriers, in *Communication Studies Undergraduate Publications, Presentations and Projects*. 56.
- Butler, J. (1990). Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity. in *Thinking Gender*. New York, London: Routledge.

- Cammaerts, B. (2007). Citizenship, The Public Sphere and Media, in *Reclaiming The Media: Communication Rights and Democratic Media Roles*. Cammaerts, Bart and Carpentier, Nico, (eds.) European Communication Research and Education Association Series 3, Bristol: Intellect Books.
- Candan, A. B. & Kolluoğlu, B. (2008). Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and A Public Housing Project, in *Istanbul, New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 39, 5-46.
- Carey, M. A. & Asbury, J. E. (2012). *Focus Group Research*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Castells, M. (1991). *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Celasun, O. (1998). *The Currency Crisis in Turkey*, World Bank Development Research Group Working Paper, No:1917.
- Chasin, V., von Hoffen, C. M. & Matzner, M. (2017). Peer-To-Peer Sharing and Collaborative Consumption Platforms: A Taxonomy and A Reproducible Analysis. in *Information Systems and e-Business Management*, 1-33.
- Cockayne, D. G. (2016). Sharing and Neoliberal Discourse: The Economic Function of Sharing in The Digital On-Demand Economy. in *Geoforum*, 77, 73-82.
- Cohen, B. & Munoz, P. (2016). Sharing Cities, Sustainable Consumption and Production: Towards an Integrated Framework. in *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 134, 87-97.
- Cova, B. (1997). Community and Consumption: Towards A Definition of the 'Linking Value' of Product of Services, in *European Journal of Marketing*, 31 (3), 297-316.
- Crane, D. (2010). Environmental Change and The Future of Consumption: Implications for Consumer Identity. in *Anuario Filosófico*, 43(2), 353-379.

- Çavdar, A. (2013). *Loss of Modesty: The Adventure of Muslim Family from Mahalle to Gated Community*. (PhD Thesis). Europa Universitat Viadrina, Frankfurt. Daniel, R., Horwitz, S., MacPherson, L. & Prato, M. (2010). *Collaborative services: Communities innovating towards sustainability*. (Master's Degree Thesis), Blakinge Institute of Technology, Sweden.
- Davidson, N. M. & Infranca, J. J. (2016). The Sharing Economy as An Urban Phenomenon. in *Yale Law and Policy Review*, 34 (2), 216-240.
- DeWalt, K. M. & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Second Edition, UK: Altamira Press.
- Drucker, S. & Gumpert, G. (2016). The Communicative City Redux. in *International Journal of Communication*, 10, 1366-1387.
- DuPuis, N. & Rainwater, B. (2015). Shifting Perceptions of Collaborative Consumption. in *National League of Cities*, 1-9. <http://www.nlc.org/sites/default/files/2017-01/Brief%20-%20Shifting%20Perceptions%20of%20Collaborative%20Consumption2015.pdf>.
- Felson, M. & Spaeth, J. (1978). Community Structure and Collaborative Consumption: A Routine Activity Approach. in *The American Behavioural Scientist*, 21(4), 614-624.
- Fenster, T. (2005). The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life, in *Journal of Gendered Studies*, 14(3), 217-231.
- Fenster, T. (2010). The Right to the City and Gendered Everyday Life, in *Cities for All*, Sugranyes, A. Mathivet, Ch. (ed.) Habitat International Coalition, 66-67.
- Fink, M., & Ranchordás, S. (2017). Sharing and the City. in *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 15, 1299–1368.
- Firat, F. A. & Venkatesh, A. (1995). Liberatory Postmodernism and the Reenchantment of Consumption. in *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (3), 239-267.

- Flyvbjerg, B. (2013). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. in *Qualitative Inquiry*. 12:2, 219-245
- Fonseca, M. (2008). Understanding Consumer Culture: The Role of “Food” As an Important Cultural Category, in *LA-Latin American Advances in Consumer Research*, MN: Association for Consumer Research, Volume 2, 28-33.
- Gansmo, H. (2012). Municipal Planning of a Sustainable Neighborhood: Action Research and Stakeholder Dialogue. in *Building Research and Information*, 40 (4), 493-503.
- Geray, C. (1994). Konutta Kooperatif ve Belediye İşbirliği, in *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, 3:1, 39-45.
- Giffort, R. (2011). The Consequences of Living in High-rise Buildings, *Architectural Science Review*, 50 (1), 2-17.
- Gold, R. L. (1958). Roles in Sociological Field Observations. in *Social Forces*, 36 (3), 217-223.
- Grant, J. (2003). Planning Responses to Gated Communities in Canada. in *Housing Studies*, 20(2), 277-289.
- Gregg, M. (2015). *The Doublespeak of The Gig Economy*. September 11, 2015. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/09/gig-economy-doublespeak-new-labor/404779/>
- Gregory, L. (2009). Spending Time Locally: The Benefit of Time Banks for Local Economies. in *Local Economy*, 24 (4), 323-333.
- Griffin, E. (2011). *A First Look at Communication Theory*, Eight Edition, McGraw-Hill.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (1988). Uncertainty and Anxiety. in *Theories in intercultural communication*, Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), 123-156. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Gudykunst, W. B. (1995). The Uncertainty Reduction and Anxiety-Uncertainty, in *Watershed Research Traditions in Human Communication Theory*, ed. Donald P. Cushman and Branislav Kovacic', 67-100. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (2005). An Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory of Effective Communication: Making the Mesh of the Net Finer. In *Theorizing Intercultural Communication*, W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), 281-322. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W. B. & Hammer, M. R. (1988). Strangers and Hosts: An Uncertainty Reduction Based Theory of Intercultural Adaptation, in *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches*, Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.) 106–39. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W. B. & Nishida, T. (1986). Attributional Confidence in Low and High-Context Cultures. in *Human Communication Research*, 12 (4), 525-549.
- Gümüő, B. & Eser Gegez, E. (2017). Deęiően Tüketici Kültüründe Yeni Trend: Ortaktüketim. in *Pazarlama ve Pazarlama Araőtırmaları Dergisi*, 20, 155-177.
- Güney, S. (2009). Mortgage Krizi Ve Yapı Kooperatifleri. in *Sosyal Bilimler Elektronik Dergisi*, 8 (30), 167-180.
- Günlük Őenesen, G., Yücel, Y., Yakar Önal, A., Ergüneő, N. & Çakar Yakut, B. (2017). *Kadınsız Kentler, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Açısından Belediyelerin Politika ve Bütçeleri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Gürbüz, H. (2013). Türkiye’de Otokratik Motifli Neo-Liberal Zihniyet Algısının Őehirleri Yeniden Biçimlendiriliői: Gaziantep-Nuri Pazarbaőı Mahallesi Örneęi, in *4. KentSEL ve Bölgesel Araőtırmalar Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı*, 23-39, Ankara: Ortadoęu Teknik Üniversitesi.
- Güven, S. K. & Kar, A. (2013) Kutuplaő(tır)manın Yeni Mekânları: Kapalı Siteler, in *Folklor/Edebiyat*, 19:75. 9-36.

- Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Habermas, J. (1974). The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article, in *New German Critique*, 3, 49-55.
- Halis, B. (2012). Tüketimin Değişen Yüzü: Elektronik Ticaret Uygulamaları ve Sosyal Paylaşım Ağlarının Rolü. in *Tarih, Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1 (4), 149-160.
- Halkier, B. (2010). Focus Groups as Social Enactments Integrating Interaction and Content in the Analysis of Focus Group Data. in *Qualitative Research*, 10, 71-89.
- Hamari, J., Sjöklint, M. & Ukkonen, A. (2015). The Sharing Economy: Why People Participate in Collaborative Consumption. in *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 1-13.
- Hamelink, C. (2012). The Communicative City, in *Communication and Human Rights*, Aimée Vega Montiel (Ed.), Mexico: International Association for Media and Communication Research.
- Hammer, M. R., Wiseman, R. L., Rasmussen, J. L., & Brusckke, J. C. (1998). A Test of Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory: The Intercultural Adaptation Context. in *Communication Quarterly*, 46, 309–326.
- Hartl, B., Hofmann, E. & Kirchler, E. (2016). Do We Need Rules for “What’s Mine is Yours”? Governance in Collaborative Consumption Communities. in *Journal of Business Research*, 69 (8), 2756- 2763.
- Harvey, D. (2009). *Social Justice and The City*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Harvey, D. (2012) *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, London and New York, Verso.

- Heinrichs, H. (2013). Sharing Economy: A Potential New Pathway to Sustainability. in *Gaia*, 22 (4), 228-231.
- Hennig-Thurau, T., Hennig, V. & Sattler, H. (2007). Consumer File Sharing of Motion Pictures. in *Journal of Marketing*, 7(4), 1-18.
- Holbrook, M. B. & Hirschman, E. C. (1982). The Experiential Aspects of Consumption: Consumer Fantasies, Feelings, and Fun, in *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(2), 132–140.
- Işık, O. & Pınarcıoğlu, M. (2003). *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk: Gecekondulaşma ve Kent Yoksulları: Sultanbeyli Örneği*, İstanbul: İletişim.
- Işıkkaya, A. D. (2016). Housing Policies in Turkey: Evolution of TOKİ as an Urban Tool. in *Journal of Civil Engineering and Architecture*, 316-326.
- Jaziri Bouagira, D. & Triki, A. (2014). From Postmodernism to Postmodern Consumer: The Impact on The Consumption Theory. in *Postmodern Openings*, 5 (2), 99-117.
- Jeffres, L. W. (2010). The Communicative City: Conceptualizing, Operationalizing, and Policy Making. in *Journal of Planning Literature*, 25 (2), 99-110.
- Jeffres, L.W., Jian, G., and Yoon (S. 2007). *Conceptualizing Communication Capital for Civic Engagement*. Paper presented to the Political Communication Division at the annual conference of the National Communication Association, Chicago, Ill.
- Jenkins, R., Molesworth, M. & Scullion, R. (2014). The Messy Social Lives of Objects: Inter-Personal Borrowing and The Ambiguity of Possession and Ownership. in *Journal of Consumer Behavior*, 13, 131-139.
- Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). *Participant Observation*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Jöhnemark, A. (2015). *Exploring the Possibilities for Implementing Collaborative Consumption Within Hammarby Sjöstad, Stockholm: Going Beyond the Visions of*

- the Citizen Initiative HS2020*. (Master's Degree Thesis), KTH Royal Institute and Technology, Stockholm.
- Kawulich, B. B. (2005). Participant Observation as A Data Collection Method, in *Qualitative Social Research*, 43, 6 (2). <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430>.
- Keleş, R. (2004). Implications of Urbanization for Turkey: The Case of İstanbul. in *Kluwer Academic Papers*, 345-359.
- Kellekci, Ö. L. & Berköz, L. (2006). Mass Housing: User Satisfaction in Housing and Its Environment Istanbul, Turkey. *Eur. J. Housing Policy*, 6(1), 77-99.
- Kellermann, K. & Reynolds, R. (1990). When Ignorance is Bliss: The Role of Motivation to Reduce Uncertainty in Uncertainty Reduction Theory. in *Human Communication Research*, 17 (1), 5-75.
- Kelly, E. D. & Becker, B. (2000). *Community Planning: An Introduction to the Comprehensive Plan*. Island Press.
- Kenney, M. & Zysman, J. (2016). The Rise of the Platform Economy. in *Science and Technology*, 32 (3), 61-70.
- Keyder, Ç. (1999). *İstanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Ed. Çağlar Keyder. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kramer, M. W. (2004). *Managing Uncertainty in Organizational Communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Krueger, J. (2010). Extended Cognition and The Space of Social Interaction. *Center for Subjectivity Research*, Njalsgade: University of Copenhagen, 140-142.
- Kunduracı, N. F. (2013). Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Sosyal Konut Uygulamaları. in *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, 22 (3), 53-77.

- Laamanen, M., Wahlen, S. & Campana, M. (2015). Mobilizing Collaborative Consumption Lifestyles: A Comparative Analysis of Time Banking. in *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 39(5), 459-467.
- Lamberton, C. P. & Rose, R. L. (2012). When Is our Better Than Mine? A Framework for Understanding and Altering Participation in Commercial Sharing Systems. in *Journal of Marketing*, 76, 109-125.
- Leavy, P. (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*, Translated and edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lewin, A. C. (1981). *Housing Cooperatives in Developing Countries: A Manual for Self-Help in Low-Cost Housing Schemes*, USA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Mack, N., Woodson, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G. & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. North Carolina: Family Health International.
- Mackellar, J. (2013). Participant Observation at Events: Theory, Practice and Potential. in *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*. Vol. 4 Issue: 1, 56-65.
- Mackenzie, S. (2002). Kentte Kadınlar, in *20. Yüzyıl Kenti*, Duru, B. ve Alkan, A. (translate and ed.), Ankara: İmge Yayınevi. 249-285.
- Malinowski, B. (1961). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: Dutton Press.
- Marangoz, M., Bayraktaroğlu, F. & Aydın, A. E. (2017). Tüketimde Alternatif Bir Yaklaşım Olarak Paylaşım Ekonomisi: Ortak Kullanım Ağlarının İçerik Analizi ile İncelenmesi. in *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Pazarlama Kongresi Özel Sayısı, 134-148.

- Martin, C. J. (2016). The Sharing Economy: A Pathway to Sustainability or A Nightmarish Form of Neoliberal Capitalism? in *Ecological Economics*, 121, 149-159.
- Mauss, M. (1990). *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: Routledge.
- McLaren, D. & Agyeman, J. (2015). *Sharing Cities: A Case for Truly Smart and Sustainable Cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Micheletti, M. (2003). *Political Virtue and Shopping. Individuals, Consumerism and Collective Action*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Morgan, D. (1997). *The Focus Group Guidebook*. Sage Publication, UK.
- Morgan, G., & Smircich, L. (1980). The Case for Qualitative Research. in *Academy of Management Review*, 5, 491-500.
- Morozov, E. (2013). *The 'Sharing Economy' Undermines Workers' Rights*. October 14, 2013. <http://evgenymorozov.tumblr.com/post/64038831400/the-sharing-economyunderminesworkers-rights>
- Mulhall, A. (2003). In the Field: Notes on Observation in Qualitative Research, in *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 41 (3), 306-313.
- Mullin, B. A. & Hogg, M. A. (1999). Motivations for Group Membership: The Role of Subjective Importance and Uncertainty Reduction. in *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 21(2), 91-102.
- Myers, G. (1998). Displaying Opinions: Disagreement and Topic Shifts in Focus Groups. in *Language in Society*, 27, 85-111.
- Myerson, D. L. (2004). *Involving the Community in Neighborhood Planning*. Urban Land Institute.

- Newman, L. K. (2002). Sex, Gender and Culture: Issues in the Definition, Assessment and Treatment of Gender Identity Disorder. in *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, v. 7, p.358-367.
- Ni, L., & Wang, Q. (2011). Anxiety and Uncertainty Management in An Intercultural Setting: The Impact on Organization-Public Relationships. in *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 23(3), 269-301.
- Nica, E. & Potcovaru, A. (2015). The Social Sustainability of The Sharing Economy. in *Economics, Management and Financial Markets*, 10(4), 69-75.
- Oakley, A. (1972). *Sex, Gender and Society*. London: Temple Smith.
- Owyang, J., Tran, C. & Silva, C. (2013). The Collaborative Economy. in *Altimeter Research: Digital Economies*, 1-27.
- Ozanne, L. K. & Ballantine, P. W. (2010). Sharing as A Form of Anti-Consumption? An Examination of Toy Library Users. in *Journal of Consumer Behavior*, 9, 485- 498.
- Özakbaş, D. (2015). 1950 Yılı Sonrası İstanbul'da Konut Alanlarının Oluşumu ve Sorunları, in *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, 8:22, 415-448.
- Özgür, F. E. (2006). Sosyal ve Mekânsal Ayrışma Çerçevesinde Yeni Konutlaşma Eğilimleri: Kapalı Siteler, İstanbul Çekmeköy Örneği, in *Planlama*, 79-95.
- Özkan, A. (2009). *The Critical Evaluation of Housing Cooperatives in Turkey Within the Framework of Collective Action Theories: A Case Study in Ankara and İstanbul*. (PhD Thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- Parks, M. R. & Adelman, M. B. (1983). Communication Networks and The Development of Romantic Relationships: An Expansion of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. in *Human Communication Research*, 10 (1), 55-79.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Perrotta, C. (2004), Consumption as an Investment. The Fear of Goods from Hesiod to Adam Smith, in *Economia Politica*, 3, 503-512.
- Pérouse, J. F. (2011). *İstanbul'la Yüzleşme Denemeleri, Çeperler, Hareketlilik ve Kentsel Bellek*, İletişim: İstanbul.
- Pérouse, J.F. & Daniş, A. D. (2005). Güvenliğin Mekanda Yeni Yansımaları: İstanbul'da Güvenlikli Siteler. in *Toplum ve Bilim*, (104), 92-123.
- Piscicelli, L., Cooper, T. & Fisher, T. (2014). The Role of Values in Collaborative Consumption: Insights from A Product-Service System for Lending and Borrowing in the UK. in *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 1-9.
- Puchta, C. & Potter, J. (2004). *Focus Group Practice*. Sage Publications: California, USA.
- Ramirez, A.; Walther, J. B.; Burgoon, J. K. & Sunnafrank, M. (2002). Information-Seeking, Uncertainty and Computer-Mediated Communication: Toward A Conceptual Model. in *Human Communication Research*, 28 (29), 213-228.
- Redmond, M. (2015). Uncertainty Reduction Theory. in *English Technical Reports and White Papers*, 3, 1-46.
- Ritzer, G. (2005). *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Ritzer, G. & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'Prosumer'. in *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 10 (1), 13-36.
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner Researchers*. Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Roitman, S. (2010). Gated Communities: Definitions, Causes and Consequences. in *Urban Design and Planning*, 163 (1); 31-38.

- Sassatelli, R. (2006). Virtue, Responsibility and Consumer Choice: Framing Critical Consumerism, in *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives*, edited by John Brewer and Frank Trentmann, Berg: Oxford, 219-250.
- Sassatelli, R. (2014). Politics of Consumption, Politics of Justice: The Political Investment of the Consumer, in *Consumer Culture*, N. Marthur (ed.), 293-317.
- Scott, J., & Marshall, G. (2005). *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seyfang, G. (2004). Working Outside the Box: Community Currencies, Time Banks and Social Inclusion. in *Journal of Social Policy*, 33(1), 49-71.
- Shaheen, S. A., Mallery, M. & Kingsley, K. J. (2012). Personal Vehicle Sharing Services in North America. in *Research in Transportation, Business and Management*, 3, 71-81.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant Observation*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd. 443-466.
- Sundararajan, A. (2016). *The Sharing Economy: The End of Employment and the Rise of Crowd-Based Capitalism*. USA: The MIT Press.
- Sunnafrank, M. (1986). Predicted Outcome Value During Initial Interactions: A Reformulation of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. in *Human Communication Research*, 13 (1), 3-33.
- Şengül, T. (2002). Kapitalist Kentleşme Dinamikleri ve Türkiye Kentleri. in *Evrensel Kültür Dergisi*, 128.

- Tekeli, İ. (1996). *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınları.
- Tekeli, İ. & İlkin, S. (1984). *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü*. Ankara: Kent-Koop.
- Tosuner, A. (2011). *A Study on Encouraging Role of Content Production in Collaborative Consumption Networks at The Reduction of Consumer Behavior Through Web Sites: Zumbara, Freeconomy, Community Exchange Network, Freecycle Network*. (Master's Degree Thesis). İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Uğurlu, Ö. (2013). Neo-Liberal Politikalar Ekseninde Türkiye’de Kentsel Mekânın Yeniden Üretimi, in *Türk Tabipler Birliği Meslek Sağlık ve Güvenlik Dergisi*, 1: 2-13.
- Üstündağlı, E., Baybars, M. & Güzeloğlu, E. B. (2015). Collaborative Sustainability: Analyzing Economic and Social Outcomes in The Context of Cittaslow. in *Business and Economics Research Journal*, 6 (1), 125-144.
- Valpy, E. (1828). *The Etymological Dictionary of Latin Language (1828)*. London: A.J. Valpy.
- Vasques, R. A. & Ono, M. M. (2016). When Sharing Is (Almost And/Or Possibly) Better Than Owning: A Case Study on a Full Service Collective Laundry. in *Revista Gestao.Org*, 14, 97-105.
- Vaughn, S., Schumm, J. S. & Sinagub, J. M. (1996). *Focus Group Interviews in Education and Psychology*. London & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Webster, C. (2002). Property Rights and the Public Realm: Gates, Green Belts, and Gemeinschaft, in *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 29, 397-412.
- Weinstock Netanel, N. (2003). Impose A Noncommercial Use Levy to Allow Free Peer-To-Peer File Sharing. in *Harvard Journal of Law and Technology*, 17(1), 1-44.

- Wharton, A.S. (2008). *Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.
- Wilkinson, S. (1998). Focus Group Methodology: A Review, in *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1(3), 181-203.
- Witt, G. M. & Wood, W. (2010). Self-regulation of Gendered Behavior in Everyday Lives. in *Sex Roles*, 62, 635-646.
- Yakın, V. & Kacar, İ. (2016). Paylaşım Ekonomisine Yönelik Nicel Bir Araştırma: Türk Tüketicileri Açısından Airbnb Örneği, in *21. Pazarlama Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı*, 534-536.
- Yin, R. K. (2011). *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. The Guilford Press, New York.
- Young, W., Hwang, K., McDonald, S. & Oates, C. J. (2010). Sustainable Consumption: Green Consumer Behavior When Purchasing Products. in *Sustainable Development*, 18, 20-31.

APPENDIX

ATA-2 ÜCRETSİZ RİNG SERVİS SEFERLERİNİN ÇALIŞMA SAATLERİ VE GÜZERGAHLARI

BİRİNCİ GÜZERGAH (SELVİ Caddesi Tarafı)	İKİNCİ GÜZERGAH (MAVİ ÇAM Caddesi Tarafı)
(06.20 - 10.00 ve 17.00-19.00 arası yarım saatte bir, 10.00-17.00 arası saatte bir)	(06.45 - 09.45 ve 17.15-19.15 arası yarım saatte bir, 10.15-16.45 arası saatte bir)
06.20 07.00 07.30 08.00 08.25 09.00 09.30 10.00 11.00 12.00 12.30 13.15 (*)	06.45 07.15 07.45 08.15 08.45 09.15 09.45 10.15 11.15 12.15 13.15 (*)
14.00 15.00 16.00 17.00 17.30 18.00 18.30 19.00	14.15 15.15 16.15 17.17 17.45 18.15 18.45 19.15
GEÇTİĞİ GÜZERGAH : D KAPISINDAN KALKIŞ SÖĞÜT CADDESİ BOYUNCA E KAPISI SAKİNE SÖĞÜT SOKAK NİLÜFER SOKAK SELVİ CADDESİ BOYUNCA PALMİYE CADDESİ ÇOCUK PARKI KAYIN CADDESİ BOYUNCA İHLAMURCAD. 33 ÖNÜ KAVAK CAD. BOYUNCA İHLAMUR TENİS KORTU İHLAMUR CAD. BOYUNCA YATA ÇIRIĞI ZAMBAK MEYDANI C KAPISI D KAPISINA VARIŞ	GEÇTİĞİ GÜZERGAH : D KAPISINDAN KALKIŞ C KAPISI ZAMBAK MEYDANI MAVİ ÇAM CADDESİ ERİĞÜYAN CADDESİ AKADYA CADDESİ LACIN CADDESİ MANOLYA CADDESİ C KAPISI D KAPISINA VARIŞ

Illustration I: The Route and the Hours of the Ring Service



Illustration II: Poster of the ATA 2 Disaster Volunteers (ATAG) Seminar



Illustration III: Preparation for Kermis Organization