CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN COLLECTIVE ACTION DURING
THE PANDEMIC: URBAN COMMONING PRACTICES IN THE CASE OF
AYRANCI, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN COLLECTIVE ACTION
DURING THE PANDEMIC: URBAN COMMONING PRACTICES IN THE
CASE OF AYRANCI, ANKARA

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This thesis examines the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on community level relations and the response of local neighborhood organizations to the pandemic. To this end, 22 semi-structured in-depth interviews and a focus group interview were conducted in the neighborhood of Ayrancı, Ankara with the people who actively participate in the local organization activities. While adopting the framework of Lefebvre, this thesis will focus on continuities and discontinuities in collective action in the times of Covid-19. While defining disasters as the scene of local and global politics, I will argue that although the pandemic affects social relations of community and collective action adversely, it also generates new forms of collective action, and solidarity activities on the basis of commoning practices. I will examine these collective responses as a response to the individualization of responsibility conjuncture widely used in the pandemic through the lens of self-managed commoning practices which will be defined in relation to the right to city concept and will be analyzed with the instances in Ayrancı neighborhood in Ankara as a case study.

ÖZ

PANDEMİDE SÜREKLİLİKLER VE KIRILMALAR: AYRANCI'DA KENTSEL MÜŞTEREKLEŞTİRME PRATİKLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, Covid-19 pandemisinin mahalle düzeyindeki ilişkiler üzerindeki etkisini ve yerel mahalle örgütlerinin pandeminin etkilerine karşı geliştirdikleri yerel cevapları incelemektedir. Bu amaçla Ankara ili Ayrancı semtinde yerel organizasyon faaliyetlerine aktif olarak katılan kişilerle 22 yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme ve bir odak grup görüşmesi yapılmıştır. Bu çalışma, Lefebvre'in teorik çerçevesini benimserken, Covid-19 zamanında kolektif eylemliliklerdeki sürekliliklere ve kırılmalara odaklanmaktadır. Afetler, yerel ve küresel düzeydeki politikaların sahnesi olarak tanımlanmış, pandeminin toplumun sosyal ilişkilerini ve kolektif eylemi olumsuz etkilemesine rağmen, aynı zamanda yeni kolektif eylem biçimleri ve müşterekleştirme pratikleri temelinde dayanışma faaliyetleri ürettiği savunulacaktır. Bu müşterekleştirme pratikleri, pandemide küresel çapta yaygın olarak kullanılan sorumluluğun bireyselleştirmesinin bir sonucu ve aynı zamanda buna bir karşılık olarak ele alınacaktır. Kent hakkı kavramıyla ilişkili olarak mahalle-temelli müşterekleştirme pratikleri merceğinden Ayrancı örneği incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Covid-19 Pandemisi, Sağlık, Kentsel Müştereklеştirme, Kent Hakkı, Ankara

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD   Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

DİSK   Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Türkiye

KESK   Confedaration of Public Employees' Unions

TMMOB   Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

TTB   Turkish Medical Association

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> "Want the change. Be inspired by the flames
> where everything shines and disappears."
> Rainer Maria Rilke[1]
> "Before Whom, For Whom?
> Eduardo Galeano"[2]

The Covid-19 pandemic emerged from a zoonotic disease which is caused by the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus transmitted from animals to humans (World Health Organization, 2020). The emergence of these zoonotic diseases are affected by practices such as wildlife trade and deforestation in relation to urbanization and capitalism (Keil et al., 2020). In other words, the Covid-19 is not only a product of the relations between humans and animals as well as nature but also a product of capitalist relations and its spatial dynamics. The concept of space has a significant position in the field of sociology in terms of its relation to social interactions, and spatial dimensions of inequalities, power relations, contradictions, conflicts and struggles. In the framework of Lefebvre, the concept of space is defined as a social product which is connected to everday life relations (Elden, 2007).

The pandemic has deeply affected our lifes on a global scale in terms of its social, economic and political impacts. It has altered our daily routines. While "staying at home", the uses of indoor spaces, balconies, windows and public spaces have changed, and this process has triggered new forms of social interactions based on the changes in the rhythms of everyday life. For Lefebvre, everyday life consists of

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[1] *Sonnets to Orpheus*, Part Two, XII, translated by Joanna Macy and Anita Barrows (2009)

[2] *In Defence of the Word*, 1977, p.18

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cycles; "nights and days, seasons and harvests, activity and rest, hunger and satisfaction, desire and its fulfillment, life and death" that imply repetition and monotony (1987, p. 10). However, these cycles are also centered upon contradictions which carry the possibility of change based on space (Lefebvre, 1991). Covid-19 pandemic with its disruptions as a "social disaster", it has resulted in a rupture in these everyday life relations based on its social, economic and political consequences. In this perspective, the pandemic has revealed the cleavages in the society and contradictions within our organization of life on the one hand, it carries potentials of change on the other. As Arundhati Roy wrote for the pandemic, "Historically, pandemics have forced humans to break with the past and imagine their world anew. This one is no different. It is a portal, a gateway between one world and the next" (2020, n. p.).

The concepts of everyday life and right to the city is one of the central elements of Lefebvre (Butler, 2012). Everyday practices, everyday use of cities are related to right to the city. Therefore, the right to the city concept enables us to discuss political aspect of the pandemic and their relation to everyday life. While adopting the framework of Lefebvre, this thesis will focus on continuities and discontinuities in collective action in the times of Covid-19. Although many research studies have investigated Covid-19 pandemic from various fields, few studies have examined if and how local bottom-up responses to the pandemic emerge. The purpose of this study to determine the the local responses and the impact of Covid-19 on local neighborhood organizations. To this end, I will argue that although the pandemic affects social relations of community and collective action adversely, it also generates new forms of solidarity and collective action practices on the basis of commoning practices. I will examine collective responses to the individualization of responsibility conjuncture in the pandemic through the lens of self-managed commoning practices which will be defined in relation to the right to city concept. Focusing on the instances in Ayrancı neighborhood in Ankara as a case study, I will focus on the practices of local neighborhood organizations in response to the pandemic.

C. Wright Mills (2000) describes the term "sociological imagination" as a necessary tool to link the individual experiences and the larger historical scene. Based on his understanding, history and biography come together in the analysis of social relations. In fact, this link between biographical and historical aspects is the core element of the works of classical social theorists from Durkheim to Weber and from Veblen to Marx (Mills, 2000, p.6). Thus, development of the research idea comes from the personal experiences of the researchers and the historical squence they live in (Flick, 2007). Parallel to this view, I developed my research idea based on the historical traces left by the pandemic in my biography and my prior research experiences on Covid-19. In the next part, I will give the background of my research topic and present my research questions.

1.1. Research Questions

In the early period of the pandemic, I was working as a project assistant in a TÜBİTAK research project which focuses on how the pandemic experiences change in İstanbul's neighborhoods which have different levels of vulnerability.[3] In this research project, I have had the opportunity to observe Covid-19 management process based on the experiences of local chiefs (mukhtars) in İstanbul in 2020[4]. After that, I have also worked as an interviewer in an international research project which focuses on the root causes of vulnerability.[5] In this project, I have conducted

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[3] The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TUBITAK) funded research by Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, Gülçin Con Wright, Kezban Çelik, Sarp Üner, Oya Kalaycıoğlu "Farklı Sosyal Kırılganlık Düzeyine Sahip Hanelerin Covid-19 Salgınını Deneyimleme Biçimleri ve Yakın Geleceğe İlişkin Beklentileri: İstanbul İli Örneği", Unpublished Project Report, Project No: SOBAG 120 K 471, 2020

[4] In the disaster literature, Tierney (2014; 2019) highlights the social roots of disasters and risk. Perry (2007) focuses on how disasters should be defined with the question of "What is a disaster?", and Susan Cutter (2005) states, "Are we asking the right question?" and suggests that we should focus on "vulnerabilities" and "resiliency" to environmental hazards based on the analysis of human and environmental systems as well as their relationship regarding capacities in the built environment (p. 39-40) as used in these studies. However, this study will use the Lefebvrian framework to analyze Covid-19 and bottom-up responses to the pandemic at the local level.

[5] UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) Urban Disaster Risk Hub Tomorrow's Cities research project, "Disaster Risk Reduction for Vulnerable Groups and Developing a Resilient City for Tomorrow: The Case of Istanbul" study.

interviews with vulnerable groups who live in Sancaktepe, İstanbul in 2021. While conducting online interviews with the people who reside in İstanbul and being a part of their pandemic experience as a researcher, I was also experiencing the pandemic on my own. People were telling me their experiences about the pandemic, how they lost their jobs or houses, how they struggled to move on their lives or how they needed financial or emotional support. At the same time, I was trying to be a part of volunteers in my neighborhood, help my friends and neighbors in the apartment.

As a result of these fieldwork experiences, which are similar to my own pandemic experiences, I asked these questions: How do people cope with living conditions in the pandemic? What do existing solidarity networks do? How are earlier formed collective organizations affected by the pandemic? Do any new forms of solidarity networks/organizations emerge? Based on these questions I asked, I will analyse the relationship between Covid-19 and the city in a detailed way. Thus, my main objective in this research will be to examine the concept of urban and its condradictory dynamics with the lens of right to the city concept of Lefebvre in the times of Covid-19.

1.2. Organization of the Thesis

In this study, I will focus on how the Covid-19 pandemic affects the neighborhood relations, and existing social ties and bonds within the community in terms of cooperation and solidarity. Secondly, I will focus on the relationship between Covid-19 and neighborhood local organizations' response on the basis of political dynamics within these organizations.

In the first chapter, I will focus on the context and the process of Covid-19 pandemic. In this respect, I will present the relevant literature on how pandemic affected the society based on inequalities such as class, gender and urban inequalities because these inequalities have profound impacts on the pandemic experience. They also shape people's level of response to the pandemic. As Lefevbrian framework suggests, the urban space has contradictory dynamics. These contradictory dynamics are based on urban inequalities in terms of class, gender and ethnicity in this study.

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Further, I will also present how new self-managed local organizations based on commoning practices in different parts of the world have emerged as a contradictory aspect to the individualization of responsibility conjuncture in the pandemic. I will present the portrait of the pandemic in order to underline its social and political dimension which has a historical aspect.

In the second chapter, I will present my theoretical framework and relevant literature review on the concept of urban, space, urban commoning and I define the right to the city in relation with self-management and commoning practices. This thesis has a Lefebvrian framework and the concept of right to the city is related to participation, appropriation, and the contradiction between use value and exchange value in the urban space. Additionally, right to the city implies more than right to access (public) services. It is also related to the questions regarding management of commons in the city. These concepts which constitutes the framework of this thesis will be defined and used in relation to each other under the term of right to the city according to this Lefebvrian framework.

In the third chapter, I will analyse the impact of the pandemic on the neighborhood relations both between human and human-non-human communities in the first and second section. I will present how intercommunity relations between human-human and human-non-human were affected the pandemic experience of the neighborhood.

In the fourth chapter, I will deal with the collective action and solidarity practices during the Covid-19 pandemic in the neighborhood. In the first section, changing spatial aspect of balconies as a space for protest will be discussed. In the second section, commoning practices which are intervowen with previous solidarity practices in the neighborhood will be discussed. In this section, the Collective Kitchen, neighborhood assembly and local queer solidarity "Girls of Ayrancı" instances will be discussed. In the third section, new commoning practices will be defined as a "collective reflex" with the instances of local neighborhood practices

and making face shields (visors)[6] examples. Moreover, solidarity practices in the digital space and local neighborhood library will be presented in relation to the Lefebvrian framework.

In the last chapter, the main findings and limitations of this study will be discussed with the future research questions.

1.3. The Context of the Covid-19 Pandemic

In this section, I will summarize and discuss the context of the Covid-19 pandemic in order to present the main impact of it. The pandemic has affected the world socially, economically and politically. The profound impact of the pandemic on our lives increased multiple kinds of inequality and deepened existing inequalities within the society.

On December 31, 2019, World Health Organization confirmed the novel coronavirus in Wuhan, China. While other countries in the world were announcing their number of cases, Covid-19 was declared as a pandemic on 11 March 2020 by the World Health Organization (n.d.). On the same date, the first coronavirus case was officially recorded in Türkiye (Anadolu Agency, 2020). Following these updates, varying pandemic measures such as lockdowns, travel-bans, physical distancing, large and small-scale quarantining, mandatory masking rules and economic measures were implemented by the governments (Altiparmakis et al., 2021). Türkiye's Health Minister Fahrettin Koca urged citizens to "declare own emergency rule" in the early period of the pandemic (Hürriyet Daily News, 2020). Regulations in Türkiye that prohibit or restrict concerts, festivals or public gathering in places such as coffee shops, parks, and restaurants (Ministry of Health, 2020a) and regulations and bans that restrict mobility of citizens over 65 years of age (Ministry of Interior, 2020) have continued until July 1st, 2021 announcement of the Ministry of Interior (2021) on "normalization period".

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[6] A surface that protects eyes, nose, mouth and face from external objects, dust and saliva. They were used in the pandemic as a substitute for or as a complementary protection with surgical face masks.

The pandemic is described as a "social disease" (Çaman & Karacabay, 2020), and a "social disaster" (Connell, 2020). The pandemic experience of the people exacerbated by new forms of inequalities and the deepening impact of existing ones. based on class, gender, ethnicity and age. Firstly, the economic impact of the pandemic resulted in the erosion of worker's rights, loss of jobs and income, along with the large decline in the labor force participation rate (KESK, 2021; DİSK, 2021) Informal workers could not benefit from the support mechanism provided by the governmental organizations (Uysal, 2020). More than 1200 workers from various sectors lost their lives between 11 March 2020 – 10 September 2021 due to Covid-19 in Türkiye, and 35% of them are healthcare workers (İSİG, 2021). Existing inequalities between countries and regions increased (ILO, 2021) and there is a profound risk of global recession similar to the economic crisis of 2008 due to the increasing trend of unemployment and inflation rates as well as supply-chain disruptions (Tunalı-Börke 2020; Ustaoğlu, 2020). Meanwhile, during the first two years of the pandemic, billionaires doubled their fortunes from $700 billion to $1.5 trillion in the last two years (Oxfam, 2022). Secondly, gendered division of labor and rising care work in households exacerbated the pandemic experiences of women (Öztürk & Metin, 2020; OECD, 2020). LGBTI+ people experienced discrimination, physical violence, and hate speech (SpoD, 2021) as well as criminalization, scapegoating and demonization practices and discourses implemented by religious and political leaders (OHCHR, 2020). Thirdly, elderly people faced with the lack of adequate insurance and care mechanisms (Canbazer & Akkan, 2020). They also experienced isolation, loneliness, anxiety and ageism (Berg-Weger&Morley, 2020; Yasin, 2020; Meisner, 2020). Moreover, preventive measures such as physical distancing and the usage of protective discourse created unintended consequences. For instance, identifying older adults as "dependent" and "helpless" has affected the psychological well-being of the elderly population adversely (Monahan & Macdonald, 2020). On the contrary of being "dependent" and "helpless". However, Koşar & Kasapoğlu (2021) argue that elderly people's efforts are towards taking care of themselves and keeping dynamic relations in their social environment through their social bonds with family members and relatives. In fact, the elderly people tended to not follow the pandemic measures which limits their mobility despite imposing fines for those who do not follow the measures (Kasapoğlu & Akbal,

2020). Thus, the term of "flattening the curve" has been widely used in the pandemic by various health officials, but there are social, economic and political "curves" in the society other than the epidemic curve.

Past epidemics and diseases had various impacts on the society, economy, and on the dynamics of the cities and demography. The curves of inequality within the society has a historical sequence, and the epidemics have changed their levels in the history. For instance, Pamuk (2007) states that the Black Death as an "exogenous shock" led to significant long-term changes in wage prices, technological innovations, agriculture, and demographic regime, especially in Northwestern Europe. Additonally, some evidence collected by historians suggests that peasant revolts occurred across Europe as a result of the Black Death (Pamuk, 2007, p.293) whereas some others reject such (direct) connection between the peasant revolts and changes in agriculture due to the Black Death, and suggest to think the impact of it with the role of other tensions in that time (Gillipsie, 1975). Braudel (1984) also summarizes the positive impacts of the Black Death on the economy with the catastrophic conditions it created. He explains it in comparison with the recession started in the 1970s as following:

> [M]illions had died in 1350 with the Black Death; the seventeenth century saw serious demographic stagnation. And it was precisely the smaller size of the population and the relaxing of economic tension which brought obvious improvement for the survivors, those whom the scourges or population drop had spared. The present crisis has none of these symptoms: world population is still rising, production is falling, unemployment is becoming endemic and yet inflation still seems to be forging ahead. Where can improvement for the mass of people be looked for? (Braudel, 1984, p.87-88)

In this sense, pandemics have different levels of impact on the society but they are related to the economic and political relations within the society. Their impacts cannot be separated from our relations and organization of living. Additionally, the question asked by Braudel for the economic conjuncture of the 1970s still relevant for the times of Covid-19. In fact, 1970s economic crisis affected the Covid-19 experiences of the world.

The economic conjuncture of the 1970s finds its way in an economic and social transformation which later affected the pandemic experience of the world and Türkiye. In an interview for Women's Own in September 1987, the UK prime minister of the time Margaret Thatcher[7] said:

> I think we have gone through a period when too many children and people have been given to understand "I have a problem, it is the Government's job to cope with it!" or "I have a problem, I will go and get a grant to cope with it!" "I am homeless, the Government must house me!" and so they are casting their problems on society and who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first.

This quote is a short summary of the transformation that the world had gone through since the mid-1970s. The transformation which is called as "the neoliberal turn"[8] started with the experiments in the periphery (firstly in Chile with the coup against Salvador Allende), and opened its path through the formulations and adaptations in the center under the leadership of Britain (Margaret Thatcher) and the US (Ronald Reagan) (Harvey, 2007). It was a capitalist response to crises such as the fiscal crisis, and the stagflation in that time (Bockman, 2013). To this end, extensive privatization policies implemented through dismantling the welfare state (Harvey, 2007) to constitute a "minimal state" with the promotion of individualism (Bockman, 2013). The curves of inequality were affected by the pandemic management under the influence of this transformation and shaped the pandemic experiences.

Cardona (2021) states that the result of privatization of health care systems have ended up as unequal access to health care in the pandemic "when it is most needed" (p.2). Additionally, he argues that Covid-19 is not only is a scene to follow the rhetoric of personal choice and individualization of responsibility in the pandemic but also offers new opportunities to grasp social, economic and political aspects of

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[7] For the complete interview: https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689 (Date of access: June 19, 2022)

[8] Although the term of "neoliberalism" emerged in the 1930s and has been used widely in the literature, it started to be used to explain every aspect of contemporary capitalist relations. In this sense, I am careful and doubtful while using it.

the notion of health by shining a light on the cracks of the rhetoric of individualism (Cardona, 2021).

Pandemic experiences are related to the economic, political and social relations because health is socially produced. Ali & Keil (2018) highlights this socially produced aspect of health and diseases in their edition of the book, *Networked Disease: Emerging Infections in the Global City*. Following the political, economic and social aftermath of the 2003 outbreak of SARS. According to them, emerging infections and rapid spread of them was related to six factors: 1) demography, 2) technology and industry, 3) economic development and land use, 4) international travel and 5) breakdown in public health (Ali & Keil, 2018). SARS was defined as "the first pandemic of the 21st century" (Cherry & Krogstad, 2004). In the same vein, Covid-19 became "the first pandemic of the urban age" (Keil, 2021).

On the contrary, "the urban age" has its contradictions. Crises both produce their adverse effects on people based on class, gender, ethnicity and age but also they produce solidarity practices. Starting from the early period of the Covid-19 pandemic, people were also trying to protect themselves and their loved ones through their own efforts due to the individualization of the responsibility rhetoric worldwide (Cardona, 2021). As a result, grassroot organizations responses to the pandemic emerged worldwide (Rebecca, 2020). In the pandemic, people were coming together to build pandemic solidarity networks. In Greece, people created social health clinics were created by these networks to support people ranging from refugees to homeless people in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Volos (EP & TP, 2020). They provided material and online psychological support for the people as well as alternative news platform through the community radio Crete, against the dominant discourse used by the mainstream media in the pandemic. Organizations such as "Class Counter Attack" created solidarity networks for refugees, immigrants and families (EP & TP, 2020). In Italy, volunteers organized bread and flour distribution through local food banks in Northern Italy. Moreover, people organized "solidarity brigades" which consist of students and workers in Milan to collect groceries and medicine for individuals and families in need (Finley, 2020). In Portugal, the online platform *Plataforma Geni* created support network in Lisboa to help Brazilian immigrant women. A group

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consists of educators, *Grupa Educar,* organized online dance sessions, language courses and virtual dinner parties for immigrant families (Duarte & Lima, 2020). Moreover, people in Lisbon mobilized based on right to housing discussion through digital protests, petitions and campaings (Mendes, 2020). In Southern Africa, civil society organizations built a coalition to provide food parcels for LGBTI+ people, asylum seekers and disabled refugees (Monjane, 2020). In Argentina, solidarity networks before the pandemic, or Pineiro & Mason-Deese (2020) call "memories of resistance", became reactive during the Covid-19 process through grassroots movements, neighborhood assemblies, communication networks and self-organized soup kitchens (Pineiro & Mason-Deese, 2020). In Türkiye, solidarity networks provided food delivery, legal help and educational support for the people by organizing through social media platforms and local councils. For instance, *Ayvalık Local Initiative* in the city of Balıkesir formed by neighborhood councils made face shields and masks to support healthcare and cargo workers (Olcan, 2020a; Özdemir, 2020). Some of the networks formed after the period of Gezi protests such as Fatih Solidarity Network in İstanbul organized film screenings and grocery shopping activities as well as activities such as cooking for health workers with the help of new volunteers mobilized through social media (Özdemir, 2020). Kadıköy Solidarity Network, another local network which was founded after the Gezi Forums in İstanbul, also organized through social media to provide support for food, medicine and pets (Fıstık, 2020). A place used by the Migrant Solidarity Kitchen in Tarlabaşı, İstanbul before the early period of the pandemic was also active during the pandemic in order to provide food for the people in need (Fıstık, 2020). Nurtepe-Güzeltepe Solidarity Network, which was formed in the neighborhoods mostly workers live in İstanbul, also organized supplying food, milk and medicine (Olcan, 2020b). Therefore, contradictory aspect of everyday life, which has also shaped pandemic experiences of the people, both produces new possibilities in the urban space based on the concept of right to the city, and the possibility of these practices of responses to the pandemic conditions in that sense.

These discussions summarize the pandemic in two ways: 1) Covid-19 has deepened existing inequalities and produced new kinds of inequalities which exacerbated the crisis of the pandemic for most people. However, as the dialectical framework of

Lefebvre predicts, 2) people organized mainly through local organizations and social media to protect themselves and other members of the local communities. As we can see, the main theme of these organizations and solidarity networks in the pandemic is that they are self-organized, autonomous and diverse groups. Although in some cases we see coalitions and involvement of existing civil society/political organizations, they mostly were formed in the time of pandemic as a preventive act rather than a planned way. Thus, 3) the lack of organized action create limitations and give them a temporary character (Mendes, 2020).

Furthermore, as a journalist who conducted two-rounds of 35 interviews in between 2020 and 2021, Pınar Öğünç (2021)[9] summarizes the impact of the pandemic parallel to the main objective of this thesis:

The interviewees explained how their moods were effected in the process and how they felt some of them would be permanent. On one hand, there were those who turned inward. On the other, some of them opened up to solidarity with others. It was not an easy year for anyone, but I heard more stories of empowerment and recovery than I expected. There was a determination here; a form of resistance. (p.16-17, translated by the author)

The group of interviewees which were conducted by Öğünç (2021) includes shopkeepers, white-collar and blue-collar workers from various sectors such as media, construction sector, metal industry, mining industry and health care. One of the main themes of these interviews is that the interviewees tell the adverse impact of the pandemic on their lives in relation to their pre-pandemic working and living conditions. For instance, a miner mentions his working conditions in coal mines before the pandemic, and says that "I told my wife not to be afraid, we have already seen the bottom" (Öğünç, 2021, p. 297, translated by the author). Another one is that some of the interviewees state that the pandemic impelled them to reconsider their living conditions and to search for finding ways to help themselves and other people.

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[9] These interviews were first published in *Gazete Duvar* and widely read and shared in the early period of the pandemic. https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/yazar/pinar-ogunc?sayfa=2 (Date of access: June 10, 2020)

For instance, a woman who has experienced a cycle of emotional and physical violence for twenty years decided to move into a new home with her children due to the increased level of violence after the pandemic (Öğünç, 2021, p. 306). Furthermore, a woman health care worker highlights the lack of psychological preparedness and equipments of health care workers at the beginning of the pandemic (Öğünç, 2021, p. 267) and the gendered division of labor in the health care sector (Öğünç, 2021, p. 268-269). However, she also tells that the increase in her level of information about the pandemic was propelled her out of her anxiety and she helped her patients in a more effective way as well as refugees and poor people during the period (Öğünç, 2021, p. 274); the pandemic has made her become more courageous in her occupational and private life. As the health care worker summarizes in her own words at the end of the interview: "As Maya Angelou says, we have two hands, one for helping ourselves, and the other for helping others" (Öğünç, 2021, p. 277, translated by the author).

In the context of the pandemic, we can discuss contradictory aspects of pandemic experience which can be seen above in the oscillation between hope and despair. The context of the pandemic also gives us the opportunity to discuss the limits and possibilities as well as continuities and discontinuities of solidarity practices such as solidarity kitchens, solidarity networks and local self-managed organizations emerged during the experience. In the next chapter, I will present the theoretical background of this study by using the Lefebvrian framework in order to discuss continuities and discontinuities in collective action during the pandemic and their spatial dynamics.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this study, the concept of space will be defined by using the framework of Lefebvre. Lefebvre (1991) states that "Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise energy and time" (p. 12). He defines the significant aspect of putting both space and time as a theoretical problem which constitutes the foundation of the problem of this thesis as follows:

> [It] is the ability to situate the discontinuities and continuities with respect to one another. How could any absolute discontinuities exist without an underlying countinuity, without support, without some inherent process? Conversely, how can we have continuity without crises, without the appearance of new elements and relationships? (Lefebvre, 1970/2003, p.2)

2.1. Lefebvre's Conceptualization of Space and the Urban Society

In the foreword he wrote to Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution*, Smith (2003) highlights two major contributions of Lefebvre: First, his dialectical focus on space and second, his theoretical focus on the concept of urban. Following the link between the historical sequence Lefebvre experienced and the year of the book he wrote, Smith (2003) draws a line between May 1968 protests and Lefebvre's focus on the concept of urban. He posits the term "urban society" and develops his hypothesis as "society has been completely urbanized" (Lefebvre, 2003, p.1).

Drawing his understanding especially on the works of Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche, Lefebvre built his own theory. The seminal works of Lefebvre (1991; 2003) imply a "spatial turn" in the literature. He deals with the production of space, the concepts of urban and urban society, and provides a framework to analyze the organization and the structure of urbanization processes and modernity. In this sense, spatial approach

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of Lefebvre presents tools to understand making and re-making of space since "space is a social product", and "means of control, domination and power" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.26). For Lefebvre (1991), space does not have a reality of its own. As Schmid (2008) explains:

> [S]pace can never serve as epistemological starting position. Space does not exist "in itself"; it is produced (p. 28)

In *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels (1848/2002) draw the internal contradictions of the modern bourgeois society that prepares its own destruction:

> Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. (p. 225)

Following the premises of dialectical thinking and the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proleteriat, they believe that "the bourgeoisie produces its own grave-diggers" (p.233). Then, Rosa Luxemburg (1899/2007) writes the "doomed" character of capitalism as "The secret of Marx's theory […] is found in the transitory character of capitalist economy, the inevability of its collapse" (p.79). However, "capitalism has found itself able to attenuate its internal contradictions and [over] hundred years since the writing of *Capital,* it has succeeded in achieving 'growth" (Lefebvre, 1976, p.21). "How?" is the question. Lefebvre answers: "by occupying space, by producing a space" (1976, p. 21). In that sense, spaces are also both lived and also reproduced and changed through the activities and practices of the people who live in them. Shields (2005) states this contribution of Lefebvre as:

> [H]e shifts the ground of dialectical materialism from time to space. After his best-known work on space, he draws back from a periodicising historical narrative of the dialectical development of modes of space and their relationship with capital and visuality, substituting an analysis of the spatial extension of capital in the present (p. 119).

In this respect, space (or social reality itself) is defined in by Lefebvre based on his "trialectics" through a criticism of Hegelian historicity. Soja (1996) interprets this as a critique of modernist binarisms and sees this as an opportunity to propose a

"thirdspace" with a postmodernist approach. However, Elden (2004, p.37) criticizes the interpretations of both Soja, and Shields who attain position to a space in dialectics as "very confusing picture of Lefebvre". Lefebvre (1991) constructs his analysis of space through "trialectics", in a dynamic relationship between material, experiential and mental processes. Lefebvre deals with trialectics in two ways: First, "spatial practice", "representations of space", "spaces of representation". Second, "perceived space", "conceived space", "lived space". Schmid (2008) explains Lefebvre's proposal of trialectics in two ways as one of them comes from his "theory of language" and the other comes from French phenemonology. The theory of Lefebvre actually has three pillars: Marx (social practice), Hegel (language and thought) and the poetic-creative act (Nietzsche)[10] (Schmid, 2008). This is why he builds his theory on the basis of not one, but two contradictive-moments. Schmid (2008,) suggests to understand that as three-dimensional social reality (p. 33). For Schmid (2008), Lefebvre criticizes the Hegelian *(thesis-antithesis-synthesis)* triad as only explaining "representation of the process of becoming", and Marxian *(affirmation-negation-negation-of-the-negation)* triad as explaining "production of the process of becoming". Lefebvre rather puts a "horizon of becoming" which produces "possibilities, uncertainties and chances" (Schmid, 2008, p. 34).

The logic behind Lefebvre's trialectics is a set of "not only but also", or as Elden (2004) puts to identify interpretations of trialectics, "either/or with". Abstract space is defined in relation to its objective character in which architects or planners construct their work. Conceived space works like a mental setting of the space which consists of seperate relations of ideals and opinions from the objective type of space. Lived space is described as a product of the two. This is one of the mainstream (or textbook) definitions but Lefebvre's concept of trialectics works in a relationship between all these three type of spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). It seems simple but it is a complex set of relationships. Lefebvre combines the "linear" change of dialectical materialism with Nietzschean "non-linear" understanding of progress which ends up

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[10] There is also an influence of Heidegger on Lefebvre's theory based on Lefebvre's critique of technology and power-nature relations but I should mention that Lefebvre strongly criticizes Heidegger's line of thought (as he does to Hegel and Nietzsche) especially in his early writings (Elden, 2004).

as a three pillar form of dialectics in relation with the two (Elden, 2004, p. 37). Shields (2005) draws detailed pictures of Hegelian and Marxian dialectics in his work, and also finds this approach of "trialectics" as "Lefebvre himself does not appear to fully grasp [this] 'three-way dialectic' consisting of a thesis with not one, but two, anti-theses is confusing" (p. 120). However, *thinking with* scholars also means *thinking-against-them*. It is also a part of dialectical thinking in that sense.

Lefebvre (1991) underlines the historical and contradictory aspects of spatial transformation. In fact, he examines the historical aspect of it "from the organic 'absolute space' of prehistory to the 'abstract space' of contemporary capitalist societies" (Butler, 2012, p. 6). The term abstract space, as a space of capitalist relations, seeks for homogeneity (Lefebvre, 1991). However, contradictions within the abstract space produce the possibility of the emergence of "differential space" (Butler, 2012). Lefebvre (1979) offers the term of differential space on the basis of the dynamics within the abstract space. He underlines the position of differential space against the existing power relations within the abstract space (Butler, 2012, p. 133). He argues that in the primitive accumulation process, productive activity of labor is separated from the process of reproduction of social life. Abstract space, as a type of space taken over by "historical space", resulted as the disappearance of its (social) force and became a basis of "representational spaces" (Lefebvre, 1979, p.49). As a result, abstract space not only consists of physical units and relations of objectivity but also "the family units, types of dwelling [such as] apartments, fatherhood and motherhood" (Lefebvre, 1991). Such characteristics of abstract space, for him, create a contradiction since the denial of the "sensual" and "sexual" in abstract space. The reason behind that is abstract space, as a dominant form, against contradictions, distinctions, resistances and obstacles. It is the centre for wealth and power. In this space, distinctions (other subjects as well) both dissolve into the space but also they face with its opposition because abstract space seeks for homogeneity. In this respect, Lefebvre (1991) defines abstract space as a space has "no subject" (since it absorbs them) but working as a "subject" (to construct homogeneity). This twofold character of the abstract space constrains "positivity" and "negativity". That is, it "negatively" dissolves other subjects while creating social relations of alienation in the urban space. At the same time, it contains new potentials. Lefebvre (1991)

opens the door for change here. Abstract space carries a power in it but also contradictions (as can be seen only in the notions of "positive" and "negative"). The contradictions led by conflicts create the potential of production of a new space and it is "differential space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52). In that sense, differential space is based on differences against the homogenizing relations of abstract space. Lefebvre's "theory of contradictory space" is based on "the contradictions in abstract space" (1991, p.353). Space, for him, has no contradictions "in itself" but contradictions come to surface in and through space and produce the contradictions of space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 358). The contradictions between use value and exchange value and the contradiction drawn by Marx between the forces of production and the social relations of production are the source of a clash which occurs "between capitalist 'utilizers' and community 'users" (Lefebvre, 1991). Counter-spaces emerge from the contradictions in abstract space. Contradictions regarding "space-time" for Lefebvre (1991) underline that "No space ever vanishes utterly, leaving no trace" (p.164) and so, "In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows" (p. 229). Moreover, he also presents differential space "as the outcome of a politics of autogestion" based on "two spatial demands: the right to the city and right to difference" (Butler, 2012, p. 133). Elden (2004) highlights that urban space-time has a differential aspect for Lefebvre. This is why Lefebvre introduces the concepts *topias* which are isotopia, heteropia and utopia. Isotopia is defined in relation to abstract space whereas heterotopia and utopia are defined as a space of "differences" (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2004). The term "autogestion" refers to self-management practices and reflects Lefebvre's inspiration especially from Yugoslav system[11] and popularity of this term in May 1968 (Brenner, 2008, p. 234). However, differential space implies a transition from abstract space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 408).

Lefebvre (1991) summarizes the aspects of social space based on six categories: 1) it has "a part to play forces of production". 2) It has a "singular character" open to be consumed through activities such as tourism and leisure. 3) Although it is a "means

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[11] The book, *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade,* edited by Sabine Bitter, Jeff Derksen and Helmut Weber, is based on an original text of Lefebvre and his observations of self-management in New Belgrade. As Lefebvre writes in this text printed as a facsimile: "because of self-management […] Yugoslavia is today perhaps one of the rare countries to be able to concretely pose the problematic of a New Urban" (2009, p. 2-3).

of production" in terms of housing and labor, it is "politically instrumental". 4) It is the space of "reproduction of production and property relations". 5) It has a set of symbolic relations which constitute an alternative to the existing ones. 6) Social space has "potentialities" (reappropriation relations). In the sixth aspect of it, he underlines the potential of emerging of a different space based on resistance. Lefebvre calls it as a "counter-space" as an "initially utopian alternative to actually existing 'real' space" (1991, p.349). In this respect, we can also grasp counter-spaces with its "prefiguration" aspect which will be discussed in the next section in relation to the concept of right to the city.

If (social) space is a (social) product, rather than a mere abstraction, the class dynamics in it are also evolving. That is, putting the concept of urban as a point of departure also affects the relations of class conflict. The urban space also becomes a site of struggles through production and reproduction of space. Dialectical relations still work but in a different form; not particularly in the form of gears, hammer or sickle but also in the form of sidewalks, keyboards and work titles at office buildings, cameras at home, the sound of cars passing by the streets, neighborhoods, suburbs, ghettos and so on. Lefebvre refers to "New Masters of the New Athens [which can be seen in] Paris and New York" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 161), in the global city – "the [new] Olympians" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 159). Capitalism, for him, has many aspects such as landed, commercial or finance capital (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 10). All these aspects and relations of production constitute capitalism and the ruling class because they are dominant. At this point, Lefebvre refers to Gramsci's term "hegemony" and defines it not only as an "influence" but also systemic "violence" through "both institutions and ideas" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 10). These institutions and ideas reference includes policies and political parties as well as ideas produced by experts and intellectuals. There is a parallel relation appears in the workings of abstract space and the term of hegemony. If we add also the footnote of this page (1991, p. 10), Lefebvre describes the ruling class seeking "to maintain its hegemony by all means" but at the same time it produces "antagonistic and hence differentiating" contradictions. Similar to abstract space seeking to form a homogenity but ending up as producing differences, the exercise of hegemony seeks power also through knowledge. For instance, it is against the form of critical

knowledge, which accentuates differences but eventually produces such critical knowledge at the end. If we think through the horizons of dialectical thinking, it cannot live otherwise since dissolving of such knowledge means dissolving of the knowledge itself, and as long as it lives it will produce critical knowledge. Similarly, abstract space seeks for homogenity aiming to dissolve of differences but produces differences and contradictions within itself at the end.

Lefebvre (2003) underlines the "centrality" notion of the urban form. The urban, in this sense, "assumes a cosmic significance; it is globalized" (Lefebvre, 2003, p.123). "The New Athens" Lefebvre writes, "is already there to be seen in the image which Paris and New York and some other cities project" (1996, p.161). Lefebvre deals with the Greek *polis* based on the inequalities and the limits it has (Biagi, 2020). Thus, we can also see the appearance of the "global city" term used by Sassen (1991) in Lefebvre's writings.

This interconnectedness and globalization creates the "global city" which is a result of global inequalities and also produces spatial inequalities within itself. In order to highlight the relationship between cities and Covid-19, and its spread around the world, we can look at the interconnectedness of cities. Sassen (1991) follows this notion of "global city" through New York, London, and Tokyo, and arguing that these cities have characteristics of a new type of city at the global scale. All these three cities mentioned above constitute a systemic global connection between each other according to Sassen (1991). She looks at the changes in the dynamics of inequality through various dimensions such as gender, ethnicity, earnings and employment (Sassen, 1991). Later, the position of other cities such as Mexico City, Beirut, Shangia and Buenos Aires in the global circuits of capital discussed under the editorship of Sassen (2002). Sassen (2020) argues that the pandemic emerged as leaving us "no space to run to". She points out the critical role of urban space for both the penetration of the Covid-19 into the cities and its potential for alternative types of securing life. Together with the Lefebvrian framework, these global dimensions summarized by Sussen highlights why this thesis is based on an urban-scale perspective on studying the impacts of Covid-19.

Furthermore, this interconnectedness of global dynamics have also impact on urbanization processes and dynamics of urban experience. As Harvey (2012) points out while describing the significance of right to the city concept, cultural and knowledge-based industries shape the dynamics of urban polical economy. In this sense, individualistic market dynamics produces the myth of "freedom of choice" with the instances of shopping malls, artisanal market places or food shops. Harvey (2012), in this sense, underlines the summarized phrase of Zukin's "pacification by cappuccino". Thus, the contradictory form of urban space portrayed by Lefebvre both has the possibility of resistance and as in Zukin's term, "pacification". Harvey's reference to Zukin in his text about right to the city has an intention because "most recent radical expansion of the urban process has brought with it incredible transformations in lifestyles" (2012, p. 14). Based on this perspective, Zukin's (1995) emphasis on "cultural" elements and "safety" aspects the city produces through this lifestyles has a dark side. That is, cultural elements, lifestyles and "safety" produced by the "aesthetic" face of the city is in relation to who can use and who cannot use the urban space. In this respect, both "aestheticity" and "pacification by cappuccino" become the obstacles of right to the city; the dominance of exchange value over the use value in/of the city. In the Covid-19 pandemic, these dynamics of right to the city come to the surface with "who can stay at home and who should work" (Harvey, 2020). Therefore, the contradictory elements of urban space can always be seen.

In the next section, the contradictions of the city and the politics of urban space will be discussed.

2.2. Right to the City and Common(s)ing

The idea that "(social) space is a social product" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.26) is the central aspect of Henri Lefebvre's urban theory. In the urban space, different groups such as city planners, politicians and urban dwellers shape the city. Harvey (2012) tells "The city is the site where people from all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life" (p. 65). Thus, urban space and the city with all its streets, sidewalks and public spaces and ecological elements such as water can be described as commons (Gidwani & Baviskar, 2011). Moreover, language, knowledge and ideas are defined

as commons (Hardt, 2010). Commons are, in that sense, has a character that they belong to "everyone but no one" (Adaman et al., 2016). They have not also static character if we follow the line of Lefebvre presented before. Commons such as forests and water can be privatazed and can be reclaimed by the people through collective action. Since space is produced, new commons can also be produced. In this respect, commoning can be defined as a process based on its relations to collectivity, mutuality and cooperation. Thus, the concept of commoning refers to a dynamic process and the concept of common implies a character which is produced and reproduced.

In "The Tragedy of Commons", Hardin (2001) uses the metaphor of herders and cattles. In this metaphor, the herders use a common land in which they earn more money based on the level of their herding. The herders add as much as cattles as they can to earn more money. This leads to the scarcity of resources argument and the need for regulation mechanisms in order to preserve the common land. Additionally, he proposes the increase of population to the environmental pollution which creates the "tragedy of commons" in his perspective. Hardin's suggestion to prevent this situation is twofold. The first one is the state or central control. The second one is the privatization of the land for effiency due to scarcity of resources. Hardin's argument walks hand in hand with the key assumptions of the neoclassical economy: a) people are rational, b) people are utility-driven individuals who seek to maximize them, c) there is a scarcity of resources, and d) the production is based on supply-demand mechanism which have a tendency towards equilibrium point through the term of "invisible hand" coined by Adam Smith.

Ostrom (2002) criticizes the arguments of Hardin. She constructs her critique on Hardin's arguments through giving examples of case studies of communities where people tend to preserve the land because overexploitation of the resources will have adverse consquences for individual interests in the future (or in the "long-run" in neoclassical terminology). Thus, Ostrom (2002) suggests that if community-based natural resource management practices will be implemented through cultural practices, negotiation and regulations, then the scarcity of resources problem will not emerge as such.

Hardt (2010), on the other hand, holds an alternative position beyond the borders of "private property" and "public property". He (together with Negri) proposes a perspective outside of state regulation and privatization dynamics which he underlines as "the common in communism" (p. 346). He also puts "private property" at the heart of the argument and draws on Marx's analysis of capitalist relations. Similar to Harvey's (2003) foundation of the term "accumulation by dispossesion", he refers to "primitive accumulation" and enclosures. Hardt (2010) uses the concept of primitive accumulation to define it as "an absolute rent". In this sense, he claims that the pivotal role of industry has changed historically. In this respect, information sector affects the hemegony of industry and creates a transitionary aspect through code, knowledge and copyrights. This transitionary aspect changes the organization of labor into a technical one and challenges the position of industry by taking an "immaterial and biopolitical" role. Based on this perspective, the paradoxical character of immaterial commons emerge through their sharing practices. In other words, sharing them both as a private property or state property affect them in the same way: it reduces their productivity. There is the foundation of Hardt's (2010) argument on neither-private-nor-public-property argument because he puts "property" as a problem. The problem is the position of private property against the common, and the centrality of it in capitalist relations, and the need of challenging the concept of property rather than its changing hands, as he argues. Thus, the autonomous position of the common is needed according to this perspective. Those who produce this autonomous position are the commoners. In reference to commoners in medieval England, Hardt & Negri defines the commoner as:

> The commoner is [a] person who accomplishes an extraordinary task: opening private property to the access and enjoyment of all; transforming public property controlled by state authority into the common; and in each case discovering mechanisms to manage, develop, and sustain common wealth through democratic participation. The task of the commoner, then, is not only to provide access to the fields and rivers so that the poor can feed themselves, but also to create a means for the free exchange of ideas, images, codes, music, and information (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p. 89).

In this sense, "commoning" is defined as a process which is based on self-management of the common (or "shared wealth" as they use). Hardt & Negri (2012) also defines the diverse character of the commoners. From students to workers and

from gender dimension to racial dimension, the character of the commoners can be understood as an alliance of differences, rather than a unity of the same. However, they urge us not to confuse this "alliance" with the term of "coalition". The term of coalition still implies separate forms of organization and power related contradictions in it. The term of alliance underlines the sameness in differences (or "singularities") and creating a unity of exchanges based on that (Hardt & Negri, 2012; Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2016). Hardt & Negri (2012) rejects the argument of centralized organization which led the group as a party or with its ideology. These arguments presented here mostly carry their reference to Tahrir Square and Taksim Square and the discussions they opened in the literature. Swyngedouw (2014, p.133), similarly, gives reference to these cases and discusses "the space of the political" based on its "minoritorian yet presenting and recognised" character with the "movement democracy", and their organization against the state. However, he asks the central question: "What happens [when] the dawn of 'ordinary' life begins again?" This question and these discussions becomes again pivotal for the practices in the times of Covid-19 with all their tensions and contradictions.

Another contribution to the commons/commoning literature comes from De Angelis (or the Midnight Notes Collective in general). De Angelis (2012) defines "new enclosures" practices after the 1970s, and argues that the welfare state did not disappear after the economic and social transformation started in this period but there was a shift towards the rich. That is, this perspective sees enclosures of commons as a part of capitalist development and define it as a continous "double movement". According to this point of view, capitalist development did not only practice enclosures of commons before, but also enclose new commons produced by social movements. He argues that the transformation after the 1970s which resulted in individualism and erosion of rights, came with the dream of the workers to become middle class. He calls this kind of relation as "the deals" occurred in different times of history. In this respect, the process of commons starts from these points of "deals". He makes a distinction between "social revolution" and "political revolution" and argues that Marx's perspective on revolution and the line of tought is "the fallacy of the political" (De Angelis, 2012, p.9). For him, the relation between the two is based on the relationship between "commons" and "movements". Therefore, he defines

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commons as a process diffused into the whole aspects of life since the start of socialization period. He also puts middle class into the picture with the understanding that the working class is not only subject to achieve change, but should be thought together with the middle class as he defines it as a distinct class with its own dynamics of alienation and practices. Moreover, he gives three obstacles which occur in front of commons and social movements. Through "criminalization", "temptation" and "reproduction need", the relations between commons and social movements are prevented. In order to combat these strategies, legimate ground for commons should be achieved based on relations such as education and media. Identity construction through commoning practices appears as the second strategy. Finally, he puts "bodies", "energies" , "communications" and "environments" which all together imply care, health, water or media as fields of commons. Thus, the diffusion of commons through every aspect of life creates strategies based on every relation of socialization.

Harvey (2012), on the other hand, criticizes the understandings of Hardin and Ostrom and what he calls "a fetishism of organizational preference (pure horizontality, for example)" (p.70). He argues that the metaphor of Hardin is based on private ownership of the cattles and neoclassical assumptions such as the definition of utility-driven individuals were the real problems (Harvey, 2012, p. 68-69). On the views of Ostrom, he puts the "scale-problem" at the center. That is, Harvey criticizes Ostrom based on her case studies on community-based and small-scale natural resource management to build her arguments. Moreover, Harvey (2012) underlines Ostrom's suggestion of "nested structure" on larger cases and draws the form of organization as another problem. Thus, two key questions on the management of commons come to surface. The first question focuses on community-based or large-scale decision-making mechanisms. The second question is based on "horizontal" or "vertical" forms of management practices of commons. Harvey (2012) gives one of his responses to the second question in the literature as "non-state, non-hierarchial and horizontal" and criticizes this perspective based on the first question concerning the scale-problem (p.70). What he proposes as a solution is organizing a management strategy according to the scale of the case. In that sense, he states that he is "not saying horizontality is bad" but people should "be prepared to

go far beyond it when necessary" (Harvey, 2012, p.70). Further, he suggests to combine some controls through enclosures and community-based management practices by arguing that horizontal control which is based on "local autonomy" also means "a demand for some kind of enclosure" (Harvey, 2012, p.71). In that sense, the commons have contradictory dynamics which includes struggles. Harvey (2012) points out that the common is not a stable thing or asset but a social relation which is open to external interventions. Thus, commoning is a social practice which relies on collective social relations outside of capitalist market relations (Harvey, 2012, p. 73). In this sense, this perspective draws the distinction between "public spaces" and "commons". That is, the city, with its streets and other aspects, as a common produced by everyday practices and struggles of individuals and social groups is not outside of capitalist interventions such as commodification and enclosures. Harvey (2012) criticizes the free market logic of Adam Smith and the Lockean approach on individual property rights and value by defining value as "the capitalist common". In this respect, the common(s), including the urban commons, are "continuously being produced" and "continously being enclosed and appropriated by capital" (Harvey, 2012, p. 77). Lefebvrian approach on the concept of right to the city based on the contradiction between use value and exchange value, so the appropriation and expropriation struggle goes hand in hand with this perspective on commons which will be used in this study.

In the light of these discussions, the definitions of commons and the profile of commoners as well as management perspectives create a ground to discuss commoning practices, and their limits. These discussions are also related to Lefebvre's (1996) emphasis on right to "individualism in socialization" (p.173) or "collective individualism" (Kuymulu, 2013, p.5) aspect when defining the concept of right to the city. Lefebvre (1996) defines right to the city as follows:

> The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualism in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre*, to *participation* and *appropriation* (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city. (p.173-174)

For Lefebvre (1996,), it is both "a cry and a demand" (p.158). in order to underline self-management practices. The concept of right to the city is widely discussed in the

literature (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2013; Kuymulu, 2013; Bodirsky, 2017). It is defined on the basis of "human rights" by United Nations and its agencies (UN-HABITAT, 2016; Purcell, 2013; Kuymulu, 2013). "Whose rights?" Marcuse (2009) asks and answers as "for all deprived and alienated" (p.191). It is also defined on the basis of "rights" but not on the basis of individual rights instead collective rights (Marcuse, 2009; Harvey, 2012). Harvey (2012) also puts the emphasis on that it is not only access to certain resources such as food, water, or shelter but also changing the city based on collective action (p.4). Mitchell's (2003) definition followed the line of creating a "public sphere" against state-capital-elite relations, and accountability. Purcell (2013) made his statement against a "liberal citizenship" framework by drawing on appropriation and autogestion concepts against expropriation and de-alienation character of urban space, but he criticized due to the limitation of the notion of decision-making to the concept of participation (Kuymulu, 2014). Putting an emphasis on the city as a "product" and Lefebvre's definition of *ouvre*, Kuymulu (2013) defines the term based on use value (*ouvre)* and the concept of labor against capitalist relations of production in/of the urban space (exchange value). In this sense, use value defined as the urban dweller's use of the city such as housing, shelter or water. On the other hand, exchange value is defined as the capitalist relations of production and commodification of them which limits or prevents their usage (Kuymulu, 2014). From a similar perspective, Bodirsky (2017) criticizes "rights" perspective due to their lack of anti-capitalist framework, and draws the contradiction between use value and appropriation practices on the one hand, exchange value and expropriation of urban space on the other. Additionally, she puts "place-making" framework and commoning practices together to criticize the framework represented above as conceptualizing the city as commons. Based on these discussions, this thesis will try to think with the concept of right to the city beyond the borders of "rights" perspective and in relation to commoning practices as a process with its aim to appropration and with its prefigurative dynamics. Prefiguration in that sense refers to a collective political action or practice which contains "actualisation of the future" in itself and a bridge between now and tomorrow in the practices of collective organizations (van de Sande, 2013). In that sense, van de Sande (2013) describes three characteristics of prefigurative practices. The first one is combining long-term

aims with the present through everyday practices. Thus, it is related to the blurred borders of the present and the future. The second one is that focusing on the practice itself rather than the goals, since the action itself carries its long-term dimensions and "the means and ends are 'mirrored" (van de Sande, 2013, p. 189) The third one is its constant reconsideration and reformulation through continuous experimental aspect of the practices (van de Sande, 2013).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

> "I am out with lanterns, looking for myself."
> Emily Dickinson[12]

Harding (2006) states that researchers' "methodological and epistemological choices are always also ethical and political choices" (p.156). I tried to shape my study based on this understading. In the pandemic, I was in search of hope, *the meaning of my name*, so myself. It was an exercise through using not only biography, as Mills (1959/2000) suggests, but also sense of self to construct sociological imagination. As Bloch writes: "Philosophy will have conscience of tomorrow, commitment to the future, knowledge of hope, or it will have no more knowledge" (1959/1996, p.7). Here, hope is a methodological tool to use throughout the research. It is the activity of thinking with the participants while studying them. Even in some cases, it is the activity of thinking with the participants against them, or against the researcher's own point of view. The methodological approach presented here works like Janus[13]; one face looking to the future, and the other looking to the past; where we have been until present, and where we are heading towards. In between the two, the present takes its shape. It is living/thinking in the moment and in the retrospect to identify continuities and discontinuities. In Lefebvre's framework, the dynamics between the past and the present, and the relationship between them are also significant in relation to spatial dynamics. Based on a dialectical relationship, the past carries its effects on the present (and vice versa) both on the structural dimension (e.g. architecture) and on the agency dimension (e.g. praxis). Combining this kind of

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[12]From the letter to Elizabeth Holland, 20 January 1856.
http://archive.emilydickinson.org/correspondence/holland/l182.html (date of access: July 22, 2022)

[13] In Roman mythology, Janus was the god of doors, gates, and transitions.

approach is also parallel to Lefebvre's philosophy of intellectual and political optimism (Smith, 2003).

Based on the framework of this thesis, I used qualitative methodology to analyze the changing aspects of collectivity and collective action during the pandemic. The reason behind my preference is that qualitative research design enables us to access experiences, biographical life stories, and everyday practices (Flick, 2007). Since my study focuses on collective pandemic experiences and everyday practices, the fieldwork has a qualitative research design. Such preference gave me the opportunity to observe people in their own social environments and become a member of the field which I study, which has a significant impact on the data collection process.

3.1. Data Collection

I first conducted a small-scale pilot study which consists of observations and interviews in the spring of 2022. I conducted three pilot interviews in March, 2022 with the people who actively work in solidarity networks of Ankara. I have known them through my involvement in the solidarity networks during my undergraduate years. These pilot interviews worked as a ground to improve the interview protocol and the sampling of the study. Additionally, I also had the opportunity to document activities in different neighborhoods of Ankara and select my research field based on the information I collected. I also knew some of the neighborhoods since I was born and raised in Ankara. After this small-scale documentation, I chose two neighborhoods in which grassroot organizations, social movements and civil society are active. I went to two neigborhoods, namely Ayrancı (Çankaya) and İncirli (Keçiören). Ayrancı is a neighborhood close to the city center, which has around 50 thousand population[14] and known as a neighborhood mostly consists of white-collar workers (Karademir-Hazır, 2014, p.683). On the other hand, İncirli is a peripheral neighborhood which consists of around 30 thousand people[15]. I conducted two more

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[14] Turkish Statistical Agency, 2021 Demographic Statistics, for detailed information: see page 45

[15] Turkish Statistical Agency, 2021 Demographic Statistics

pilot interviews with the local chiefs (muhktars) in order to get more information about the activities in the neighborhoods during the pandemic. My first intention was to design a comparative research based on two neighborhoods. However, these two neighborhoods were similar based on the dominant type of political organizations towards left-wing/socialist politics and the political dynamics of pre-1980 coup within the neighborhoods. Therefore, I had to choose one of them or select another neighborhood.

Another option was the comparison of a neighborhood in Çankaya and with one of the other neighborhoods of Keçiören, or Sincan. For instance, focusing on the central neighborhoods of Keçiören would enable me to follow "the Çankaya-Keçiören contradiction" (Şahin et al., 2014, p.166) in order to determine political differences in the form of collectivity. This contradiction includes a secular (Çankaya) – conservative (Keçiören) division with a similar class profile (Şahin et al., 2014). However, this would bring new challenges to the fieldwork. First, the focus of my thesis is not based on a secular-religious divide in that sense. Second, there is an increasing number of migrant and refugee population[16] living in Keçiören and especially in these conservative neighborhoods according to my observations in the field. Therefore, adding a racial dimension means another type of trust building process between the researcher and the participants, and could bring new limitations such as language barrier. Thus, this other type of trust building process would necessitates more time and effort in fieldwork management, and, more importantly, could end up with reaching beyond the focus of this thesis. Besides, doing fieldwork in two different areas is not easy to manage since Keçiören district is not geographically close to Ayrancı. This could make the fieldwork and data collection process more difficult in terms of time and transportation costs.

At the end, I have conducted 22 semi-structured in-depth interviews and a focus group interview with the people who reside in Ayrancı and actively participate in

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[16] According to the Keçiören Municipality Migrant Services Center, there are Iraqi, Syrian, and Afgan immigrants and refugees in the districts (2019).
Munihttps://www.kecioren.bel.tr/gocmen_merkezi_hayatlarini_kolaylastirdi-409-haber.html (Date of Access: August 20, 2022)

collective organizations and/or networks. The average length of the interviews was 1 hour and 28 minutes. I also used multiple gatekeepers in order to grasp the whole picture of the heterogeneous solidarity networks/organizations. I recorded 19 interviews and the focus group interview, and took notes while conducting three of them.

Sampling type of the fieldwork was purposive sampling. I had two criteria in the sampling plan: 1) The person should be an active member of a collective organization (neighborhood council, civil society organization, grassroot organization, local cooperative, political party membership); 2) The person should have been residing in this neighborhood for more than two years (beginning of the pandemic as a time threshold). In order to follow continuities and discontinuities, I limited the number of people who have been living in there less than 9 years.[17]

In addition to the semi-structured in-depth interviews, I also implemented participant observation and document review techniques[18]. Additonally, I followed the local Facebook groups such as *Ayrancı Ahalisi* and the local newspaper of Ayrancı, which was started to be published in the pandemic under the name of *Ayrancım Gazetesi*. In this respect, I reviewed the posts of Facebook groups between 11 March 2020 (the first case in Turkey) – 01 July 2021 (the date of lifting pandemic measures in Turkey by the Ministry of Interior) in the Facebook groups, and examined into the 19 issues of the local newspaper[19].

The interviewees consist of 11 Male, 11 female and 2 non-binary people (together with four focus group participants). In the following chapters and sections, I will also use the non-binary gender pronouns apart from he/she pronouns because the people

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[17] Gezi protests began on 28 May 2013 in İstanbul and spread to Ankara in the beginning of June, 2013.

[18] Local newspaper *Ayrancım Gazetesi* https://ayrancim.org.tr/?page_id=8127 (date of access: June 14, 2022)

[19] Thematic analysis of the local newspaper in the appendix.

whom I will refer to identify themselves beyond the masculine-feminine borders of gender binary. In this respect, I will use they/them pronouns when I will refer to these respondents. Additionally, following the recommendations of Ansara & Hegarty (2014) on non-cisgenderist practices in research, I asked my respondents "What do you want me to call you?" before starting the interview. I should admit that it is not easy to ask a person's gender identity in every fieldwork. As a strategy, I simply used the advantage of conducting the interviews in Turkish and I asked "What do you want me to call you?"[20] some of the respondents answered my question as "You can call me *abla* (older sister, common usage when addressing an older female person) or *teyze* (aunt, another common usage when addressing an older female person) you can call me *abi (*common usage when addressing an older male person)" or *amca* (uncle, common usage when addressing an older male person). When the person responded "You can call me by my first name", I particularly asked their gender indentity. If it was not applicable to ask, I followed the responses of the participant in the interview. For instance, "I do this as a man/as a woman" is a common expression in Turkish.

Moreover, throughout the following chapters, I will also refer to non-human species by using their names such as nicknames I attained to them since they are also parts of the neighborhood where I conducted my study. This is also related to the author's connection to the poet of the quote at the beginning of this methodology chapter. Emily Dickinson was a gardener-poet. Most of her poems include references to flowers in order to create some symbolic meanings. If women in the Victorian age use flowers to send messages by using the "language of flowers", if people's relationship with them changes their sense of time such as following the seasons through them (so their relations to the past, present and future), then they are also parts of our common social life, and the production of space and time.

In the following section, I will present limitations and strenghts of the fieldwork I conducted in Ayrancı neighborhood.

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[20] In Turkish: *"Size nasıl hitap etmemi istersiniz?"*

3.2. Limitations and Strengths of the Fieldwork

Doing the research in a single neighborhood can be seen as a limitation. Another neighborhood could have enriched the data on the impact of the pandemic on community relations and response of the collective organizations to the pandemic. This understanding is based on the questioned validity of case studies. Flyvbjerg (2006) identifies five misunderstandings about case study research. The first is about the comparison between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge which ranks the therotical knowledge at a higher position. The second is about generalization problem based on a single case and its ability to contribute the literature. The third one is seeing case studies as a hyphotheses-building phase of a broader research. The fourth one is about the bias of the researcher problem of case studies. The last one implies the theory problem of case studies which limits to develop concepts and propositions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In another article, Flyvbjerg (2012) presents the "corrected" ones of these five misunderstandings. 1) He underlines the importance of case knowledge in comparison to predictive theories. 2) He argues that generalizations on a single case can contribute to the scientific development. 3) Hyphotheses can both be generated and tested in case studies. 4) Research experience rather than bias shapes the data collected in the case study. 5) Summarizing case studies is not always a practical option, they should sometimes be seen as "narratives" rather than focusing on the outcomes. Thus, focusing on a single neighborhood can be both a limitation and strength in terms of the data quality.

Furthermore, being a Middle East Technical University (METU) student doing research in Ayrancı neighborhood was a strength for the fieldwork because most of the people in Ayrancı have a positive attitude towards METU students. This affects the trust-building process between the researcher and participants assertively. The following comments of 32-year-old neighborhood council member Eda portrays this view:

The people of Ayrancı love METU students. Just say 'I am a student at METU' and people will help you. We have a positive discrimination towards METU students. (Eda, F, 32)

Parallel to this view, most of the people with whom I conducted interviews had a METU student/graduate child, relative or friend. As a result, most of the interviews started with "Do you know this person?" moment which warmed up the conversation naturally. This helped me to become a member of the community and develop a sense of belonging in my field as a researcher. On the other hand, this also necessitates careful attention to the form of the questions and responses because the distance between the researcher and the participants could be easily blurred. This could affect the data collection process adversely since they may easily switch off topic responses or give false information which they think may help my research. For instance, one of the respondents told a story which happened in another neighborhood other than Ayrancı and said "but you can write this story as if it happened in this neighborhood, if it will help you". In order to prevent such limitations, I mostly addressed people in a formal way in our conversations[21] even if they say I can use the informal addressing in speech. This strategy enabled me to control the interviews more easily and rebuild the distance between me and my respondents by using this formal language, or switching between the two when it is necessary.

3.3. Ethical Considerations

An equally significant aspect of the fieldwork was that we were still in the pandemic and the health risks due to the pandemic were still present. As a researcher, I am responsible for protecting the health of my interviewees and myself, and preventing discomforts during and after the interviews (Bryman, 2012). To this end, almost all interviews took place outdoors in coffee shops and parks. Only one interview took place in one of my respondent's house, but on the balcony. For the same reason, I avoided directly asking the questions regarding death and illness[22] related to the

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[21] This refer to the formal usage of you (siz) rather than the informal usage of you (sen) in Turkish.

[22] It means I did not directly ask this type of questions regarding the scope of the thesis. I admit that it may be the main focus of another research which can be carried out based on its own ethical considerations.

pandemic to protect the mental health of my interviewers. For instance, one of the participants started to talk about their[23] brother's epilepsy crisis in the early period of the pandemic during the interview. As a follow up question, I asked how living with their dog affected their pandemic experience. They became cheerful and started to show me pictures of their dog at home and on a vacation they went together. Thus, I also used calling the good memories of the participants to replace it with the distressing ones as an interview strategy when it is needed.

Lavin et al. (2012) also urges researchers about not only the participants but also the researchers at risk of being affected by the disaster experiences of the interviewees. They suggest that the researcher should have a "plan in advance to be able to cope with such difficulties" (Lavin et al., 2012, p.7). In the light of this suggestion, my strategy was leaving the place (coffee shop or park) where I heard the sad/traumatic experience after the interview in order to protect myself from over-involvement to the experience, and conducting the next interviews at a different place.

Other ethical aspect related to the safety of the respondents is their names, living places and identities. Based on this ethical consideration, I attained nicknames to them. I also tried not to mention any detail which may harm them after the study.

3.4. The Research Field

I decided that Ayrancı is a convenient choice for a case study regarding the focus of my thesis. First, the geographical location of Ayrancı gives the neighborhood a unique character. It is a neighborhood surrounded by embassies and state organizations and located in the heart of the capital city of Türkiye. Second, the diversity of collective organizations, activists, social movements and civil society organizations had a significant impact on my choice behind Ayrancı as the research field of my study.

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[23] Non-binary person

As a resident of 100. Yıl neighborhood, which is very close to Ayrancı neighborhood, I was frequently visiting the neighborhood because some of my friends started to live there after their graduation from METU. Previous familiarity with the neighborhood gave me the opportunity to adapt to the community life more easily. Additionally, after the pilot study I started in March 2022, I started to go there more often. I studied at the cafes of Ayrancı, I participated in urban walks events organized in the neighborhood, built relationships with the people throughout this time, set up interview appointments and conducted them in the summer of 2022. I also wrote daily field notes starting from my pilot study to follow my research process and observations in the field. One of them as follows:

I'm sitting at a cafe. Personal Jesus by Depeche Mode playing in the background. Some people talk about the rising gas prices and minimum wage hike. One of them says, "Don't even start. I'm having my breakfast. Don't get me down," and they start to talk about Survivor [the popular reality show]. Two men and one little girl sitting at the next table. The man asks the girl "What do you want to be when you grow up? Be a doctor and cure me." She answers "I'm going to be a cop, right, dad?" The man asks again, "Do you know what the cops do? Tell me." No response. The man continues, "they beat bad people with batons, catch thieves, bring justice." The next song started to play: Bigmouth Strikes Again by the Smiths. (30.06.2022)

This field note illustrates the economic situation in Türkiye at that time and how people felt talking about it. Additionally, it shows my position as a researcher in the field with the undertone of my writing. I realized the tone which contains research bias while I was reading my previous notes before conducting the interviews. In order to reduce the research bias, I controlled – not the futile effort to stop – the "tone" throughout my research. I was also more careful not to ask leading questions in the flow of the interviews.[24]

In the next chapter, I will present the findings of my research on the basis of the concepts and framework I presented in the theoretical background chapter.

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[24] Socio-demographic information list of the participants can be found in the appendix.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS: "PEOPLE NEED EACH OTHER"

"All affairs, day and night,

Yours, ours, theirs are political affairs"
Wislawa Szymborska[25]

This chapter examines the multifold aspects of Ayrancı neighborhood. Lefebvre (2003) states that "analysis only makes sense if it is able to distinguish organizations and institutions, to the extent that they control the exterior and interior functions of the city and therefore combine them" (p.116). According to him, structures have two aspects: 1) morphological and 2) sociological. The first one refers to the elements such as streets, buildings and squares. The second one consists of features such as distribution of the population, ages, sexes and other sociological aspects. The connection of them as "their point of articulation" creates the urban phenomenon (Lefebvre, 2003). In this respect, firstly, I will present the neighborhood relations in Ayrancı, and the effect of the pandemic on these relations. Secondly, I will present the changing structure of the neighborhood with the line of thought used by Zukin (1995; 2008) by highlighting the ongoing urban transformation in the neighborhood through the production of "authentic space" based on consumption practices such as farmers' markets and third-wave coffee shops, and the social world produced by the neighborhood relations.

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[25] Szymborska, W. (1998). Children of Our Era. *Ploughshares*, 24(4), 191-192.

4.1. The Neighborhood and Community Relations

4.1.1. "A Safe and Secular" Neighborhood

Ayrancı neighborhood is in the borders of Çankaya Municipality of the city of Ankara, which is the capital of Türkiye. According to the oral history study conducted by local newspaper of Ayrancı (Ayrancım Gazetesi), which is published by the members of Ayrancım Association (Ayrancım Derneği), Ayrancı was a place consists of embassies, vineyards which hosts Tatar, Rum, Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian population in the 1920's (Alyanak & Başgül, 2020). Some of the respondents still refer to those populations and their traces in the neighborhood such as vineyards owned by them. It is also used by some of the participants to highlight the history of the neighborhood before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Ayrancı neighborhood consists of five smaller local areas, namely Remzi Oğuz Arık, Güvenevler, Güzeltepe, Aziziye and Ayrancı. The neighborhood population is around 50 thousand. The neighborhood known as its close geographical location to the city center of Ankara, the parliament, and governmental buildings.
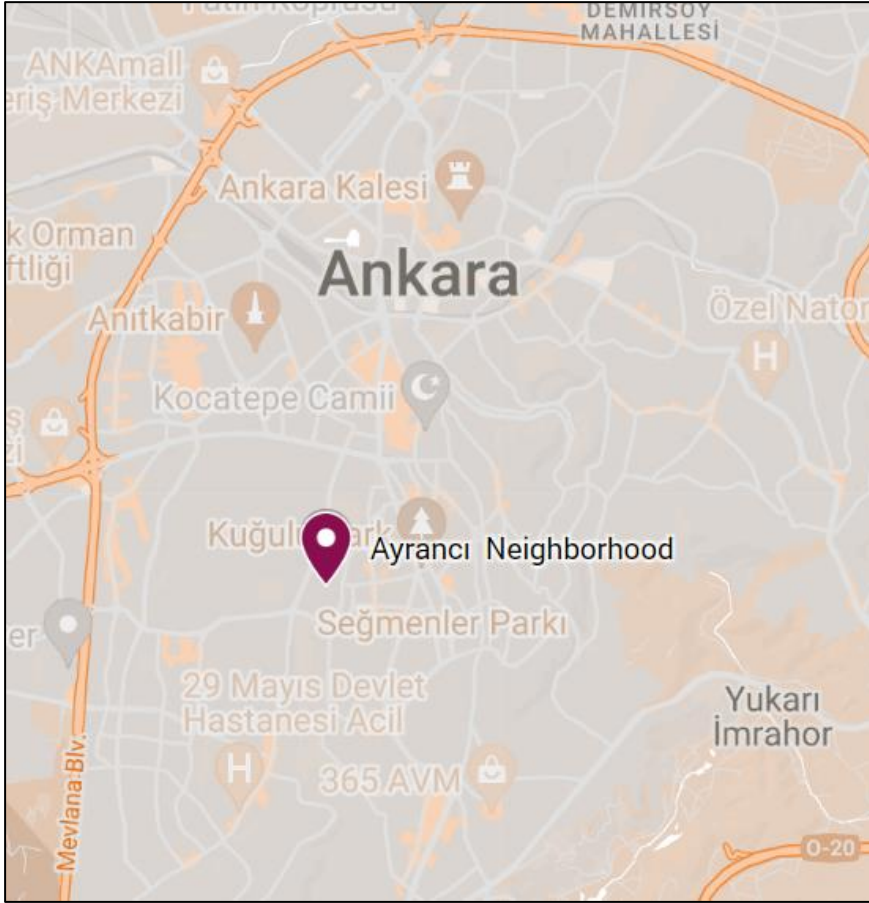
Figure 1. Location of the neighborhood

Table 1.

Population of the five local areas within the neighborhood

Local Area Name	Population
Ayrancı	16875
Aziziye	10891
Güvenevler	8990
Güzeltepe	5995
Remzi Oğuz Arık	5102

Source: TUIK[26]

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[26] Turkish Statistical Agency, 2021 Statistics
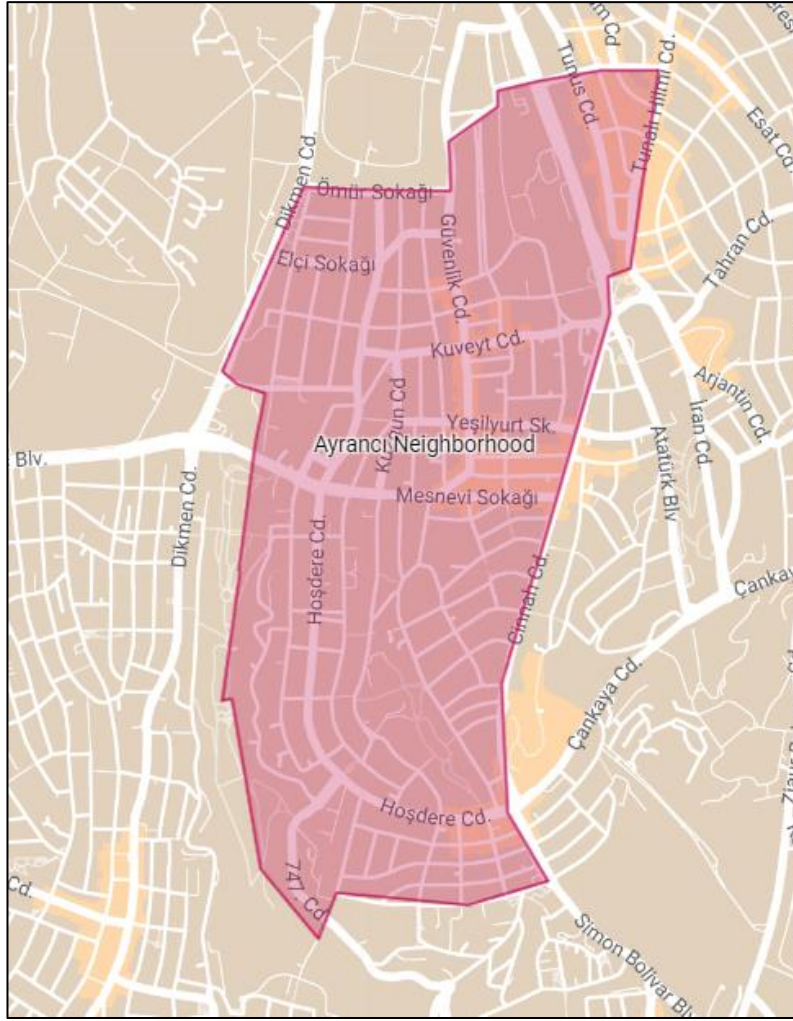
Figure 2. Map of the neighborhood

Today, Ayrancı was described by one of the *Ayrancım Association* members as follows:

Ayrancı is actually the triangular area between Atatürk and Dikmen Boulevards. Ayrancı is an area that looks like a drop, with one end extending to the Atakule and the Parliament at the other end. It consists of five neighborhoods and has a population of close to 50 thousand. In fact, it's crowded enough to delegate a deputy. Ayrancı is an old settlement in Ankara. One of the more distinguished districts of the city, 50 years ago. Starting from the Atakule, it is a vineyard region with Ayrancı vineyards towards the end. Actually, I described an area compressed between two boulevards, but if we count Kavaklıdere, this is a district also fed by three streams. (Turgut, M, 54).

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He also drew a mental map which is based on his perception of the neighborhood after my request. In this mental map, we can follow the neighborhood structure and its relationship between its periphery. The parliament, the military academy, and the embassies show the relations between the state(s) and the neighborhood. If we also add "Chile Square" to the list of embassy buildings, this aspect also shows their relations with the other parts of the world as a signal of the "global" character of the neighborhood. The red arrow means Turgut's (M, 54) perception of "threat" for the neighborhood because of the numbers of coffee shops and pubs increased in the neighborhood in recent years.
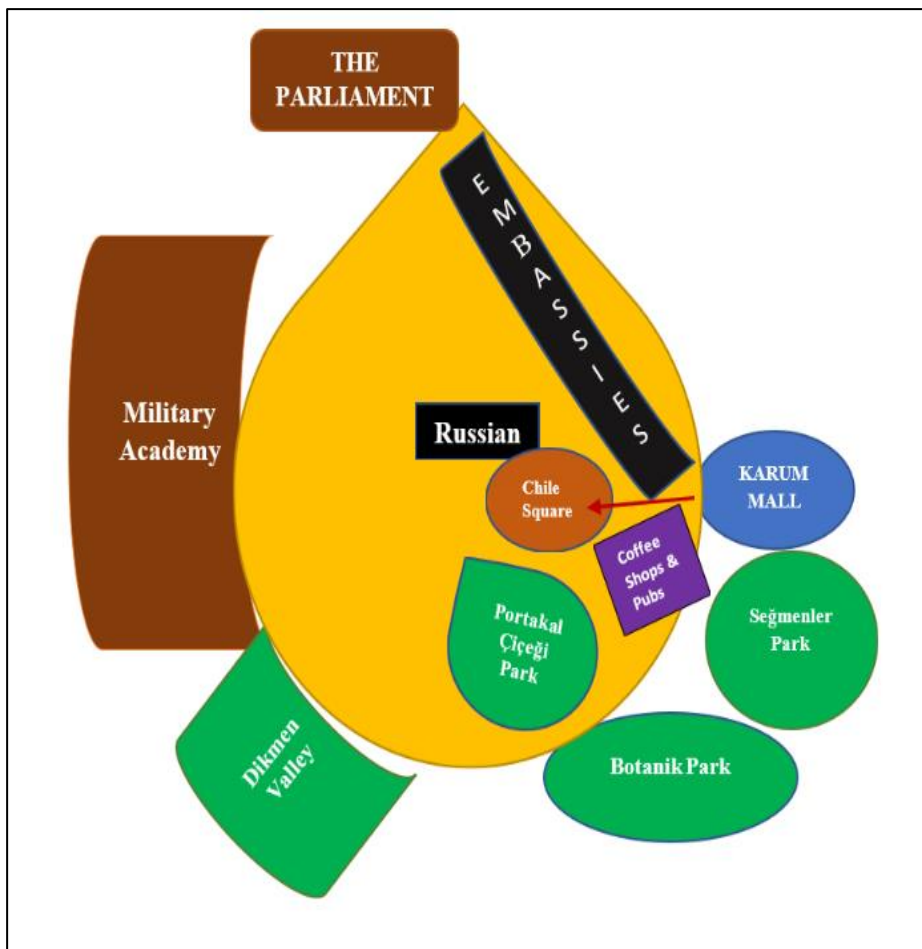
Figure 3. A mental map drawn by one of the respondents (Turgut, M, 54) (identifications and shapes were not changed)

Çankaya is identified as ''the stronghold of nation-state values and secular lifestyle against conservative politics'' and under the unbeaten rule of Republican People's Party since 1989 (Şahin et al., 2014, p.166). This identification is parallel to the

voting behavior and lifestyle of Ayrancı since it was described as a Republican People's Party (CHP) led secular-oriented neighborhood in which mostly people of white collar occupations reside[27] (Karademir-Hazır, 2014, p.683). The drawing above also show the relations of "nation-state" and the neighborhood with the presence of "the parliament" on the one side, and "the military academy" on the other.

Emphasis on this secular lifestyle was one of the common themes of the interviews. When we sat after the local newspaper (Ayrancım Gazetesi) meeting, Firdevs (F, 54) portrays this secular view against conservative politics through their encounter with the 1980's political Islamist Welfare Party[28] (RP) leader Necmettin Erbakan:

Generally, there are strictly secular people who are educated and come from a certain bureaucratic environment. For example, the late Erbakan used to live in this building *(points to it)*. He lived here until the 80's-85's when we were in university. For example, Erbakan was a political Islamist figure at that time, but everyone would argue with him without hesitation, always protecting that secular vein. It is very distinctive from that point of view, its [Ayrancı's] most distinctive feature is secular lifestyle. (Firdevs, F, 32).

Most of the participants mentioned this secular aspect of Ayrancı, especially by referring to women's lifestyle, nightlife, and dressing styles. Eda (F, 32), for instance, tells her living experiences in Ayrancı as a woman by pointing out one of the busy streets when we were sitting in a park:

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[27] In the interviews with the people living in the neighborhood and the focus group interview, most of the respondents state that there are only a few Syrian or Afghan refugees but many foreigners who work in the embassies in the neighborhood. The local chiefs (mukhtars) did not mention any refugee population registered in their neighborhood.

[28] The Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) was founded in Ankara in 1983. The party is known for its political Islamist views and its success in the 1991 and 1996 elections. Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the party, served as prime minister from July 1996 to June 1997 and resigned due to the 1997 military memorandum.

[Here] I can go for a walk at 3 in the morning while eating my ice cream. Nothing would happen to me. I say this as a woman. I am here in my shorts, in my sweatpants, in every way; there is a life for me here as a woman. For example, if I shout, someone would immediately come to help me. If I see a woman in danger, I would immediately intervene. Does that man beat me? If he beats me, someone will beat him too. I mean, I can deal with that. (Eda, F, 32)

The position of women in the neighborhood is referred frequently as ''four out of five mukhtars in the neighborhood are women''. After giving the information that there are many "widowed older women and young women who lives alone" in the neighborhood, Firdevs (F, 34) adds that "the female population is very active". Referring to the relationship between this aspect and the popularity Ayrancı gaining in recent years, Nejat (M, 52) says:

Currently, Ayrancı's average age is going down. It has become a popular, up-and-coming area. The fact that it is a district where women can go home with a bra after 12 at night is a factor in this regard. (Nejat, M, 52)

These kinds of responses can also be followed in the interviews of women appeared in the local newspaper such as "safe" and "comfortable[29]", and in the words of "women solidarity networks[30]", "women's participation to local management"[31], "women's solidarity"[32] and "demand to build neighborhood emergency networks[33]". Repeated phrases of women's walkings "with an ice-cream at night" and walking "with a bra" give reference to the women's powerful position in the neighborhood

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[29] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8767 (Date of access: June 14, 2022)

[30] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8868 (Date of access: June 14, 2022)

[31] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8787 (Date of access: June 15, 2022)

[32] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8777 (Date of access: June 14, 2022)

[33] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8863 (Date of access. June 15, 2022)

and its relations to sidewalks. Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht (2009) deals with urban sidewalks as a space for negotiation and conflict over public space based on their case study and archival research focusing on the cities of the US such as New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Miami and Seattle. According to their framework, sidewalks have a pivotal position in the socialization process of city dwellers. In that sense, sidewalks became a space for social interactions, conflicts and relations of everyday life. Thus, based on Lefebvrian framework, we can also see the walkings of women "at midnight" not only an activity made possible for them, but also their regular walking activities on the sidewalk made it possible.

Moreover, some of the respondents refer to their sidewalks during the pandemic and lockdowns. Some other also refer to their evening walk with friends. For instance, Tahsin (M, 62) says that they met every Monday and Thursday to walk. White & Carter (2021) follows the act of "walking together" through their regular walks in the pandemic, and define these routine acts of walking routines as practices of "building solidarity and care" based on their own experiences between November 2020 and April 2021. Thus, we can say that "walking side-by-side" not only metaphorically but also sociologically (and even politically) a significant practice.

Another critical aspect mentioned frequently by the participants was the neighborhood's safe environment.[34]. This aspect matches with the architectural elements of Ayrancı, such as the names of streets and other neighborhood units. One of the main streets of Ayrancı is called the "Güvenlik" (security) Street. The private hospital in Ayrancı is called the "Güven" (trust) Hospital. There are also street names such as "Esenlik" (well-being) and "Ahenk" (harmony). These architectural reflections of the neighborhood can be followed in the descriptions of the participants. For example, Turgut (M, 54) describes the safety environment as something "built by the people who live in Ayrancı":

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[34] There is a difference between Turkish and English I would like to mention here. In English, the words of 'safety', 'security' and 'trust' refers to different meanings, whereas in Turkish, all of them correspond to the same expression of 'güven/güvenli/güvenlik'. Thus, people use the same word stem of 'güven' which contains three different meanings expressed by the words of English mentioned above.

This is a safe neighborhood. A neighborhood where the neighborhood culture lives. Where neighbors know each other, people in the street recognize each other, and they greet each other. Trust is apparent not only in the neighborhood but in relationships between people and relationships with shopkeepers. They trust that the butcher has quality meat. They trust the greengrocer won't rip them off; they trust the tailor will see their clothes well. They trust the dry cleaner will clean their clothes well; they trust the plumber won't rip them off. People who know each other here also build a safe neighborhood. (Turgut, M, 54)

Based on these explanations, the "safety environment" in the neighborhood which is described as the social world produced through neighborhood relations based on trust can be seen as a common by using Harvey's (2012) approach. However, the geographical location of the neighborhood near the parliament and governmental buildings as well as street names show the "safety" aspect of the neighborhood were also built by external factors.

4.1.2. Neighborhood Culture

As can be seen here, people associate the safety aspect with the "neighborhood culture" which refers to the sense of familiarity with the people, and neighborhood relations. Firdevs (F, 34) also adds kinship bonds to the neighborhood and friendship relations:

There is a certain trust and friendship here. Now when my father came here, his whole family followed him. My aunts from both sides of the family, my uncle, and their children came. Everyone is here now. Why should I go? There is no conflict. If there was conflict, maybe… It's safe. You enter the building, the whole apartment is like your house. I never thought of moving because of this feeling of safety. (Firdevs, F, 34)

4.1.3. Access to the City Centre

Parallel to the views of some respondents, another element of the neighborhood culture is easy access to services and city center. As a 62-year-old retired worker and trade unionist Tahsin (M, 62) says:

What I call the neighborhood culture is to get all the things you need within the neighborhood. I have a grocery store, a barber, there is a cafe that I always go. Apart from that, there is the park where I socialize, there is the restaurant that I always go. That's what my neighborhood is. It's a nice thing. This is still possible in Ayrancı. (Tahsin)

A number of respondents describe this aspect of the neighborhood with the number of shopping malls in Ankara. They put emphasis on taking care of their daily necessities without having to visit shopping malls. Particularly, this becomes the main pillars of the neighborhood identity construction. Most of the people indicates they feel a sense of belonging to this area by referring to the buildings, shops, friends, family and a few remaining old vineyards. Although this study does not limit the definition of right to the city to access to public services, it is a significant aspect of the right to the city. In that sense, going to parks, shops, restaurants or going for a walk are all considered as parts of the "neighborhood culture" in the neighborhood and are related to the use value of the city.

In this respect, Aguilar et al. (2016) underlines the notion of community as the main element of life, even existence. On the contrary, the notion of existence in community is not defined as an *a priori* category – as it is for other species – but as something produced and reproduced through the everyday relations of dynamic collectivity.

4.1.4. The Other Side: Street Prostitution

On the contrary, Zukin (1995) urges us about both "safety", and "cultural" elements of the city referred by respondents through "shops", "old vineyards", "buildings" or

"parks". She underlines that cultural framings of a neighborhood could turn into a manipulation of "symbolic languages". In that sense, "aesthetic" framing of the city or neighborhood produces both its aestheticity and safety through "what and who should be visible and what should not" (p.7). Right to the city is defined as "a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right to participation in it" (Gilbert & Dikeç, 2008, p. 254). Moreover, right to participation is based on the use value of the urban space. Therefore, being invisible in the urban space is related to appropriation of public space. In this respect, everyday life (in this context, sidewalks) with its encounters, rythms, conflicts and negotiations is a "struggle for appropriation of public space (Meyer, 2008, p. 158). For instance, a number of respondents mentioned street prostitution in Hoşdere Street in Ayrancı. Before the pandemic times, they were moved off the streets by the police. With the increased street controls in the pandemic, they became "invisible". Ada (NB, 30) explains it with the particular terms as follows:

There was a period in particular before the pandemic. Hosdere Street is the *wheel* [35]or *car wheel* place. What we call *the wheel* is to wait for customers in on the street. The *car wheel* is to call customers by car. Think about that period when there were prohibitions, and in the process until the pandemic, there was a guard violence (Ada, NB, 30).

Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht (2011, p.239) examines a similar process in the mid-1990s' New York. However, it produced "unintended consequences". This act of "cleaning the sidewalks" ended up as these people started to work "inside" and the level of prostitution increased. The ability to become "invisible" in the community everyday life increased the people who work as a prostitute (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2011). Thus, the urban space, with all aspects of it, is a space of conflict in terms of use value and appropriation struggles both at the local and global level. The mentioned "guard violence" by Ada (NB, 30) highlights the aspect of violence in appropriation struggles and how the "safety" and "authenticity" of the

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[35] In Turkish: "Çark", "çarka çıkmak", "araba çarkı"

neighborhood is in relation to the aspect of violence. The pandemic became another impact to observe.

4.1.5. The Evaluation of the Pandemic: Between Solidarity and Fear

There are two views based on the participants' evaluation of the pandemic on their social relations. The first one refers to the pandemic on the basis of its negative effects. For instance, 44-year-old engineer Harun compares his relations with the people in the neighborhood as follows:

It has been an unusual time for all of us. We are face-to-face contact people who go out almost every day. The absence of this really had a surprising and overwhelming effect at first. Because there is a way of life that I am used to, but I could not practice it at that time. Health is important, but after a while it [the pandemic] started to deform relationships. If I compare the level of my relationships in the neighborhood with the ones five years ago, they are probably halved. (Harun, M, 44)

The beginning of the pandemic frequently described as "an unusual time" " in which they do not know how to response to it with the emotions of "fear", "anxiety" and "shock". As Eda (F, 32) expresses the impact of the pandemic on her friendship relations:

First of all, our team of friends has shrunk a lot. One moment we were hanging out in big groups the next we shrunk, everyone was afraid. It's the fear of death. We had a lot of fears before the pandemic, and the fear of death was added in with the pandemic. [But] we still have a nice circle of friends. We started meeting at our homes. (Eda)

Erdal (M, 57) illustrates the "shock" and "confusion" of the people who have an intention to help others by comparing with the current experience they gained:

But if this process happens now, we would be more functional. Whether it's about bringing food to the elderly or helping the elderly... Because how can you help an

elderly person with an illness? What if you hurt them or get them sick? We weren't sure. We didn't even know the number of patients. (Erdal, M, 57)

Despite the fact that the relations drawn by Erdal and Eda, some respondents refer to the changing relationship between neighbors in a positive way by mentioning the lockdown measures. Funda (F, 49) expresses the opposite impact of the pandemic and tells her experiences in their apartment building:

Apartment groups became more active. People started calling each other by their first names in the pandemic. They weren't using first names even if they knew before. Even the "good morning"s were cold. With the pandemic, a spirit was formed in the apartment. So that was good. Acquaintance increased. (Funda, F, 49)

Some of the participants also mentions "the exchange of coffee for cigarettes" or "taking turns to meet each day for a dinner at someone's house". The collectivity in the times of the pandemic is referred as the "realized importance of solidarity and cooperation" by Harun (M, 44):

It has been understood that people need each other in the pandemic, and that cooperation and solidarity are very important in times of pandemics or natural disasters. People saw that the capitalists had their own aims and problems, and that the state was useless without being a social state. This is the effect of the pandemic. (Harun, M, 44)

Parallel to the views of Harun, but with a wider portrayal of the solidarity networks in Ayrancı, Kemal (M, 26) says:

Before the pandemic, there was a stillness. I have not seen an activity like Neighborhood Council or Neighborhood Assembly. I think solidarity became active with the pandemic. There was a regrouping. With the support, it started to revive again.

Furthermore, local chiefs (mukhtars) in the neighborhood describe their evaluations of the pandemic as "the increase of the numbers of people in need", "lack of physical

contact", "people who request for food, medical and mask support", "local support mechanisms" and "solidarity is needed when the state support is insufficient[36]"

Based on these examples, we can argue that everday life of people, routine dynamics of physical distance measures in the pandemic have resulted as disruption in people's relations on the one hand, it creates new social bonds and solidarity practices within apartment buildings, closed areas of the neighborhoods such as gardens as a result of people's everyday life needs. This reflects the contradictory dynamics of everyday life practices in the urban space (Lefebvre, 1979).

4.1.6. Relations between the Communities of Human and Non-Human

In this section, I will examine the human and non-human relations in the neighborhood[37]. Throughout the interviews, all participants refer to the human and non-human relations in Ayrancı. During my daily walks and observations in the field I always encountered with people who walk with their dogs. One of my interviewees came with their[38] dog to the cafe where we met for the interview, introduced *Luna* to me and I introduced myself, too. These interaction between human and non-human not only related to animals but also trees and gardens. As Erdal (M, 57) portrays the familiarity with the neighborhood in a wider sense by adding "gardens" and "trees" as the members of the neighborhood:

> Of course, I feel like I belong to Ayrancı. Belonging is knowing the neighbors, shopkeepers, and the structures of the streets; even knowing the gardens, knowing which trees are there. It's pretty wide. I made that kind of bond. (Erdal, M, 57)

Badur (2020) argues that along with capitalist relations, the climate crisis is one of the reasons behind infectious diseases such as SARS, H1N1, MERS as well as Covid-19.

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[36] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=7435 (Date of access: June 15, 2022)

[37] The relations between human and non-human contains a rich literature from environmental ethics to animal rights as well as political ecology which are beyond the scope of this research. However, this study uses the Lefebvrian framework and these relations will be discussed based on this approach.

[38] Non-binary person

Ecosystems, clean water supplies and bio-diversity results the emergence of zoonetic diseases. It also refers to capitalist relations of human and non-human within the society in that sense. Thus, Covid-19 has not evolved into a "social disease" but it was "social" since the beginning. Based on their political ecology related approach, Aguilar et al. (2016) also argues that "a radical critique of capitalism is possible only if our analysis and transformative practices centre the reproduction of human and non-human life as a whole" (p. 80). Furthermore, Shigne (2020) conceptualizes the right to the city by adding the "more-than-human" dimension to it. However, the right to the city is defined in this article based on the definition of the concept used by Marcuse and only understood on the basis of "rights" perspective such as the "right to access", "right to self-identity one's needs", and "right to social and political decision making mechanisms". Although I should say this is a limited perspective on the concept of right to the city, it is still significant in terms of its focus on the non-human – or "more-than-human" as Shigne (2020) calls it.

In the pandemic, people were allowed to go outside with their dogs. Respondents who live with dogs during the pandemic also express that this exception gave them the opportunity to go outside during the pandemic and they did not feel "lonely" when they were "staying at home" during the lockdowns. Deniz (NB, 43) explains how a pandemic dog, *Lucy,* changed their pandemic experience:

She is a pandemic dog. We were on vacation look I have a picture (*shows the photo*) We had dogs when I was little but I've never formed such a bond before. After *Lucy* my life changed, my routines changed. They didn't look after her, didn't take her to walks. We had a solidarity relationship with Lucy. She saved me from loneliness and I saved her life. (Deniz, NB, 43)

In this respect, calling their dog, Lucy, as the "pandemic dog" shows the beginning of their acquaintance in the process. A contradictory aspect of the urban space can be seen between isolation due to the pandemic measures and new forms of social interactions built during the pandemic process.

4.1.6.1. Solidarity Between Queer Community and Non-Human

Argentine political-ecologist Machado (cited in Aguilar et al., 2016)[39] refers to "biotic communities" consisting of relations of collective elements such as "mutuality", "reciprocity", "exchange" and "joint determination between members of different species who need each other in order to produce and reproduce life" (p.81). The relations of collectivity also were constructed with the non-human as well as through non-human. Rose (2012) also calls this relations of interdependency as "symbiotic mutualism" (p.109). Ada (NB, 30) also mentions how sociality and collectivity are also produced through LGBTI+ community through relations of taking care of animals:

Animals and pet lovers have WhatsApp and Facebook groups. They organize community fundraisers. So there's a solidarity amongst them as well. Bilge Mama, she's our trans mother, she takes care of so many animals. Everybody supports her. We all take care of them in a way. (Ada, NB, 30)

In this case, collectivity produced through the relations of solidarity creates everyday survival of both "non-human" and LGBTI+ community. As LGBTI+ activist Ada (NB, 30) explains this aspect as follows:

What we call the solidarity network is actually the survival strategy of queer people. Otherwise, how will you survive? You have to consult your community even for simple things like finding a place to get a haircut without having to face phobia. You can't get any service directly. (Ada, NB, 30)

Right to the city is defined as "right to inhabit" in Lefebvrian framework. However, if we try to add this non-human dimension to right the city concept we should define it beyond the borders of "rights" perspective. That is, inhabiting is not *only* to breathe, to access food, shelter or healthcare. It is not *only* to inhabit as a "human", *but also* to inhabit *as/with* "more-than-human". If we put it as a metaphor: There is a

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[39] This book chapter cited from Aguilar et al. (2016) since the original text cannot be read by the author of this thesis due to the fact that the language of the text is in Spanish.

difference between "flying like a bird *across* borders" (as "rights perspective" suggests) and "flying like a bird *without* borders".

4.1.6.2. The Pandemic, Urban Commons and Non-Human

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Ayrancı semtinin kuşları-1

Covid-19 sürecinde daha önce duymadığınız ötüşleri duyduğunuzu, görmemiş olduğunuz kuşların farkına vardığınızı gözlemliyor musunuz? "Meğer ne çok kuş varmış" diyor musunuz? Bu çok doğal, evlerde izoleyiz, ister istemez dikkatimiz bahçelere yöneldi,
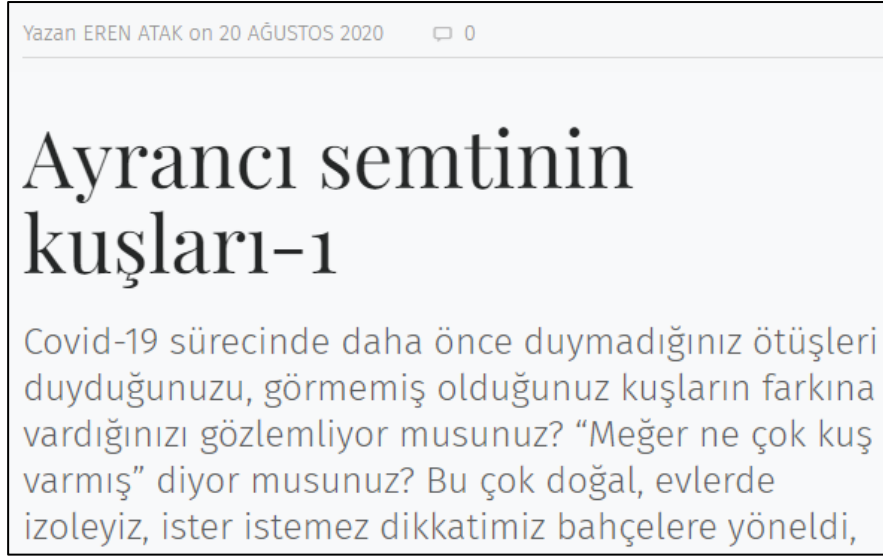
Figure 4. An article from the local newspaper. The title reads: Birds of Ayrancı Neighborhood. Below the title: During the Covid-19 process, do you observe that you hear the songs you have not heard before, and become aware of the birds you have not seen? Do you say 'how many birds are there?' This is very natural, we are isolated at home. We inevitably turned our attention to the gardens. (Source: Local Newspaper *Ayrancım Gazetesi*)[40]

When the respondents mention the neighborhood's Facebook group, they mostly refer to the posts of animal lovers such as writing for help to "feed stray animals", "rescue a cat stuck in car engine" or to "adopt a cat". In the local newspaper, they are also defined as a part of the neighboord – or we can call as "commoners". Additionally, the first monumental tree (Magnolia Tree)[41], the second monumantal tree (Oak Tree), the Judas trees[42], the types of birds living in the neighborhood[43], the turtles living a garden in the neighborhood[44] can be followed in the local newspaper.

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[40] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8026 Date of access: June 14, 2022

[41] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=7527 Date of access: June 15, 2022

[42] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8037 Date of access: August 20, 2022

Kent Parkları: Kimlerle paylaşıyoruz?

Figure 5. An article from the local newspaper (July 30, 2022). Title reads: "Urban Parks: With whom do we share them?" [45]

In this newspaper article, for instance, trees, butterflies, bees and insects along with birds defined as the "inhabitants" of the neighborhood. Metzger (2015) criticizes the view on seeing the "subjects" of the commons as only "human" on the one hand, and placing the non-human as "objects" on the other. For him, it is an ontological divide which undermines the understading of the commons and definition of the commoners. In this sense, both Hardin's and Ostrom's suggestion on the management of the commons are criticized based on their emphasis on the human subject by Metzger (2015). By giving reference to Harvey's suggestion on "rethinking the commons", he deals with the conceptualization of the commons based on a non-human perspective. He constructs his argument based on his framing of "Menschenpark[46]" ("human zoo"), and argues that describing the city based on human subjects (as he calls "Menschenpark") is misleading. After following the arguments of interdependency between human and non-human, he asks the questions regarding the definition of city and commoners along with the management of commons. In the neighborhood, these questions also appear with the phrase of "The city is not a Menschenpark" (Metzger, 2015).

Based on these finding and discussions, I can say that collectivity and solidarity relations in the neighborhood also include a human-non-human dimension. Covid-19

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[43] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8292 Date of access: June 14, 2022

[44] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9177 Date of access: June 15, 2022

[45] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9835 Date of access: August 10, 2022

[46] In German "zoo" is called as "Tierpark" which means "animal park".

pandemic, which is caused by human-non-human relations in the capitalist society, has also produced human and non-human solidarity practices. These solidarity practices in and outside of the home has provided a ground for the residents of the neighborhood to rethink their relations with the non-human. Moreover, the residents' relation with the non-human, as commoners, produces the possibility of differential spaces in the context of Covid-19. According to Lefebvre (1991) the abstract space seeks for homogenity, aiming to dissolve of differences, and also has the dynamics of contradiction between use value and exchange value. On the other hand, everyday relations based on the use value of the city carry the seeds of a new place which can be emerged based on differences. Then, parks, sidewalks, streets became commons with their human and non-human commoners.

As we can see in the local newspaper articles above, the pandemic has also affected the relations between human and non-human. People's usage of balconies and windows, and public spaces such as parks started to reshape these relations. We can also see their questions related to the use of public spaces and use of the city.

On the contrary, these possibility to the birth of differential space(s) produced by everyday relations and solidarities emerged in the times of pandemic between community through "neighborhood culture" or between human and non-human can easily turn into "authentic spaces". In the next section, I will deal with this paradox of solidarities and commoning practices in the neighborhood.

4.1.7. Changing Structure of the Community: The Idea of Authenticity

In the second part of this section, I would like to mention another transformation Ayrancı neighborhood is currently in. Most of the buildings in Ayrancı are identified as old and potential candidates of urban renewal. The urban transformation in Ayrancı mentioned here is not based on a wider urban transformation project. Residents of the old buildings decide whether they want the reconstruction of their apartment based on a risk assessment report, and the signature of approval. According to the findings, this creates a similarity to the urban transformation practices explained by Sharon Zukin (2008) in *Consuming Authenticity* for SoHo,

Lower Manhattan, New York. The seeds of such transformation practices can be found in Ayrancı neighborhood through the idea of authenticity constructed by farmers' markets, art and yoga workshops[47].

Zukin (2008) explains "authentic spaces" as the idea of authenticity attributed to them comes from outside. That is, people who do not live in the neighborhood see them as "authentic". The authenticity of them is constructed based on not through the subjectivity but objectivity aspect. For Zukin, this idea walks hand in hand with Lefebvre's "space of representation" in that sense. Shared aesthetic view of artists' and urban professionals' – "bourgeois bohemians" – urban place, Zukin states, relies on authenticity and alternative consumption practices emerged from this shared view of space. In the production of "authentic spaces", food has a major role for Zukin. Whether they are called "organic", "ethnic", or "locally produced". Zukin (2008) calls the authentic food as the "anchors of urban transformation". The major role in urban transformation is that their value in the "symbolic economy" as Zukin uses.

In the case of Ayrancı, there are also many farmers' markets which sell "organic", "locally produced" and "ethnic" food. In the local newspaper of Ayrancı, both "organic" and "ethnic" food places can be seen.

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Ekolojik Bakkal açıldı

Figure 6. Title reads: Ecological Local Shop has been opened [48]

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[47] There is extensive literature on gentrification and urban transformation, which includes various topics from the political economy aspects of these processes to their definitions. However, the main objective of this study is not gentrification or urban transformation based on these discussions. Therefore, the beginning of changing structures of the neighborhood is related to the gentrification of the neighborhood. This process is explained here by referring to the similar dynamics drawn in Zukin's (2008) study. The adverse economic impact of the pandemic has exacerbated the gentrification process in the neighborhood, which will have consequences in the future.

Ayrancı'da Asya lezzet durağı

Figure 7. Title reads: Asian Food Station in Ayrancı[49]

Zukin (2008) underlines how this view of authenticity also finds a representation in the media. In this case, local media also becomes a scene of representation. This authenticity is started to be constructed through art, farmers' markets and ethnic food stores in Ayrancı. There is also a famous "antique bazaar" in the neighborhood which is known by many people in the city.

Antikanın merkezi Ayrancı

Figure 8. Title reads: The centre of antiques: Ayrancı[50]

The practices which seem innocent at the first place could lead to the promotion of new types of authenticity which attracts different form of authenticity consumers. Zukin (2008) gives the instance of SoHo in Lower Manhattan. A gradual change in the neighborhood especially from 1990s, led to another gradual change in the social dynamics of the neighborhood. First, zoning practices which were beneficial for artists followed by a process of increasing numbers of art galleries and artists. In 2000, these art galleries followed by soaring of chain stores. People's main objective to visit the neighborhood, however, became not art galleries but chain stores such as H&M. The places like bars, art galleries and performance spaces were attracted people since their

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[48] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9652 Date of access: June 14, 2022

[49] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9644 Date of access: June 14, 2022

[50] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9793 Date of access: June 14, 2022

significance of "being open to all people in spite of the differences" (p.730). Arrival of the new residents also changes the types of places in the neighborhood. In search of authenticity comes with the new tastes revolving around consumption products such as coffee, and art. As Turgut (M, 54) explains:

There are some changes that we have experienced in Ayrancı recently. One of them is that Ayrancı, like everywhere else, has started to become a neighborhood of cafes. This is the supply-demand situation. Young people want to sit and drink tea and coffee. They want to sit in the cafe [coffee shop], not in the coffee house. And they started to appear. But they [the coffee shops] come destroying everything around it like a swarm of locusts. (Turgut, M, 54)

In this quote, "coffee house" refers to the traditional one, and "coffee shop" refers to the third wave coffee shops but "swarm of locusts" reference mentions his concerns about what will come next. Additionally, parallel to Zukin's findings in SoHo, many artistic activities started to appear in Ayrancı. Funda (F, 49) gives examples of these "new practices of authenticity" as follows:

There are many artistic activities and ateliers here. It has increased a lot, especially in the last 10 years. There are lots of ceramic workshops. We can reach designers. Ayrancı is very rich in terms of that. (Funda, F, 49)

These alternative practices could emerge on the basis of the needs such as in the case of food. During my observations, I have witnessed that especially elderly people who try to eat healthy food and do shopping from farmers' markets. However, there is a dark side of it as Zukin (2008) says. Nejat (M, 52) explains its reflection in Ayrancı neighborhood while comparing the prices in surrounding neighborhood as follows:

The presence of civil society and bohemian culture here is not a positive situation in all aspects […] Ayrancı has become more expensive than *Esat* and *100. Yıl*. Write down the products you buy from the market, they are more expensive in Ayrancı. (Nejat, M, 52).

Zukin (2008) also refers to the changing in rent prices. The rise of alternative consumption practices led to a parallel rise in rents, and other local shops closed at the end in the case of SoHo. Turgut (M, 54) expresses his concerns based on this aspect:

With the rising rents, there will be no more cobblers, dry cleaners, or butchers here. Law firms, real estate agencies, social media, and advertising agencies will come. They will go home after 6 pm. This cafe will turn into a bar. Loud music will play at night. These places will be open until 3 in the morning. No one else will be able to sleep. There will be fights here, they will stab each other. A *kokoreç* place will be opened in the corner. We think it damages the neighborhood culture. We are disturbed by this. Night noises started. Security problems arose. Traffic problems arose. Secondly, this is the issue of urban transformation. Urban transformation began to destroy those green clusters behind Ayrancı's apartments. (Turgut, M, 54)

The pandemic have affected this process in adverse way. Most of the respondents refer to the urban transformation process – especially the increase of coffee-shops – as "before and after the pandemic". Many old shops closed and changed owners due to the economic impact of the pandemic in that sense. However, I need to add that Türkiye is currently experiencing a deep economic crisis regarding the low value of lira against other currencies. This economic crisis exarcabated the urban transformation dynamics in the neighborhood as respondents tell. Until recent years, Ayrancı neighborhood was known as relatively low-level rent prices in spite of its geographical location at the heart of the city of Ankara. Due to the inflation and rent crises in recent years, the rent prices nearly tripled in major cities of Türkiye as well as Ankara (CNN Türk, 2022), and some of the districts where rents have increased the most are next to the neighborhood (Direkçi, 2021). In spite of these changes affecting all major cities in the country, some of the respondents mentioned the soaring of rent prices and living expenses in Ayrancı neighborhood are above the average level of surrounding neighborhoods. Eda (F, 32) thinks the increase in rent prices is also a result of urban transformation practices:

They come here and do urban transformation. Houses are getting expensive. The rich will move here. Well, we are not rich. Then who will live in these houses? Who will this neighborhood belong to? We won't be able to live here after a while. The realtor says go to Mamak if you don't have money. I leave, you leave, others leave... Who will come

here? The rich. […] 'We want to leave a home for our children,' they say. Is that what matters? Or the neighbors, the neighborhood, and the feelings you leave? I don't own a home, and I don't have children to leave it to. But I have my neighborhood. (Eda, F, 32) Onur (M, 27) adds that the ongoing process in Ayrancı started to change the community profile of the neighborhood as follows:

This changes the class structure in the neighborhood, because another community is coming here. It is a much younger populace in terms of age and very different in terms of occupation. I didn't see it before, but now more tradespeople have started to move here. Due to being near bureaucratic establishments, diplomats and middle class government officials lived here, as well as the retirees and older population. This was the community. I can see this changing even in my own apartment building. (Onur, M, 27) As Zukin underlines in the case of SoHo, it is not the arrival of new residents that led to the displacement of the old residents, but the new consumption spots of authenticity. In the case of SoHo, they are first art galleries, furniture shops which were produced by the first wave of gentrifiers and then, chain stores and niche market stores led the second wave of gentrifiers. In the case of Ayrancı, pandemic experiences along with current economic crisis situation can have two results; they can accelerate this tranformation or they can be a barrier.

4.2. Solidarity and Collective Action During the Pandemic: Balconies, Contradictory Space, Virtual Solidarity and Assemblies

In this section, I will examine the collective action and solidarity practices in the neighborhood during the pandemic. First, I will present how balconies become a differential space through balcony protests in the pandemic. Second, I will show virtual solidarity networks formed in digital space. Third, I will analyze the commoning practices in the neighborhood which occurred as a social process at the one hand, and as a collective reflex on the other. Commoning practices as a social process includes neighborhood assembly, neighboorhood council and Girls of Ayrancı local organizations. Commoning practices as a collective reflex consists of the group who made face shields for the people in the neighborhood and for the healthcare workers across Türkiye.

Figure 9. Street art drawn by Mexican artist Kathrina Rupit in the pandemic (2021, *Güvenlik Street* in Ayrancı) (Source: Kathrina Rupit[51])

4.2.1. Balcony Protests in the Pandemic

During the early period of the pandemic, we have witnessed balconies being used to show gratitude, anger and hope. People were applauding from the balconies for the healthcare workers in the US, the UK, and Italy (Aulds, 2020). In France, people were also organizing from social media to applause healthcare workers (Birgün, 2020) as well as in Türkiye (Evrensel, 2020). While "staying at home" with the feelings of anxiousness and boredom, people were taking to their balconies and windows to sing, dance, and watch balcony concerts (Taylor, 2020). Meanwhile, people were also taking to their balconies in Brazil not to clap their hands but banging pans to protest Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro while he was insisting on calling Covid-19 "a little flu" (Angiolillo, 2020). In Colombia, people put red flags on their balconies to signal their needy conditions (Otis, 2020) However, it was not a

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[51] https://www.instagram.com/kinmx/

novel case that occurred in the pandemic. For instance, people in Brazil heard the banging sounds of pads in wealthy neighborhoods against Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's political party in 2016 (Angiolillo, 2020). During Gezi protests in Türkiye people were also chanting pods through organizing on social media (CNN Türk, 2014).

In the pandemic, the windows and balconies became a spaces of conflict, not by the children who draw rainbows but the abstract space who accentuates differences. Furthermore, people also used these spaces in order to protest while keeping physical distance. In this sense, the balconies of Ayrancı have also become a space for protest in two ways. First, after the withdrawal of Türkiye from İstanbul Convention on 20 March 2021 (BBC, 2021), people started to hang "İstanbul Convention Saves Lives" banners on their balconies. In the focus group interview Esin (F, 45) says "Signs were hung on the balconies after the decision to leave the İstanbul Convention" and Zeynep (F, 28) adds that "Yes, we hung it [a banner] on our balcony, too". Another instance was "White Call" (Beyaz Çağrı) protests organized through social media to hang white flags in order to criticize privatization of healthcare and pandemic policies in Türkiye (Birgün, 2020)

Figure 10. The banner reads: "Istanbul Convention Saves Lives" (Source: T. G)

Figure 11. The banner reads: "I promise you spring will come again", "#PaidLeave" and "#FreeHealthcare, below "#WhiteCall" (Source: Ö. A.)

Onur (M, 27) explains the White Call campaign as follows:

There was a very clear picture in Türkiye: half of the society could not be in lockdown. Certain segments of the society were not 'deserving' of the lockdowns. There were times during lockdown, normal life continued outside. In fact, we lived in a period when a very large part of the working class was not worthy of protection and was driven into the field like a soldier, like a minelayer. Therefore, we launched a campaign to emphasize such a social aspect along with health. Paid leave, right to free healthcare, nationalization of private hospitals (Onur, M, 27).

Balconies also were used for 1 May celebrations. In the focus group discussion Esin (F, 45) tells that "We played the May 1st anthem on May 1st with our speakers. People celebrated May 1st from their balconies. Since there were no action [outside] on that day, we played the anthem from the balconies." Zeynep (F, 28) adds that "it was a call from the May 1st Committee" formed by DİSK[52], KESK[53], TMMOB[54] and TTB[55].

Gerbaudo (2020) defines balcony protests as a "tactic" based on self-restraint measures in order to capture the involvements of non-politicized citizens. In fact, the balcony protests highlight radical concerns about the Covid-19, privatization policies and consequences of the individualization of responsibility rhetoric. On the other hand, they created a bridge between inside and outside especially during lockdowns. Being a bridge between inside-outside turned into a everyday life of appropriation struggles. During lockdowns, we can argue, the rhytms of the city changed, the use value of the city constructed through balconies. This situation gave balconies a new

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[52] Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey

[53] Confederation of Public Employees' Trade Unions

[54] Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

[55] Turkish Medical Association

aspect in the pandemic in comparison to the previous ones. They became spaces of protest and mobilization, when protesting outside of home was not available.

4.2.2. Digital Solidarity Networks: Facebook and Zoom Parties, Mailgroup "QueerAntina"

In the pandemic, people of Ayrancı were also part of virtual solidarity networks. These virtual solidarity practices consist of a virtual feminist public forum, virtual Zoom parties and a local Facebook group.

Local Facebook Group *Ayrancı Ahalisi*, which has more than 10 thousand members, were already an active online solidarity network before the pandemic. People giveaway their furniture, help or feed stray animals by organizing in this group or have discussions about the neighborhood. As Nilgün (F, 62) explains:

Let's say you came here but you don't have anything. We will furnish your house in a day if we post there [the Facebook group] (Nilgün, F, 62)

During the pandemic, people were mostly posting about what was going in the world and in Türkiye. They discussed the news and this online group became an alternative news source. There were also people who post about their needs and ask for help through this local Facebook group. However, there were also some people who were posting about which apartment has a Covid-patient and how they should not go there. Nejat (F, 54) explains the situation in the Facebook group as follows:

At first there was a terrifying uncertainty. Which apartment should we not stop by, which apartment should we not even pass by... People of Ayrancı was mostly against this, on the contrary, we should go and support (Nejat, F, 54)

Moreover, feminist groups organized an online forum in the pandemic and shared their thoughts on feminist movement and discussed the condition of the pandemic according to Zeynep (F, 28) who participated in the focus group interview.

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We wanted to do them face-to-face throughout Turkey, in neighborhoods, wherever we were. To discuss where the feminist movement is going. We couldn't go out, we couldn't do activities, we were stuck. This call was made to combat that a bit. The first was like a forum. Then discussion points were determined. (Zeynep, F, 28)

Similar to the case of balcony protests, feminist and LGBTI+ activists used digital spaces as a strategy to overcome the physical distance limitation in the pandemic. Therefore, physical distance could not be a "social distance" in that sense. However, Zeynep (F, 28) also tells that organizing a feminist forum in the digital space was not easy. They shared their Zoom link through social media but unlike face-to-face meetings, they could not control who comes to the meetings. Some people tried to disrupt the feminist forum in order to prevent it from happening. Therefore, digital space has become both a tactic and limitation for the forum participants.

Furthermore, LGBTI+ associations such as Kaos GL and 17 May Association organized virtual Zoom parties, virtual yoga practices and discussion groups in order to cope with the adverse effects of the pandemic on LGBTI+ people. 43-year-old LGBTI+ activist Deniz explains virtual "Lesbian Meetings" organized by Kaos GL in the pandemic as follows:

Open-identity LGBTI+ or trans people had to return the family home during the pandemic. What those people live through varies a lot. It's worse if you're out and your family doesn't want you. [LGBTI+] Associations also worked in Ayrancı. People came together with the online activities organized by the associations. One of them is Lesbian Meetings. Since face-to-face activities could not be held, it was done to reduce the effects of the pandemic. (Deniz, NB, 43).

17 May Association LGBTI+ activist Ada (NB, 30) explains that a mail group called "QueerAntina" formed and became a digital communication network between all queer groups in Türkiye when people could not meet face-to-face. These groups included civil society associations and university clubs. In Ankara, they also formed another mail and WhatsApp group called "Angara" and worked with the same aim at the local level. These groups were not only communication networks but they also

worked as solidarity networks during the pandemic. "If a queer person cannot find an apartment in Ayrancı, they write to this group" Ada (NB, 30) says, "and we find an apartment together". These digital networks also organized virtual Zoom parties. Deniz (NB, 43) says they participated virtual parties organized by LGBTI+ activists in İstanbul. Ada (NB, 30) explains how these virtual parties were a form of solidarity through digital space in the pandemic as follows:

It was so good, it reduced the feeling of loneliness. There was a situation like getting ready for the Zoom party. I was doing my make-up and getting dressed just because there's a Zoom party in the evening. Good thing there were [such activities]. At least we didn't go crazy, if we did, we went crazy together. (Ada, NB, 30)

Another participant, Harun (M, 44) also mentioned virtual parties that were organized with their friends. In this case, other platforms along with Zoom were used.

We were using different applications such as Zoom, Google Meet, Teams. We must have done it 7-8 times. We met our social needs there. So that everyone can get their own beer and drink in their own house and have a chat. We were singing songs, listening to broadcasts. (Harun, M, 44)

These practices produce the digital places of solidarity and mutuality. Digital places, which are also a space consists of capitalist relations of production and contradictions, become differential spaces carry their potential of change in the context of the pandemic. Digital space, in that sense, can be interpreted as a part of city with its own residents, different personas but similar dynamics of relations. Right to the city, right to inhabit, right to appropriation concepts as well as use value and exchange value of digital spaces (such as Zoom and its premium feature which unlimits the time length of meetings) can be seen in relation to the right to the city.

4.2.3. Prefiguration and Commoning as a Social Process: Collective Kitchen, Neighborhood Assembly and the Girls of Ayrancı

In this section I will discuss commoning practices and its political aspects in the neighborhood through solidarity kitchen, neighborhood assembly, neighborhood council and Girls of Ayrancı (Ayrancı Kızları) examples. I also present the instance of building a neighborhood library in the pandemic and its relations with the prefigurative spatial imaginary.

4.2.3.1. Collective Kitchen

The history of the Collective Kitchen in the neighborhood goes back to the period before the pandemic. The idea behind the practice was preparing and eating food collectively in the neighborhood. In the focus group interview, Zeynep (F, 28) says "Almost all of the participants were from METU [Middle East Technical University]" Esin (F, 45) adds that "The Collective Kitchen was about planning. There were also feminists in it. I was a member of the Ankara Feminist Collective, the Socialist Feminist Collective, at that time. We knew about the kitchen." As a member of Nar Women Solidarity, Zeynep (F, 28) tells that they held a joint event with the Collective Kitchen before the pandemic:

Zeynep (F, 28): It was an event called "We are boiling the pot together". Materials were bought, food was cooked, sat and eaten together. We discussed about how women are affected by the economic crisis… A conversation space. Then we bought a little more supply. We made something called thimble soup. With the logic of food that can be made in the time of an economic crisis. We packed this dish, which we cooked in batches here, put it in the freezer, and then distributed it to the neighborhoods [in Ankara] through Nar [Women Solidarity Network]

Onur (M, 27) : Were they distributed in Ayrancı?

Zeynep (F, 28): It was distributed to families and students *Nar* met around Ankara, not only in Ayrancı. I remember it happened in Mamak [district in Ankara] and 100.

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Yıl [neighborhood in Ankara] but it was done through our connections and families we knew.

 I ask whether they did it on a regular basis.

Zeynep (F, 28): No, it was a one-time event.

However, the Collective Kitchen was not active during the pandemic. Nejat (M, 52) explains the reason as follows and Zeynep (F, 28) highlights the main idea behind the kitchen practice:

Nejat (M, 52): You see in Portugal or Latin America that there are practices to feed the homeless; they're making soup for the homeless people. We want to bring these practices here and keep them alive. We need to determine who needs it. If students need it, then it needs to serve them. There were some ideas to make meals and put them in jars to distribute. Who will you distribute to? Upper middle class? Only with one street? Students? It was supposed to happen collectively, but stayed local.

Zeynep (F, 28): It wasn't based only on need. The Ayrancı community is made up mostly of 9-6 workers. A woman or a mother coming home after 6 [pm] having to prepare dinner which becomes unmanageable at some point. At that point, the neighborhood can offer a solution by taking turns to fulfill this social reproduction work [but] I'm not sure if it came true.

The discussion about the Collective Kitchen in the neighborhood shows that commoning practices in Ayrancı has a memory of past experiences although the kitchen was not active during the pandemic according to the focus group participants. Based on this focus group discussion, we can also see that how "questions of social reproduction, gender, and the commons are interlinked" (Harvey, 2012, p. 85). Although this practice did not belong to the pandemic experience, it underlines the dynamics of commoning outside of market relations. It also shows the limits of local solidarity networks if the network stays with a small group of people.

4.2.3.2. Neighborhood Assembly

In their research on Ankara neighborhood forums, Ergenç & Çelik (2021) define these forums as "commoning" practices as a process which has a dynamic character. They state that after "rupture moments" such as Gezi protests, new networks of collective action emerged during the moments diffused into the everyday life. They highlight the neighborhood forums' prefigurative character in line with their practices. According to their conceptualization, they categorize the neighborhood forums based on three form of commoning practices: "content", "demand" and "method" (Ergenç & Çelik, 2021, p. 1040). As a form of strategy, commoning as method refers to "networking" of forums both at the organizational and logistical level. Commoning as content is defined as searching for further strategies of politics at the local level. Commoning as demand differs from the others based on its relationship with right to the city and prefiguration concepts. That is, it is not based on to participating in decision-making mechanism but it is about being the decision-making mechanism in the city. Their usage of the term "urban commoning" is in relation to the concept of "right to the city". However, their argument is that right to the city demand emerged in the rupture moments turn into preservation of commons through everyday life activities of the forum members. They put horizontal decision-making mechanism of neighborhood forums at the center of their analysis. They also highlight the diverse character of the commoners of the neighborhood forums in Ankara. They underline past events such as "TEKEL resistance" and the position of spaces in collective memory of participants such as Kızılay Square. They interpret these past practices in relation to the emergence of Gezi movements. In this respect, commoning practices in Ayrancı also have a collective memory.

The neighborhood assembly in Ayrancı was formed after the neighborhood forums in 2013. As Harun (M, 44) explains:

There were forums in Ikizler Park. There were forums also held in Emekliler Park, over there. There've been many forums. Actions were taken through these events during Gezi times. There were weekly meetings at Ikizler and Emekliler Parks during Gezi. It lasted until August, September 2013. To organize these forums, you need a

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leader. There were different leaders. The forums in İkizler Park were organized by our Haziran Movement, but the forums in Emekliler Park were the forums that TKP members tried to organize at that time (Harun, M, 44).

Although most of the neighborhood forums gradually disappeared, their forms has changed at the local level. This form is mostly commoning as content as Ergenç & Çelik (2021) argues. İkizler Park, one of the major parks the forums held in the neighborhood, still continues to be a "life space" of "spatiality of political imaginary" (Erensü & Karaman, 2017). This aspect of the neighborhood assembly continues through organizing children festivals and film screenings in the park. As Harun (M, 44) explains:

If there was a significant agenda, forums were organized. But they weren't periodic. Other activities continued in the form of concerts, film screenings or interviews with writers or journalists. When things started to settle, forums also became repetetive and passive. Therefore, in order to revive the forum, we thought that we should establish more relationships, reach out to people, try to organize through events. We thought then agenda would eventually be found and we would start to work. (Harun, M, 44)

When the pandemic hit, the neighborhood assembly became active and worked in the neighborhood. Their activities were doing grocery shopping, supplying medicine and organizing volunteers. Children festivals and film screenings still continue in the park where the forums held. Therefore, commoning practices, with their dynamic and evolving character, continued in the neighborhood as a content (Ergenç & Çelik, 2021) in order to develop new strategies to organize while coping with the pandemic. As Erkan (M) tells they tried to organize through a consumption cooperative before the pandemic:

Then we organized as a cooperative. This is the continuity of solidarity. They came from Istanbul Kadıköy Cooperative, Çanakkale, we held meetings here for the cooperative. We said that the best way to keep people together is the economy. To be able to reach more budget friendly, healthier products. This will be our salt and

pepper for us to come together. We made a Cooperative Initiative. We invited them to tell us about their experiences. They directed us to communicate and organize, they said, you can buy products from these places. (Erkan, M)

Although the cooperative have not formed yet but continues as an effort[56], they helped the people in need in the pandemic with the money collected for the cooperative effort. As Erkan (M) says:

Our cooperative had money. We helped families here, paid their bills through the Neighborhood Assembly. (Erkan, M)

The neighborhood assembly continues and changes itself. It does not stay in a fixed place. Tomorrow we will evolve into something else. (Erkan, M)

Therefore, the dynamic form of solidarity and commoning practices are also seen as a continuation based on the previous experiences.

4.2.3.3. Neighborhood Council

The neighborhood council in Ayrancı was officially formed in November 19, 2021[57]. The executive committee consists of 28 people. The committee includes feminist and LGBTI+ activists, socialists, all mukhtars (local chiefs), and other neighborhood community members. There are eleven working groups in it focusing on topics such as city and environment. The neighboorhood council is under the umbrella of Çankaya City Council which consists of seven neighborhood councils from 100. Yıl, İncesu, Sokullu, Seyranbağları, Kırkkonaklar and Çayyolu neighborhoods. They were formed on the basis of United Nations Earth Summit which took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 3-14 June 1992. As a result of this summit, a non-binding plan of the United Nations called Agenda 21 (which refers to the 21th century) was

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[56] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=8106 (Date of Access: June 10, 2022

[57] https://ayrancim.org.tr/?p=9561 (Date of Access: July 3, 2022)

written. Chapter 28 which focuses on "local authorities' initiatives in support of Agenda 21". Based on this programme, the neighborhood councils have found a legitimate ground to be formed. Some members of the neighborhood council argues that although the council works under the umbrella of Çankaya City Council, there is not a direct relationship between the neighborhood council and the municipality of Çankaya. As one of the neighborhood council members Tahsin (M, 62) says "none of them are affiliated with the municipality" and defines the relationship as the municipality only responsible for "logistics" such as "printing posters for the events", "transportation" or "giving place for the meetings".

Tahsin (M, 62) was a presenter in an event called "Neighborhood Councils and Climate Crisis" webinar to which I also attended. During this presentation, he referred to "right to the city" in relation to the neighborhood councils. However, this was a reflection of the use of right to the city as a combination of a) access to services defined by Marcuse (2009) and b) participation to the decision-making mechanism through representatives in the City Councils (Purcell, 2013) and creating a "public sphere" based on accountability defined by Mitchell (2003).

When I ask whether they are affiliated with the municipality or not, Erdal (M, 57) also answers "No, it is affiliated with the city council". They frame this practice as a form of "direct democracy" which enables people to participate in the decision making mechanism in the city. In that sense, the main goal of them is building a council on a legitimate ground. Tahsin (M, 62) refers to Çayyolu neighborhood council in Ankara and how it is formed after the Gezi Protests. However, the neighborhood council in Ayrancı neighborhood differs from such examples in terms of its formation after the pandemic.

During the pandemic, they have done two major activities. First, they organized voluntary disaster education with the partnership of AFAD. Second, they organized a meeting with the Chamber of Civil Engineers of Ankara on urban transformation in order to have information about the building types and capacities of the apartments, and legal procedures of urban transformation. They also organized neighborhood festivals and picnics in the parks. The neighborhood council also have connections

with the Ayrancım Association and there is a formation of alliance in that sense. The connections also reach local places such as the Neighborhood House of Turkish Communist Party. They follow the activities of socialist organizations and some of them also participate in these activities in the neighborhood. However, they call it the neighborhood council "non-partisan" and want people from socialist organizations to become a member of the council rather than organizing joint activities, or meetings. This also creates some level of tension between the socialist organizations and the neighborhood council. For instance, neighborhood council member Eda (F, 32) says "I do not like those divided leftists. We need to come together under the same roof". Another neighborhood council member Tahsin (M, 62) says "The people of Ayrancı vote for mainly CHP[58]. We are not [politically] distant from TKP[59], SOL Party[60] or TİP[61]" but "the council has no organic relationship with a political party, it has power" and suggests that "they should join us". Therefore, the tensions between party-line and the neighborhood council appeared in the activities during the pandemic. They were all had their own seperate agenda and own seperate activities. However, the "power" of neighborhood councils Tahsin (M, 62) mentioned is similar to Purcell's (2002) approach on right to the city and citizenship which is "offering city dwellers a seat" (Kuymulu, 2014, p.40). In that sense, right to the city is turning into only a right to participation framework of liberal citizenship definition of right to the city (although the approach rejects it), rather than self-management practices, or right to appropriation.

Erdal (M, 57) refers to the neighborhood assembly formed after park forums in Gezi period in Ayrancı, but says "it is not legitimate" because "they did not follow the official procedures" and "it is based on their own initiative". "Based on their own initiative" actually highlights Lefebvre's term autogestion and self-management

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[58] Republican People's Party

[59] Turkish Communist Party

[60] The Left Party of Türkiye

[61] Workers' Party of Türkiye

practices. The result of the tensions between feminist, LGBTI+, socialist groups on the one hand, and the neighborhood council members on the other as can be seen in "giving a seat" example told by Ada in the next section.

4.2.3.4. Local Queer Solidarity: "Ayrancı Kızları"

Girls of Ayrancı (Ayrancı Kızları) consists of organized and independent LGBT+ activists and especially trans women. Deniz (NB, 43) tells its history:

You know, in the years after 2014, there is the State of Emergencies, Ankara LGBTI+ bans, the threat of ISIS and of course Gezi. People distinguished the places the people could or couldn't live in. You know, there was a thing called "Ayrancı Kızları" [Girls of Ayrancı] here before Gezi. The road we are on right now is a place where girls [trans women] go to work in Ayrancı, Hoşdere. This was actually a place used, Ayrancı was a place where the girls lived. (Deniz, NB, 43)

"The number of open-identity LGBTI+ activists living in Ayrancı is also increasing" Ada (NB, 43) says, "everyone comes here one way or another". During the pandemic, Girls of Ayrancı was a group that helped each other, and they decided to be a part of local management practices. Ada (NB, 30) became a member of neighborhood council as a representative, and at the same time they formed an LGBTI+ neighborhood council. However, both LGBTI+ council and participation in the neighborhood council faced with its challenges according to their statements. Ada (NB, 30) says "We gave you a seat, what do you want more? They say." The "more" refers to the right to the city and "more than participation" in that sense. Ada (NB, 30) explains the impact of the pandemic on their understanding of local management practices as follows:

At the local level, after these local elections, we saw how important local politics is, how important LGBTI+s are in accessing services, and how much impact local managements have on daily life during the pandemic. The government has left us alone. (Ada)

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In this respect, being "left alone" both produces the exclusion from the city, and also creates the intention to organize local management practices. This mobilization presented here is based on accessing use values in the city, or participation. However, this participation cannot be limited to the participation in meetings of neighborhood councils as this case suggests. Together with the case of neighborhood council, these examples highlight the concept of right to the city as both "a cry and a demand" (Lefebvre, 1996, p.158). In that sense, it is not only the use value of the city, in other words, right to access services, but it is a demand based on right to appropriation and autogestion (self-management) concepts.

4.2.3.5. Local Neighborhood Library

In 2013, people formed a public library in Gezi Park together. Similar to the previous commoning practices of the neighborhood forums, a local library, *Sevgi Soysal Library,* also was formed in the pandemic by the neighborhood residents "due to the lack of enough bookstore nearby" as Onur (M, 27) says. Onur (M, 27) expresses the objective behind creating a neighborhood library and prefigurative politics behind the practice:

Just like a normal library, a place where books can be exchanged. We initially asked for books, and asked to build this place together so that everyone in the neighborhood could use it […] A library that we filled together with all the people of the neighborhood, and that we hoped to benefit from together afterward. Maybe such a defacto commune circumstance, albeit through books. (Onur, M, 27)

In this respect, self-organized local library in the pandemic shapes this prefigurative spatial imaginary based on the use value and exchange value relations of the books. When the exchange value of the book is out of the picture, prefigurative imaginary comes with its "defacto commune circumstance". Soudias (2020) calls libraries "institutionalized and pedagogical spaces" in which state-subject-market relations are questioned and access to knowledge is democratized against the "commodification of knowledge". Hardt & Negri (2012) also defines knowledge and ideas as commons. In this sense, building a local library in the pandemic not only produces a differential

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counter-space with its prefigurative spatial imaginary but also produces *spaces* of commoning based on the aspect of knowledge and ideas it has.

4.2.4. Commoning as a Collective Reflex

In the interview that Aylin Tchoepe conducted with Stravros Stavrides on March 9, 2021, Stravrides highlights the changing forms of commons and commoning practices in the pandemic. He states that people organized, for instance, in the cities of Brazil, Mexico and other parts of Latin America, "because they were otherwise left without any care and any measures that limit the possibilities of infection in such densely populated areas" (2021, p. 303). As I mentioned in the context of the pandemic chapter, the pandemic management process is based on the individualization of responsibility. This situation created new problems. In fact, people were also searching ways to fend for themselves collectively.

Starting from Stravrides' identification of this commoning practice, I would try to define the aspects of this commoning type based on the findings because I see this type of commoning strategy is particular in disaster situations. In commoning as a collective reflex, we see small-scale and short-term commoning practices produced by a "collective reflex", rather than an organized long-term practice. People get together and create different levels of response. It can be both in micro-scale and macro-scale. Their scale, in that sense, is narrow most of the cases but the reflex emerging in the time of disaster and have a vital role in response to the disaster. Thus, although the scale of this type of commoning practice is narrow, they can still constitute an intervention to the capitalist relations, strengthen the idea of commons and spread the seeds of another organization/movement and way of living through commoning.

4.2.4.1. Face Shields as a Commoning Practice

In this sense, I would like to give the instance of making face shields by a group of people in the neighborhood. In this case, people who meet through *Ayrancı Ahalisi* (Ayrancı Community) Facebook group made approximately 5000 face shields in the

early period of the pandemic for the people in the neighborhood who are elderly or have chronic diseases and there for are more exposed to risk. They mostly sent them to the doctors who work in hospitals in different regions of Türkiye. In that time, people were having difficulty to accessing face masks in Türkiye (Şahin, 2020) and around the world (OECD, 2020). In the group of people who made face shields, only one person were an active participant to solidarity networks and protests before the pandemic whereas other remaining six people were not. I conducted interviews with three of them.

The group met through *Ayrancı Ahalisi* Facebook group before the pandemic. They had built some level of friendship by playing King (card game) together a couple of times and started to follow the news about the pandemic. The situation was a "terrifying uncertainty", Nejat (M, 52) says. Member of the Facebook group started to write about "which apartment should we not stop by, which apartment should we not even pass by…" (Nejat, M, 52). Other respondents also witnessed such behavior. Burak (M, 30) also expresses his observation in the early period of the pandemic as "people were complaining about those who went out in *Ayrancı Ahalisi* (*laughs*)". They came together to see what can do about the scarcity of face masks.

They had doctor friends and heard that healthcare workers could not access to face masks. "We're talking to them, they said, we can't protect ourselves, but we have to do our job" Filiz (F, 45). They saw a video on Twitter about how to make a face shield without a 3D Printer. They tried to do that and their doctor friends requested more of them. Local healthcare workers also requested some. They started to make more face shields together by paying for the products together, distributed them to the local doctors in the neighborhood, elderly people and the people who have chronic diseases. They covered for the first hundred themselves. After demands from hospitals and Covid-19 clinics increased across Türkiye, they wanted to continue but they did not have the know how. They wrote to the Facebook Group that "if you support it, we will continue to do it as long as we can find material" as Filiz (F, 45) tells. People started to bring the necessary materials to make face shield such as acetate, and some of them donated money. Later, others joined them and they started to do it in two workshops. Two teams worked every day for about one and a half

months to make face shields. The eldery who lived in the neighborhood could not leave their houses due to their concerns about health. "More people wanted to join but the workshop was too small. On Facebook, we said you can donate or we can give you the pieces and you can assemble them at home" Funda (F, 49) says. They gave the materials to the people who have sewing machines at home and they also started to make face shields. People who live in the surrounding neighborhoods such as *Esat* neighborhood also organized through their Facebook group after watching the video of how to do a face shield[62], and they also started to do that simultaneously. "We even supported each other at some point. We made a photo instruction and published it. Later, a team in Bursa contacted us" Filiz (F, 45) says.

Filiz (F, 45) and Funda (F, 49) tell how it affected them to be a part of this collective act as follows:

We prepared nearly 5000 face shields with two teams. We sent it to every city in Turkey within 5-6 weeks. When we received a certain amount of money from X person, we made a report with how much money they [the people] gave, how many face shields that made, the cost, where it went, and how it went and shared it very transparent in the Facebook Group. (Filiz, F, 45)

If it wasn't for this face shield project, I would definitely have had a panic attack or a different psychological problem. Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Ankara, İzmir, Çorum, Yozgat, Aksaray, Bursa, Samsun, Kars, Eskişehir, Bolu, Zonguldak, Sinop, Ağrı, Van, Şırnak, Hakkari, Urfa, Kayseri… We sent face shields to all these cities. We gave priority to hospitals and doctors. We gave it to the elderly around Ayrancı. Those who could get it came and took it, we went to those who couldn't. Other than that, we always sent them to hospitals. We were sending directly to the hospital addresses (Funda, F, 49).

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[62] The video is no longer accessible but the respondents provide another video similar to the video they used: https://twitter.com/MrtHclgl/status/1241466083674128384?s=20&t=gvQzgE-GLgfpyt28IcAVFw (Date of access: August 25, 2022)

Figure 12. The face shields made by the group (Source: T. G)

In this case, people tried to protect each other, help each other and they tried to find ways to cope with the profound impact of the pandemic on the neighborhood and the country. Stravrides (2021) calls these instances as "commoning as a kind of collective reflex, not out of choice that have to do with ideology, but out of choices that have to do with everyday survival" (p. 303). In this sense, the face shield group is similar to the other commoning practices emerged as a collective reflex. In Türkiye people in Ayvalık also produced face masks and shields (Özdemir, 2020). The groups that provided food distribution in Greece and Italy also organized through social media (Finley, 2020) similar to the face shield group in Ayrancı neighborhood. Another aspect is that the face shield group is also a self-organized and horizontal organization similar to these cases in Greece and Italy. Other volunteer groups, political party members or civil society organizations in the neighborhood did not participate in the face shield group, instead they followed their

own agenda in this case. Since these groups such as the face shield group are examples of commoning as a reflex, they tend to be disbanded after the event triggered them. The face shield group was disbanded after face masks started to be provided for healthcare workers (Ministry of Health, 2020b)
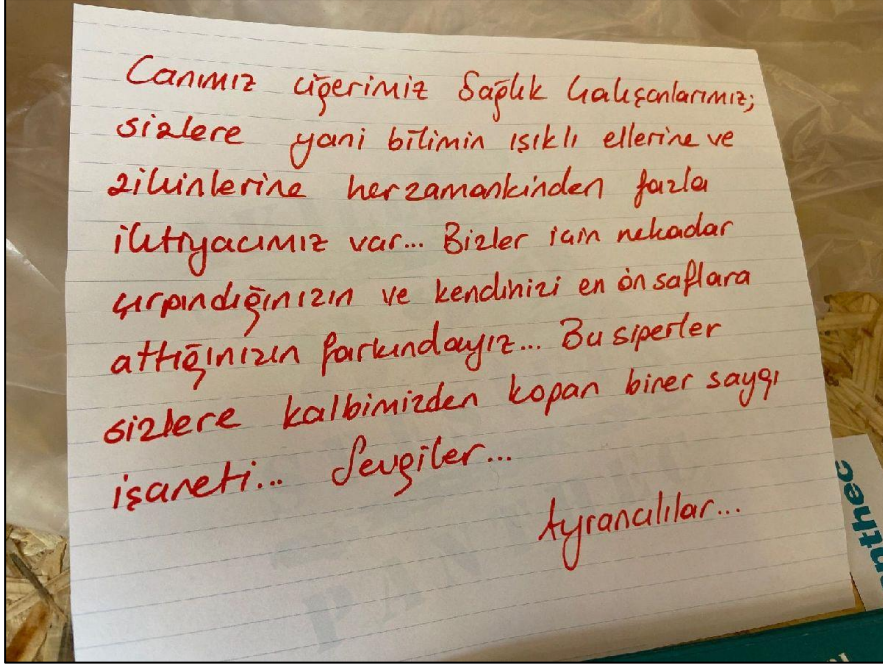
Figure 13. The note reads: "Our beloved health workers; we need you more than ever. We need your healing hands and bright minds empowered with science. We treasure how you strive for us and put yourselves in the front lines. These face shields are a sign of respect, deep from our hearts -Ayrancı residents." (translated by the author, Source: T. G.)

Furthermore, following the line of thought in the text of Aguilar et al. (2016) once again, this aspect creates the example of commoning as a collective reflex with a different notion. The notion is that the commoning practices produce spaces of solidarity through libraries and workshops. That is, this collective reflex is produced in the relations of dynamic collectivity, reciprocity and mutuality. The political, as Aguilar et al. (2016) defines, is constructed based on these production and reproduction of collectivity. Aguiler et al. (2016, p. 81) argues that the society does not consist of "isolated" individuals but the relations of "dynamic collectivity". They put the concept of community at the center of their understanding of collectivity. Community in that sense should be created and reinvented through the web of relations of dynamic collectivity. Making face shields, organizing volunteers

through neighborhood assemblies and neighborhood councils for food and medicine distribution, and helping people in the apartments are instances of the web of relations of dynamic collectivity in the pandemic. Although they are short-term local scale organizations, if we think of them together with the neighbor assemblies and councils, this "ongoing" and living process of collectivity produces the foundations of "the political" (Aguiler et al., 2016). This particular characteristic of the political – as they call it "the capacity of giving form"– lies in the need of co-existing with others, the environment they live in, and creating the form of sociality (Aguiler et al., 2016). The political, in that sense, necessitates the transformative power of right to the city, defined by a Lefebvrian framework, on commoning practices with its prefigurative spatial imaginaries. The appropriation struggles based on the contradiction between use value and exchange value shape the urban space. The contradictions in the abstract space, therefore, could be challenged by the production of counter-spaces through commoning and solidarity practices.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: IN BETWEEN HOPE AND DESPAIR

The aim of this research was to examine the impact of Covid-19 on neighborhood relations and how local neighborhood groups response to the pandemic. The present study aims to contribute to the growing body of research that focuses on the local responses to the pandemic, and their limits and possibilities in the future. The findings indicate that the impact of the pandemic is twofold at the local level. First, it has adverse effects on community relations based on physical distancing and lockdown measures, decrease of face-to-face communication and being isolated at home. The experiences of the respondents are based on the "unusual" aspect of it. As a result of that, their feelings have become "fear", "anxiety" ,"shock" and "confusion". Second, in the line of Lefebvrian approach on the contradictory aspect of urban space which consists of dialectical relations, isolation at home led the people build new forms of social relations and social networks in terms of mutuality and cooperation in their apartment buildings and in the neighborhood. The pandemic also have affected the use of public space, windows, balconies and digital space. Balconies and windows have become new spaces of social and political communication in terms of their unique bridge position between inside and outside during the pandemic. Based on the right to the city perspective, they have become spaces of "cry" and "demand". In other words, people show their grievances or dissatisfactions, their claims about access to healthcare services, and their demands about beyond to access services through balconies. Moreover, new forms of social relations are also produced through digital spaces. Existing digital solidarity networks such as Facebook groups have also become major spaces of socialization and communication. New digital solidarity networks such as "QueerAntina" have been formed in order to build the ground of solidarity practices between LGBTI+ groups. Additionally, isolation at home led people to gather with their friends and

other people through new digital practices such as virtual parties through Zoom and other platforms such as Google Meet and Microsoft Teams. However, practices such as the Solidarity Kitchen which exists before the pandemic were not active during the pandemic in the neighborhood.

The individualism of the responsibility rhetoric widely used in the pandemic management process (Cardona, 2021) have shaped the pandemic experience of the people worldwide. The instances of the new self-management based, non-profit and horizontal organizations in the pandemic through commoning practices and online networks can also be interpreted as a response to this invidualistic rhetoric. Furthermore, these commoning practices occurred mostly as a collective reflex (Stravrides, 2021) due to the lack of material and emotional support mechanisms at the global level. However, most of these practices share the similarity of their organization structure based on a preventive way rather than a long-term, and planned way. Although they have been formed on the basis of a preventive way, these commoning practices at the local level have a vital role in the pandemic, and have created new connections and networks between strangers or have strenghthened existing relations between community members. For instance, the face shield group made nearly 5000 shields, distributed them in the neighborhood to the doctors and people at risk, and sent other face shields across Türkiye in order to help healthcare workers to combat the health crisis in the pandemic conditions. Moreover, building a local library also help people to create new commoning practices through books and knowledge which tend to create prefigurative spatial imaginaries of right to the city. These practices carry the questioning of market relations of value and exchange by being part of a contradictory space defined by Lefebvre (1991).

Existing solidarity networks in the neighborhood have become active during the pandemic such as the neighborhood assembly and *Girls of Ayrancı*. These solidarity networks have provided material and psychological support within and also outside of the groups through shopping food, buying medicine or emotional support for the people. Moreover, their intention to participate in local management based on right to the city is another significant point of this study. Additionally, new forms of solidarity networks such as the neighborhood council have the potential to response

potential disaster risks through their preventive organization mechanisms in cooperation with governmental organizations such as AFAD and occupational organizations such as TMMOB. Girls of Ayrancı is another organization that can widen their solidarity networks through new members and build right to appropriation mechanisms based on use values and a transformative potential of right to the city formulations in the neighborhood. Further work is needed to fully understand the long-term impact of the pandemic on these organizations to grasp whether they will have transitory or permanent character, and whether these practices would be able to produce instances of counter-spaces (Lefebvre, 1991) shaped by radical politics.

On the global level, I believe that another important conclusion is that Covid-19 pandemic has showed us and produced by the level of interconnectedness in the world. Covid-19 did not remain only a problem of Wuhan, China, or the Asia continent as partly seen in the case of SARS. Thus, both the reasons behind the emergence of the pandemic, and its impacts are global, as Saskia Sussen (2020) highlighted by saying "we have no space to run to". In this respect, the connection between the local and the global can lead that the local responses to the pandemic can also plant the seeds of a global change. However, the questions regarding the scale and organization structure of these practices remain to be discussed in a comparative way with other emerging examples around the world.

Furthermore, these new social relations and social bonds also include creating new social ties with the non-human such as dogs, birds and trees. Social relations of collectivity and solidarity are both constructed with and constructed through non-human in the pandemic. For instance, people who live with their dogs in their houses state that they feel less loneliness, or some other people start to observe types of birds and trees in their neighborhood as a result of the social dynamics of the pandemic. Commoning and solidarity practices between the queer community, and dogs and cats are another finding of the field which I can highlight. Although the relations between human and non-human is not the main objective of this study, further research, using a broader range of environmental ethics, political ecology and/or animal rights frameworks, could shed more light on this topic.

The contradiction drawn by Lefebvre (1991) between use value and exchange value underlines appropriation struggles in the urban space. Social worlds produced by the people; the city, the neighborhood or the street, or "new kinds of urban commons" are not outside of these contradictory dynamics because they "can all too easily be capitalized upon" (Harvey, 2012). Not only through consumption practices but also the neighborhood relations which constitute the social world of the neighborhood in the case of Ayrancı have a possibility of turning into a ground of "authentic space". The ongoing urban transformation in the neighborhood through farmers' markets, third-wave coffee shops, old vineyards and places, ceramic and painting workshops and ethnic and antique food shops have a tendency to produce the idea of authenticity. For this reason, further research could also be conducted to determine the impact of this transformation on the neighborhood relations and local neighborhood networks.

A limitation of this study is focusing on a single neighborhood. Thus, conducting a research in another neighborhood would also enrich data and add new dimensions for comparison to the solidarity practices in the pandemic. Another limitation is related to the sample type of this study. Focusing on children, elderly people and refugee groups in/outside of the neighborhood would enrich our range of understanding of the impact of the pandemic on the horizons of solidarity dynamics. Moreover, studying local responses can also contribute to the society and strengthen national and global responses and the level of preparedness to the crises triggered by the pandemic worldwide. Based on the current situation our world experience with diseases and disasters on the global scale, one can easily interpret the time of our contemporary world based on the "we are going towards the end of history and our planet is dying" approach. However, I would reject such perspective based on the approach I presented in the methodology chapter. That is, our time consists of hope and despair but as the famous song, *Up in Heaven (Not Only Here)*, of *the Clash* resonates: "Fear is just another commodity here".

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu   08 AĞUSTOS 2022

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Helga Rittersberger TILIÇ

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Umut YÜKSEL'in **"Neighborhood Solidarity in the times of Covid-19: The Case of Ayrancı, Ankara"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **0439-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
Başkan

Doç. Dr. İ.Semih AKÇOMAK   Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
            Üye   Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ   Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
            Üye   Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL   Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
            Üye   Üye

B. TABLE 1: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Name	Age	Occupation	Organization
Tahsin	62	Retired	Neighborhood Council
Erdal	57	Teacher	Neighborhood Council/Neighborhood Association
Turgut	54	Retired	Neighborhood Association
Nilgün	62	Muhktar	Neighborhood Association
Firdevs	54	Engineer/Project Coordinator	Neighborhood Association
Nejat	52	Architect	Neighborhood Council/Neighborhood Association/ Face Shield Group
Semih	53	Engineer	Neighborhood Association/ Neighborhood Council
Kemal	26	Student	Neighborhood House
Deniz	43	LGBTI+ Activist/ Civil Society Specialist	Girls of Çankaya/ Kaos GL
Harun	44	Engineer	Neighborhood Assembly
Eda	32	Shopkeeper	Neighborhood Council
Ada	30	LGBTI+ Activist/ Civil Society Specialist	Girls of Çankaya/ 17 Mayıs Association
Haydar	63	Retired Worker	Neighborhood Assembly
Erkan*	-	-	Neighborhood Assembly
Funda	49	Teacher	Face Shield Group
Filiz	45	Academician	Face Shield Group
Nuriye	55	Muhktar	Neighborhood Council
Burak	30	Specialist in Professional Organization (TMMOB)	Neighborhood Assembly
Zeynep	28	Civil Society Specialist	Neighborhood Assembly/NAR Woman Solidarity
Fatih	53	Engineer	Neighborhood Council/ Neighborhood Association
Cemile	52	Shopkeeper/Machine Technician	Neighborhood Council/ Neighborhood Association
Havva	49	Shopkeeper	Neighborhood Assembly
Esin	45	Doctor	Face Shield Group/Ankara Feminist Collective
Tarık*	-	Secreterial work	Neighborhood Council
Onur	27	Student	Neighborhood Assembly
*This respondent did not want to share his age and/or occupation information.			

C. ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTS (CITED)

Turgut (M, 54)

Ayrancı aslında Atatürk Bulvarı'yla Dikmen Caddesi arasındaki üçgen bölge. Bir ucu Atakule'ye uzanan, alt tarafında da Meclis olan, aslında bir damlaya benzeyen bi alan aslında Ayrancı. Beş mahalleden oluşuyor ve 50 bine yakın da nüfusu var. Aslında bir milletvekili çıkarabilecek kadar bir kalabalığa sahip. Burası eski bir yerleşim aslında Ankara için. Ankara'nın güzide semtlerinden bi tanesi. Bundan 50 yıl öncesinde Atakule'den başlayarak alt tarafa doğru Ayrancı bağlarının olduğu bağlık bi bölge. İki bulvar arasında sıkışan bir alan tarif ettim aslında ama Kavaklıdere'yi de sayarsak üç tane derenin beslediği bir semt burası. (Turgut, M, 54) Burası güvenli bi semt. Mahalle kültürünün yaşadığı bi semt. Apartmandakiler birbirlerini tanırlar, sokaktakiler birbirlerini tanırlar, selam verirler. Sadece semt değil, apartman komşuluk esnaflık ilişkilerinde de güvenlik ön plana çıkıyor. Kasabın etinin iyi olduğuna güvenirler, manavın onları kazıklamadığına güvenirler, terzinin onların söküğünü iyi dikeceğine güvenirler, kuru temizlemecinin giysilerini iyi temizleyeceğine güvenirler, tesisasçının onları kazıklamadan tamir yapacağına güvenirler. Burada birbirini tanıyan insanlar ve güvenli bir semti de inşa ediyolar. (Turgut, M, 54)

Bizim Ayrancı'da son dönemlerde yaşadığımız bazı değişimler var. Bunlardan bir tanesi de her yerde olduğu gibi Ayrancı'nın da bir kafeler semti olmaya başlaması. Bu arz-talep ilişkisi. Gençler oturup çay kahve içmek istiyolar. Kahvehanede değil de kafede oturmak istiyolar. Bunun karşılığı da geldi. Bir çekirge sürüsü gibi etrafındaki her şeyi yok ederek geliyor. Artan kiralarla birlikte burada ayakkabı tamircisi, kuru temizlemeci ya da kasap kalmayacak. Avukatlık bürosu gelecek, emlak bürosu gelecek, sosyal medya ve reklam ajansı gelecek. Onlar akşam 6'dan sonra eve gidecekler. Bu kafe olmayacak. Burası içkili bir mekana dönüşecek. Gece yüksek müzik çalacak. Burası sabah üçe kadar açık olacak. Karşıda kimse uyuyamayacak.

Burada kavgalar olacak, birbirlerini bıçaklayacaklar. Şuraya kokoreççi gelecek. Bu mahalle dokusuna zarar veriyor yani. Bundan rahatsızız. Bu dönüşümün Ayrancı'nın mahalle kültürünü de kötü etkilediğini düşünüyoruz. Gece gürültüsü oluştu. Asayiş sorunları ortaya çıktı. Trafik sorunları ortaya çıktı. İkincisi bu kentsel dönüşüm meselesi. Ayrancı'nın apartmanlarının arkasında kalan o yeşil öbekleri yok etmeye başladı kentsel dönüşüm. Kentsel dönüşüm sırasında bu yeşil alanlar kökünden gidiyor. (Turgut, M, 54)

Firdevs (F, 54)

Burada belli bi güven ve dostluklar var. Şimdi benim babam buraya gelince peşine bütün ailesi de geldi. Halamlar geldi, teyzem geldi, dayım geldi, çocukları geldi. Şimdi herkes burda. Ben niye gideyim? Çatışma da yok. Çatışma olsa belki… Güvenli. Girdin binaya, bütün apartman benim evim gibi. O güven duygusu olduğu için taşınmayı hiç düşünmedim. (Firdevs, F, 54)

Şu anda bizim apartmanda sanıyorum yarısı dul teyze. Eşleri ölmüş, kendileri öldükten sonra da evlenmemiş kadınlar. Yalnız yaşayan genç kadınlar da var. Burada en büyük özellik sanıyorum kadın nüfusun çok etken olması. (Firdevs, F, 54)

Genellikle okumuş yazmış belli bir bürokratik çevreden gelmiş, kesinlikle seküler kişiler yaşar. Mesela rahmetli Erbakan şu binada otururdu (gösteriyor) Yaklaşık biz üniversiteye gittiğimizde 80'li yıllar, 85 yıllarına kadar burada oturdu. Mesela o zaman siyasal islamcı bi figürdü Erbakan ama herkes onunla çatır çatır tartışır, o laik damarı hep korurdu. O yönden çok belirgin, en belirgin özelliği seküler yaşam. (Firdevs, F, 54)

Nejat (M, 52)

Şu anda Ayrancı'nın yaş ortalaması gittikçe aşağıya doğru iniyor. Yükselen, popülerleşen bir yer oldu. Kadının gece 12'den sonra sütyenle evine gidebildiği bir semt olması bu konuda çok etken. (Nejat, M, 52)

Sivil toplumun ve bohem kültürün burada olması her yönüyle pozitif bir durum değil. Bir Cihangirleşme sorunu da yaratmaktadır. Küçümseyicilik. 'Benim çocuğum kapıcının çocuğuyla oynuyo' cümlesi bile müthiş bir ayrımcı cümledir. Ayrancı, 100.Yıl ve Esat'tan daha pahalandı. Marketten ya da pazardan aldığınız ürünleri madde madde yazın, Ayrancı'da daha pahalıdır. (Nejat, M, 52).

İlk başta dehşet bir belirsizlik vardı. Hangi apartman uğramayalım, yanından bile geçmeyelim diye bir şey vardı. Ayrancı'da ona karşı çıkanlar daha çoğunluktaydı. Tam tersi, gitmeliyiz destek olmalıyız diye (Nejat, M, 52)

Siperlik yaptık, insanlara oraya buraya gönderdik. Sonra bir baktık, doktorlarda siperlik yok. Sonra oraya göndermeye başladık. (Nejat, M, 52)

Eda (F, 32)

Gece üçte elime bir dondurma alıp yürüye yürüye yiyebilirim. Başıma hiçbir şey gelmez. Bir kadın olarak söylüyorum bunu. Ben burada kısa şortumla, eşofmanımla, her şekilde burada bana hayat var yani bir kadın olarak. Mesela bağırdığım zaman hemen birisi bana desteğe gelir her şeyden önce. Ben göreyim ki herhangi bir kadına zarar gelsin, ben hemen müdahale ederim. O adam beni mi döver? O beni döverse onu da birileri döver. Başa çıkarım yani bununla. (Eda, F, 32)

Sen buraya geliyosun, kentsel dönüşüm yapıyorsun. Pahalılanıyor evler. Zenginler gelecek. E biz zengin değiliz. O zaman kim oturacak bu evlerde? Bu mahalle kimin olacak? Biz mahallede barınamaz hale gelicez bir saatten sonra. Emlakçı paran yoksa Mamak'a git diyor. Ben gittim, sen gittin, öbürü gitti. Kim gelecek? Zenginler. Zenginler kim? Şu an kimler zengin oluyor? Son 10 yıldır kim zengin olabiliyor?

'Biz ev bırakmak istiyoruz çocuklarımıza,' diyorlar. Önemli olan bu mu? Yoksa bıraktığın komşular, semt, duygular mı? Benim evim yok, benim çocuğum yok bırakacak. Ama semtim var. (Eda, F, 32)

Bir kere arkadaş ekiplerimiz çok küçüldü. Daha geniş çevrelerle gezip tozarken daraldık yani, herkes korkuyordu. Ölüm korkusu yani. Bir sürü korkumuz vardı zaten pandemi öncesinde, pandemide bir de ölüm korkusu eklendi. Burada da yine de güzel bir arkadaşımız çevremiz var. Evlerimizde buluşmaya başladık. (Eda, F, 32)

Tahsin (M, 62)

Mahalle kültürü dediğim şey, kendi ihtiyaçlarını mahalle içerisinde görmek. Bakkalım var, manavım var, berberim var, işte oturduğum bi kafe var. Onun dışında sosyalleştiğim park var, bir şeyler yediğim restoran var. O böyle işte benim mahallem. O hoş bi şey. O var hala Ayrancı'da. (Tahsin, M, 62)

Erdal (M, 57)

Kendimi tabii ki Ayrancılı olarak hissediyorum. Aidiyet, yaşadığınız yerde komşuları, esnafı, sokaklarının yapılarını tanımak, hatta bahçelerini bilmek, hangi ağaçlar var onları bilmektir. Oldukça geniştir yani. O tür bir bağ kurdum. (Erdal, M, 57)

Onur (M, 27)

Bu dolayısıyla mahalledeki sınıfsal şeyi de değiştiriyor, çünkü artık başka bir toplam geliyor. Yaş itibariyle çok daha genç ve sektörel anlamda da çok farklı bir kitle…Çok görmezdim mesela, ticaretle uğraşan insanlar bile gelip taşınmaya başladılar. Ve kabaca, bürokratik kurumlara yakın olmasıyla, kısmen diplomatların (yerli-yabancı), hem de daha orta düzey devlet memurlarının oturduğu ve onların emeklilerinin yaşlı nüfusu oluşturduğu…Böyle bir kompozisyonu vardı. Şu an onun değiştiğini kendi apartmanımdan bile görebiliyorum. (Onur, M, 27)

"Gelin burayı beraber inşa edelim" dediğimiz ve sonrasında da bütün mahalle olarak kullanılabilecek bir kütüphane… Bugünün temel politik hatlarından birinin kamuculuk meselesi olması gerektiği ya da bu fikrin üstüne kurulması gerektiğini düşünüyorduk. Biraz mahalle çalışması fikri de siyasi aklını buradan alıyor. Bu tür pratikleri inşa etmek, kamuculuk pratikleri inşa edebilmek. Kitaplık onun küçük ama somut bir şeyi oldu. Hep beraber, bütün mahalleliyle beraber doldurduğumuz bir kitaplık ve sonrasında da hep beraber yararlanmayı umduğumuz, öyle olabileceğini gösterdiğimiz…Belki böyle defacto bir komün hali, kitap üzerinden de olsa. (Onur, M, 27)

Burak (M, 30)

Burada bir burjuva siyaseti kültürü var. Biraz böyle bir şeydir ya, Roma'dan beri. Söz alma, el kaldırma, bir şey yapılacaksa dahil olma. Buraya işlemiş o. Bir şey yapılacaksa herkes söz alıyor, katılım sağlıyor. (Burak, M, 30)

Pandemide Ayrancı Ahalisi'nde sokağı çıkanları şikayet ediyorlardı, burada geziyorlar diye (gülüyor) (Burak, M, 30)

Erkan (M)

Gezi forumları oldu mesela. Orada dedim ki 'arkadaşlar Gezi'yi en iyi bizim mahalle anlar'. Biz 10 sene önce Şimşek Sokak'ta oturduk, kesilmemesi için ağaçları koruduk. Gezi'de biz özneyiz. Çekirdeğiz dedim. (Erkan, M)

Sonra kooperatif şeklinde örgütlendik. Bu dayanışmanın sürekliliğidir. İstanbul Kadıköy Kooperatif'inden, Çanakkale'den geldiler, burada toplantılar yaptık kooperatif için. Dedik ki insanları bir arada tutmanın en güzel yöntemi ekonomidir. Daha ekonomik, daha sağlıklı ürünlere ulaşmak. Bu bizim tuzumuz biberimiz olur yan yana gelmemiz için. Kooperatif Girişimi yaptık. Biz onlara dedik ki gelin bize deneyimlerinizi anlatın. İletişim kurmayı, organize olmayı, onlar yönlendirdi şuralardan ürünleri alabilirsiniz, dediler. (Erkan, M)

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Deniz (NB, 43)

2014 sonrası OHAL, Ankara LGBTİ+ yasakları, IŞİD tehdidi ve elbette Gezi var biliyorsunuz. İnsanlar biraz daha yaşayabilecekleri ve yaşayamayacakları yerleri gördü. Gezi'den önce de burada *Ayrancı Kızları* diye bir şey vardı biliyorsunuz. Şu an üzerinde bulunduğumuz yol, Hoşdere, Ayrancı'da *kızların* [trans women] işe çıktığı bir yer. Burası aslında kullanılan bir yerdi, kızların oturduğu bir yerdi Ayrancı. (Deniz, NB, 43)

Hepimiz farklı deneyimledik tabii ki bu süreci. Lubunlar biraz daha farklı deneyimlediler. Trans kadınlardan da vardı yani ben ayağımı evden dışarıya attığım an polis taciz edebiliyor diye. O yüzden evlerinden çıkmıyorlardı. Açık kimlikli LGBTİ+lar ya da translar pandemide aile evine girmek zorunda kaldı. O insanların yaşadığı şeyler çok değişebiliyor. Eğer açık kimlikliyseniz ve aileniz sizi istemiyorsa daha kötü. Dernekler de Ayrancı'da çalıştı. Derneklerin yaptığı onlayn etkinliklerle insanlar bir araya geldiler. Bunlardan bir tanesi Lezbiyen Buluşmaları. Yüz yüze etkinlikler yapılamadığı için pandemide lubunyaların o süreçteki etkilerini azaltmak için yapıldı. (Deniz, NB, 43).

Parti etkinliklerimiz de çok keyifliydi. Sadece *Kaos* değil, İstanbul'da Queer aktivistler mesela bir dayanışma için yaptılar bu onlayn partileri ve bu yayıldı. Tek başına hazırlananlar, ışıklı müzikli, çok keyifliydi. (Deniz, NB, 43)

Ada (NB, 30)

Ayrancı'da yaşayan açık kimlikli LGBTİ+ sayısı da açık kimlikli LGBTİ+ aktivisti sayısı da artıyor. Gittikçe de artıyor. Herkes bir şekilde buraya geliyor. (Ada, NB, 30)

Ayrancı'da bir sürü arkadaşım yaşıyor. Feminist hareketten, aktivistler, derneklerde çalışanlar, sivil toplum çalışanları, akademiden arkadaşlarımız yaşıyor. Hiçbirinin umurlarında değil Semt Meclisi. Biz istiyorduk ki Semt Meclisi böyle bir bağ kursun. Ama böyleyken bir bağ kurulamaz. Onunla uğraşmaktansa birbirimize gidip

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geliyoruz, görünüyoruz, *Çankaya Kızları* da var. Burada yaşayan feministler, lubunyalar, bir şekilde bir araya gelebileceği dayanışma ağlarını örmek mümkün. Aslında burada yaşayan trans seks işçilerine baktığın zaman bu WhatsApp gibi araçlarla ilk ağların kurulduğunu, birbirine gidip gelmenin, bir sorun yaşandığında bir arada olmanın, düğünde, cenazede bir arada olmanın oturup konuşmanın yoğun olduğunu görebiliriz. Aile boyutunda bir dayanışma biçimi trans seks işçiler arasında var zaten. Bu biçiminden temel alarak, o yoldaşlığı örnek alarak, bu modeli neden örnek almayalım ki? (Ada, NB, 30)

Yerelde mesela yine bu yerel seçimlerden sonra yerel siyasetin ne kadar önemli olduğunu, LGBTİ+ların hizmetlere erişimde ne kadar önemli olduğunu, gündelik hayata yerel yönetimlerin ne kadar çok etkisi olduğunu da biz pandemi döneminde gördük. Devlet bizi yalnız bıraktı. Öyle veya böyle CHP'li belediyeler bir şeyler yapmaya çalıştılar. Ne kadar yaptılar, nasıl yaptılar o başka bir tartışma. (Ada, NB, 30)

Dayanışma ağı dediğimiz şey aslında lubunyaların hayatta kalma stratejisi. Yoksa başka türlü nasıl kalacaksın hayatta? Fobi görmeden saçını kestirebileceğin bir yer için bile birine danışıyorsun mesela en basitinden. Danıştığın kişi de bir lubunya oluyor. Hiçbir hizmeti doğrudan alamıyorsun ki. (Ada, NB, 30)

Pandemi başladığında mesela direkt QueerAntina diye Türkiye çapında bir mail grubu oluşturuldu. Üç kişinin yan yana geldiği bütün LGBTİ+ örgütlerinin orada anlık bir hareketlilikle iletişim ağı oluşturuldu. Ankara'daki LGBTİ+ örgütlerinin öyle bir iletişim ağına sahip. Ankara özelinde de Angara diye bi grubumuz var, onun üzerinden. QueerAntina tüm LGBTİ+ inisayiflerinin, örgütlerinin, üniversite topluluklarının olduğu bir iletişim ağı, Whatsapp grubu da var onun. Diğer grupların da birer Whatsapp grupları var. Birlikte hareket etmek adına kurulan gruplar bunlar ve birlikte hareket ediyoruz. Artan LGBTİ+ karşıtlığının sonucunda gruplar içerisindeki dayanışma da artarak ilerliyor. Örneğin birisi Ayrancı'da ev tutacak mesela. Herkes birbirine haber veriyor. Ev bulamamış mı biri, hemen ev bulmaya çalışıyoruz ona mahallede. Bu mahallecilikten komşuluktan gelen bir şey ama

lubunyaların hayatta kalma pratiğinin kendisi aslında bu. Hayatta kalmak LGBT'nin doğasında gelişen bir şey (Ada, NB, 30)

Funda (F, 49)

Ayrancı Ahalisi üzerinden konuşuyorduk [siperlik ekibiyle]. Birbirimize yardım etmeye çalışıyoruz. Cocuklara giysi yardimi icin de konusmustuk. Napalım napalım nasıl buluşabiliriz diye… Sonra King partisi düzenlemeye başladık benim atölyede (gülüyor) O gece on kişi falan geldi. King bahane oldu aslında bakarsanız. İkinci King partisi yaptık. İkincisini de yapınca kafalarımız uyuştu, kopmadık. İki kere buluşabilen bir King grubundan siperlik grubu oluştu yani. Esat Ahalisi'yle kontak halindeydik bi şeyler yapabilir miyiz, diye. Onlar da siperlik yaptılar galiba biraz. (Funda, F, 49)

İlk yüz tanesini falan cebimizden karşıladık. Sonra baktık Türkiye'nin bir sürü yerinden talep geliyor. Hastanelerdeki yerlerden ve covid kliniklerinden talepler geliyordu. Biz bunu devam ettirelim dedik ama nasıl yapabiliriz diye tartıştık. (Funda, F, 49)

Bu sefer asetat getirenler, para yatıranlar derken biz tam zamanlı bir iş gibi sabah 9 gibi buluşuyoduk, akşam beş buçuğa kadar çalışıyorduk. Sonra bir erkek grubu da katıldı bize. Benim de atölyem var, iki atölyeye ayrıldık. Onlara da malzeme verdik, onlar da orada devam ettiler. İki ekip böyle sabah 9 akşam 5:30 çalıştık. Çıkamayan yaşlılar oluyordu evlerinden. İşimiz bitince akşam onlara siperlik götürüyorduk. Kronik hastalığı olanlara da götürüyorduk. Kimisi katılalım, dedi. Ama mekan çok küçüktü. Oradan [Facebook] dedik ki 'destek olmaya çalışın ya da verelim parçaları, evde birleştirin' dedik. (Funda, F, 49)

Kaygım çok azaldı. İşe yarar bir şey yapıyorduk. Bu siperlik olayı olmasa kesin ya da panik atak ya da farklı bir psikolojik rahatsızlık yaşayacaktım ben. Bakıyorum şimdi, Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Ankara, İzmir, Çorum, Yozgat, Aksaray, Bursa, Samsun, Kars, Eskişehir, Bolu, Zonguldak, Sinop, Ağrı, Van, Şırnak, Hakkari,Urfa, Kayseri… Buralara hep gönderildi. Hastanelere ve doktorlara öncelik verdik. Yaşlılara Ayrancı

civarında verdik. Alabilen gelip aldı, alamayanlara gidip biz verdik. Onun dışında hep hastanelere gönderdik. Direkt hastane adreslerine yolluyorduk (Funda, F, 49)

Apartman grupları daha aktif oldu. İnsanlar birbirlerine isimleriyle hitap etmeye başladılar pandemide. Bilinse bile kullanılmıyordu. Günaydınlar bile soğuktu. Pandemiyle birlikte bir ruh oluştu apartmanda. O iyi oldu yani. Tanışıklık arttı. (Funda, F, 49)

Sanat faaliyetlerinin, atölyelerin çok olduğu bir yer. Özellikle son 10 yılda çok çoğaldı. Seramik atölyeleri bir sürü var. Tasarımcılara ulaşabiliyoruz. Oldukça zengin o yüzden. (Funda, F, 49)

Filiz (F, 45)

Herkesin zaten eli yüreğinde, maskeler bulunamıyor, olanlar zaten ortadan yok edildi…Doktorların nasıl çalıştığını biliyoruz. Benim erkek arkadaşımın abisi mesela doktor, karısı da doktor. Onlarla konuşuyoruz, kendimizi koruyamıyoruz ama göreve devam etmek zorundayız, diyorlardı. O arada da Twitter'da bir hesap, bu 3D yazıcılarla siperlik yapıyordu. 3D yazıcıyla yapamıyorsanız şu şekilde yapabilirsiniz diye bir video paylaştılar. Biz de böyle konuştuk "ya yapar mıyız yapmaz mıyız' diye düşündük. Denedik. O denediğimizi şans eseri Karadeniz'de bir hastahane talep etti. Ve tüm arkadaşlarıyla talep etti. O arada Ayrancı'da aile hekimleri istemeye başladı bizden. (Filiz, F, 45)

Biz Ayrancı Ahali'sine [Facebook Group] "böyle bir şey yapıyoruz, eğer buna maddi destek verirseniz, biz malzeme bulduğumuz sürece yapmaya devam edeceğiz" yazdık. (Filiz, F, 45)

Bize gelen maddi desteği anlatamam… Kargoculara gittik, kargocular bedava gönderme taahhütü verdiler. Biz 5000'e yakın siperliği iki ekip hazırladık. 5-6 hafta gibi bir sürede Türkiye'de isteyen her kente yolladık. X kişisinden şu kadar para aldıysak, o verdiği paranın kaç siperlik ettiği, maliyeti, nereye gittiği, nasıl gittiğine

kadar her şeyi çok şeffaf bir biçimde paylaşarak hafta hafta rapor şeklinde yeniden *Ahali*'de bildirerek bu süreci devam ettirdik. (Filiz, F, 45)

Mesela talebin çok çoğaldığı noktada, 3-4 tane dikiş makinesi olan üye vardı Ahali'de…Mesela onların evine lastiklerini bırakıyorduk, onlar bizim gösterdiğimiz şekilde dikiyorlardı, sonra geri topluyorduk onları. Esat Ahalisi de yapmaya başladı. Hatta birkaç kere paslaşma oldu. Fotoğraflı yönerge yapmıştık. Önce şunu şöyle, sonra bunu böyle yapıyorsun diye. Bunu yayınladık. Bununla Bursa'daki bir ekip de bizimle bağlantıya geçti. (Filiz, F, 45)

Harun (M, 44)

Bu yönden bence insanların belli bir kısmının sol siyaset yapan örgütlere yüzünü döndüğünü söyleyebilirim. En basitinden benim hiç suya sabuna dokunmaz arkadaşlarım var. Kendini muhafazakar olarak tanımlayan ama AKP'ye oy vermeyen kişiler. Bu pandemi durumlarında mikrofonu bize uzatır oldular, peki siz ne yapıyorsunuz diye. Güvenilir buluyorlar yani söylediklerimizi. Bir güven ilişkisi kurabilmişiz yani bir şekilde. Bu iyi bir şey. Bu da bir kırılma oldu bizim için yani. Devletin yayınladığı sayılardan aşılama politikasına kadar bir sürü yanlışı vardı. Bu konularda tabii insanlar bize döndü, Tabipler Birliği gibi kurumlara döndü. Doğru bilgiyi alabileceği ya da bundan sonra nolabileceğine ilişkin bize yönelmeleri iyi bir şeydir. Öyle veya böyle bizim yalan şey söylemeyeceğimizi biliyorlar yani. (Harun, M, 44)

Zoom, Google Meet, Teams gibi farklı farklı uygulamalar kullanıyorduk. 7-8 kere yapmışızdır. Sosyal ihtiyaçları oradan sağladık. Herkes kendi evinde, kendi birasını, içkisini alsın girsin muhabbet edelim diye. Yayın açıp, şarkı türkü söylerek oturuyorduk. (Harun, M, 44)

Pandemide insanın insana ihtiyacı olduğu, pandeminin ya da doğal afetlerin içerisinde yardımlaşma ve dayanışmanın çok önemli olduğu anlaşıldı. Sermayenin kendi amaçları ve kendi dertlerinde olduğunu, devletin de sosyal devlet olmadan bir işe yaramadığını insanlar gördü. (Harun, M, 44)

İkizler Parkı'nda forum oluyordu. Bir de şurada Emekliler Parkı var, orada da forumlar düzenleniyordu. Epeyce bir forum oldu. Daha çok böyle etkinlik üzerinden Gezi zamanı bir şeyler yapılmaya çalışıldı. Gezi zamanında en az haftada bir İkizler ya da Emekliler Parkı'nda forum oluyordu. 2013 Ağustos, Eylül ayına kadar sürdü. Bu forumları düzenlemek biraz şöyle, birilerinin önderlik etmesi gerekiyor. Önderlik edenler farklılardı. İkizler Parkı'nda olan forumlar bizim Haziran Hareketi'nin düzenledikleriydi ama Emekliler Parkı'nda olan forumlar o zaman yine TKP çevresinden arkadaşların örgütlemeye çalıştığı forumlardı. Ama şu da oluyordu, yakıcı bir gündem varsa forum düzenleniyordu. Ama periyodik değil. Yoksa yakıcı gündeme dair forumlar yapılabiliyordu. Onun dışındaki etkinlikler daha çok dinleti ve film gösterimi ya da bir yazar ya da gazeteciyle söyleşi şeklinde devam etti. Çünkü bir şeyler sönümlenmeye başladıkça forumların da içeriği kısırlaşmıştı. Dolayısıyla forumu canlandırmak için biz biraz daha ilişkiler kuralım, insanlara ulaşalım, etkinlikler üzerinden örgütlenmeye çalışım sonra zaten gündem bulunur ve çalışmalar yapılır diye düşünmüştük açıkçası. (Harun, M, 44)

Tahsin (M, 62)

Orada da şunu önerdim yani, ben olsam orada TKP Semt Evi'nde yapılacak yaşlılar toplantısı yerine Semt Meclisi'nin altındaki yaşlılar çalışma grubuna hep birlikte gidelim. Çünkü ne olursa olsun burası %70-75 CHP'li olan bi yer. Tabii TKP'ye, SOL Parti'ye, TİP'e uzak değiller. Çok rahatlıkla gidip geliyolar. Ama partisi olmayan bi semt meclisi var. Siyasi partiyle hiçbir organik bağı yok. Gücü var. Buraya katılmaları lazım.

Kemal (M, 26)

Pandemi öncesinde bir durgunluk vardı. Mahalle meclisi ya da semt meclisi gibi bir aktiflik görmedim ben. Pandemiyle birlikte dayanışalım diye aktif hale geldi diye düşünüyorum. Bir toparlanma oldu. Destek olma haliyle birlikte yeni yeni tekrardan canlanmaya başladı. Kadın kooperatifleriyle ortaklaşmalar oldu, satışları yapılıyor mesela. Ovacık Kadın Kooperatifi'yle de bağlantılar kuruldu. Beş kadın kurdular. Birlikte üretiyorlar, birlikte satıyorlar (Kemal, M, 26)

Odak Grup Görüşmesi

Esin (F, 45): Biz de 1 Mayıs'ta açıp hoparlörle 1 Mayıs marşı çalmıştık. İnsanlar balkonlardan 1 Mayıs kutlandı. 1 Mayıs'ta eylem yapılmadığı için camlardan, balkonlardan 1 Mayıs marşı çalmıştık.

Zeynep (F, 28): 1 Mayıs komitesinin çağrısıydı zaten.

Esin (F, 45): İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nden çekilme kararı sonrası balkonlara pankartlar asıldı.

Zeynep (F, 28): Evet, biz de evimizin balkonuna asmıştık.

Zeynep (F, 28): Kolektif Mutfak'ın hepsi ODTÜ'lüydü galiba.

Nejat (M, 52): Kolektif Mutfak'takilerin çoğunluğu ODTÜ'lüydü evet, belki hepsi.

Esin (F, 45): Kolektif Mutfak bir planlama, bir organizasyon. Benim bildiğim kadarıyla feministler de vardı içinde. Ben o sırada Ankara Feminist Kolektif'deydim, Sosyalist Feminist Kolektif. Biz biliyorduk Mutfağı.

Nejat (M, 52): Portekiz'e ya da Latin Amerika'ya gidiyor birileri, tüm mahallelerde çorba kaynatılan evsizleri besleyen birtakım pratikler var. Bu pratikleri örnek alarak burada yaşatmak istiyoruz tabii biz de. Ama nerede yaşayatacağımız çok önemli. Kimin ihtiyacı olduğunu tespit etmek gerekiyor. Öğrencilerin ihtiyacı varsa öğrencilere hizmet etmesi gerekiyor. Kendisi ve kendi çevresinin çoğalma alanı oldu. Kavanozlarla yemek yapalım, paylaşalım gibi bir fikirle çıktı ama kiminle paylaşacaksınız? Orta üst sınıfla mı? O sokakla mı, öğrencilerle mi?

Zeynep (F, 28): Sadece ihtiyaç üzerinden değil de sanki şöyle bir mantığı da vardı: Ayrancı çevresinin neredeyse tamamı 9-6 çalışan, 6'dan sonra eve gelip bir annenin ya da kadının yemek yapmasının mümkün olmadığı bir noktada, nöbetleşe sisteminin

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o toplumsal yeniden üretim işlerinin bir kısmının en azından mahallede çözülebileceği bir özelliği de var yani. Gerçekleşebildi mi emin değilim mesela.

D. THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER (TABLE)

Theme Analysis of the Local Newspaper			
Themes	**Codes**	**Data**	**Issue and Page Number**
The impact of Covid-19	Interviews with residents Local information	Interviews with doctors and local chiefs	Issue 1; p. 5
		Increasing numbers of covid-19 in the neighborhood	Issue 6; p. 6
		Interviews with local shop owners	Issue 6; p. 7
		Statistical data about Covid-19 in the city of Ankara	Issue 9; p. 16 Issue 12; p. 16
Commoning as a Social Process	Neighborhood Council	Interview with people about a potential Neighborhood Council	Issue 2; p. 6-7
		Official formation of the neighborhood council	Issue 19; p. 2-3
		Interview with the residents about the neighborhood council	Issue 19; p. 4-5
		Ankara City Council	Issue 10; p. 10-11 Issue 13; p. 5
	Neighborhood Assembly	Ayrancı Consumer Cooperative effort	Issue 5; p.2 Issue 9; p. 7
	Local Neighborhood Library	Call to build a library in the neighborhood	Issue 6; p. 4
Commoning as a Collective Reflex	Face Shield Group	News about making face shields	Issue 1, p. 3
Safety of the Neighborhood	Women	Interviews with women living in Ayrancı	Issue 11; p. 2-3-4-5-6-7
		Interviews with 4 women local chiefs	Issue 8; p. 8
		Interview with young people living in Ayrancı	Issue 16; p. 5
		Formation of 17 May LGBTI+ Association	Issue 13; p. 13
Non-human	Trees	First monumental tree: Magnolia tree	Issue 1; p. 13
		Second monumental tree: Oak Tree	Issue 9; p. 14
		Cutting trees	Issue 3-4; p. 5
		Judas tree	Issue 2; p. 15
		Trees and ecological environment	Issue 18; p. 2
	Animals	Birds living in the neighborhood	Issue 2; p. 14 Issue 3-4; p. 14 Issue 5; p. 15 Issue 6; p. 15 Issue 7; p. 15
		Turtles living in a garden in the neighborhood	Issue p. 14; p. 4-5
The use of right to the city concept	Direct use of right to the city concept	In relation to human rights and access to public services	Issue 1; p. 3 Issue 15; p. 2-3
		Pedestrians and bicycles	Issue 17; p.6
		Liberal citizenship	Issue 14; p. 2
	In relation to the concept	Sidewalks	Issue 3-4, p. 13
		Right to environment	Issue 14; p. 3
		"What if you were the mayor of the city?"	Issue 15, p. 6-7
		Right to housing	Issue 18; p. 8-9
		Parks	Issue 19; p. 6-7
Urban	Workshops	Design, leather, ceramic, clay, wood and	Issue 1; p. 16

Transformation	Old places	painting workshops	
	Farmers' markets	Interviews with the owners of the workshops	Issue 2; p. 16 Issue 3-4; p.16
	Homemade product shops	Neighborhood Culture	Issue 3-4; p. 3
	Coffee Shops	The Renda Mansion	Issue 5; p. 8
	Art places	The Çankaya Movie Theater	Issue 6; p.8
		The Ankara Villa	Issue 10; p. 8-9
		Ship House (Gemi ev)	Issue 14; p. 8-9
		Farmers' markets	Issue 5; p. 11 Issue 11; p. 11
		Ethnic Food Shop	Issue 19; p. 15
		Artisanal Chocolate Shop	Issue 8; p. 11
		Antique shops	Issue 10, p. 13 Issue 12; p. 7
		Old vineyards	Issue 13; p. 8-9 Issue 16; p. 12-13
		Third wave coffee shops	Issue 8; p. 15 Issue 9; p. 15 Issue 10; p. 15 Issue 14, p. 15 Issue 15; p. 15 Issue 16; p. 15 Issue 17; p. 15 Issue 18; p. 15
		Local theatres	Issue 8; p. 16 Issue 9; p. 10
		Urban renewal and asbestos	Issue 13, p. 10-11
		Interview with the residents about urban renewal practices	Issue 18; p. 6-7

E. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, Covid-19 pandemisinin mahalle düzeyindeki ilişkilere olan etkisine ve yerel mahalle organizasyonlarının pandemiye karşı geliştirdikleri başa çıkma stratejilerine odaklanmaktadır. Covid-19 pandemisi, zoonotik bir hastalık olarak insandan hayvana bulaşan SARS-CoV-2 koronavirüsünü temelinde ortaya çıkmıştır (WHO, 2020). Bu tür zoonotik virüslerin ortaya çıkışı yabani hayvan ticareti ve ormanların yok edilmesi gibi etkenlere bağlı olmakla birlikte, aynı zamanda kentleşme pratiklerinin ve kapitalist ilişkilerle de bağlantılıdır. Bu bakış açısıyla, Covid-19'un yalnızca insan-hayvan ve insan-doğa ilişkilerinin bir ürünü olmadığını, bu ilişkilerin taşıdığı gelişimlerin yanı sıra kapitalizmin mekansal dinamiklerine de bağlı olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Mekan kavramı; sosyal ilişkilerle, eşitsizliklerin mekansal boyutuyla, güç ilişkileriyle, çelişkilerle ve çatışmalarla olan ilişkisiyle sosyoloji disiplini içerisinde önemli bir yer tutar. Lefebvre'in kavramsal çerçevesinden hareketle, mekan kavramını sosyal ilişkilerin üretimi dahilinde oluşan ve gündelik hayatın ilişkileriyle iç içe şekillenen bir ürün olarak tanımlayabiliriz.

Pandemi, mekansal dinamikleriyle birlikte, yaşantımızı sosyal, ekonomik ve politik olarak küresel düzeyde etkiledi. Gündelik rutinlerimizi değiştirdi. "Evde kalırken" iç mekan kullanımlarını, balkon ve pencereler gibi alanlarla birlikte kamusal alan kullanımlarını da değiştirdi. Bunun yanı sıra, değişen gündelik hayat ritimleri yeni türde sosyal etkileşimler ve ilişkilerin ortaya çıkmasına yol açtı. Lefebvre'in gündelik hayata bakış açısı "gece ve gündüz, aktiviteler ve dinlenme, açlık ve doygunluk, yaşam ve ölüm" gibi döngülerden oluşur (1987, s. 10). Fakat bu döngüler içerisindeki çelişkiler, mekansal olarak değişim olasılığını da içlerinde taşımaktadır (Lefebvre, 1991). Pandemi bu anlamda gündelik hayat ilişkilerinde sosyal, ekonomik ve politik kırılmalar doğurmuştur. Diğer bir deyişle, toplumların organizasyonu içerisindeki ayrışmalar ve çelişkilerle birlikte farklı türden değişimleri de açığa çıkarmıştır. Arundhati Roy'un (2020) söylediği gibi, "tarihsel olarak pandemiler

insanların geçmişle aralarında bir kırılma yaratarak dünyalarını yeniden tahayyül etmeye itmiştir. Bu pandemi de farklı değildir. Pandemi, bir dünya ile bir diğeri arasında bir portaldır".

Bu temelde, Covid-19 süresince parçası olduğum araştırma deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak pandemi dönemindeki zorluklarla başa çıkma stratejileri, mahalle düzeyinde pandemi-öncesindeki dayanışma ağlarının neler yaptığı, bu dayanışma ağlarının pandemiden nasıl etkilendiği ve yeni dayanışma pratiklerinin ya da dayanışma ağlarının gelişip gelişmediği gibi sorular yönlendirilmiştir. Bu sorular bağlamında, pandemi deneyimlerini, biyografik hayat hikayelerini ve gündelik hayat pratiklerini gözlemlemek ve analiz etmek amacıyla nitel bir araştırma metodu tercih edilmiştir. Mahalle-temelli pratiklerin detaylı analizini yapmak amacıyla, araştırma sahası içerisinde dayanışma pratiklerine ve ağlarına aktif olarak katılan kişilerden oluşan amaçlı örnekleme kullanılmıştır. 22 yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme ve bir odak grup görüşmesi Ankara'nın Ayrancı semtinde gerçekleştirilmiş ve bu semt örneğinde gelişen örneklerle pandemiye karşı gelişen kolektif cevaplar analiz edilmiştir. Ayrancı semti, Ankara'nın Çankaya sınırları içerisinde yer alan, Remzi Oğuz Arık, Güvenevler, Güzeltepe, Aziziye ve Ayrancı mahalleri olmak üzere beş mahalleden oluşan, yaklaşık 50 bin nüfusa sahip (TÜİK, 2021) ve çoğunlukla beyaz yaka meslek gruplarının yaşadığı (Karademir-Hazır, 2014, s. 683) bir semttir. Ankara ili, başkent olması sebebiyle ulusal politikaların merkezi olduğu için; Ayrancı semti ise kentin merkezinde yer alan özel coğrafi konumu ve içinde bulundurduğu çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşları, yerel mahalle organizasyonları gibi gerekçelerle araştırma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Yapılan 22-yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme ve dört kişiden oluşan odak grup görüşmesinin yanında, katılımcı gözlem ve döküman analizi teknikleri kullanılmıştır. Döküman analizi pandemi döneminde Ayrancım Derneği tarafından yayımlanmaya başlanan Ayrancım Gazetesi'nin nüshalarından oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca, Ayrancı semtinin on binden fazla üyesi bulunan ve pandemi öncesinden itibaren aktif olan yerel Facebook grubu "Ayrancı Ahalisi" de Türkiye'de ilk koronavirüs vakasının Sağlık Bakanlığı (2020) tarafından açıklanma tarihi olan 11 Mart 2020 ve İçişleri Bakanlığı (2021) tarafından açıklanan pandemi önlemlerinin kaldırılması tarihi olan 1 Temmuz 2021 tarihleri arasında takip edilmiştir.

Araştırmanın etik sorumlukları gereği, görüşmecilere görüşme sırası ve sonrasında rahatsızlık oluşturabilecek önlemlere riayet edilmiş (Bryman, 2012) araştırmacının kendi fiziksel ve psikolojik sağlığını koruması için önlem ve stratejiler uygulanmıştır (Lavin et al., 2012). Bu amaçla, görüşmelerin tamamı sağlık önlemleri gereğince kafe ve park gibi açık alanların kullanımına uygun düşecek şekilde 2022 Bahar zamanında başlayan pilot çalışmayla birlikte 2022 Yaz zaman periyodunda gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Tezin kavramsal çerçevesi Lefebvre'in kavramsal çerçevesine dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, kent hakkı kavramı kentsel mekanda katılım, kullanım ve değişim değeri ile ilişkilidir. Fakat kent hakkı kavramı bu tez kapsamında sadece kamusal hizmetlere erişim yaklaşımıyla değil, müşterekler ve müşterekleştirme pratikleriyle birlikte karar alma süreçlerine katılım ve güç ilişkileri bağlamında ele alınmaktadır. Bu kavramlar, kent hakkı kavramıyla ilişkili olarak tanımlanmış ve birbiriyle ilişkisel bütünlüğü içerisinde kullanılmıştır.

Pandemi bir yandan getirdiği sokağa çıkma yasakları ve kısıtlamalar (Altiparmakis et al., 2021; Sağlık Bakanlığı, 2020) diğer yandan sınıf (KESK, 2021; DİSK; 2021), toplumsal cinsiyet (Öztürk & Metin, 2020; OECD, 2020; SpoD, 2021; OHCHR, 2020), yaş (Canbazer & Akkan, 2020; Yasin, 2020; Meisner, 2020; Koşar & Kasapoğlu, 2021) gibi eksenlerde eşitsizlikleri derinleştirmiş ve yeni eşitsizlikler yaratmıştır. Buna karşın, İtalya (Finley, 2020), Portekiz (Duarte & Lima, 2020), Güney Afrika (Monjane, 2020) gibi dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde yerel temelli, kar gözetmeyen ve önleyici özellikte yerel inisiyatifler oluşmuştur. Türkiye'de ise Ayvalık Yerel İnisiyatifi (Özdemir, 2020) ile birlikte İstanbul temellli Nurtepe-Güzeltepe (Olcan, 2020b), Tarlabaşı ve Kadıköy Dayanışma Ağları (Fıstık, 2020) gibi yerel inisiyatifler gıda, dayanışma mutfakları, ilaç temini gibi faaliyetlerde bulunmuşlardır.

Lefebvre (1991) için "(toplumsal) mekan (toplumsal) bir üründür" (s. 26). Fakat Schmid (2008)'in açıkladığı üzere mekan "bir epistemolojik başlangıç noktası" ya da "kendi içinde ayrı gerçekliği olan" bir yapı değildir, "üretilmiştir" (s. 28). Bu

anlamda mekan, üretim ve yeniden üretim süreçlerini kapsayacak bir biçimde güç ilişkileriyle ilişkilidir. Lefebvre (1979) bu açıdan mekanın üretiminin ve yeniden üretiminin gerçekleştiğini, böylece kapitalist sisteme atfedilen krizlerin onun sonunu getirmek bir yana dursun, mekanın yeniden üretimi aracılığıyla kapitalist ilişkilerin de yeniden üretimi ve devamlılığının sağlandığını savunur. Lefebvre'in teorik çerçevesi ve sosyal gerçekliğe bakış açısı üç pencereden beslenir: Marx (sosyal pratik), Hegel (dil ve düşünce), Nietzsche (şiirsel-yaratıcı yeti)[63] (Schmid, 2008). Bu yüzden Lefebvre'in mekansal anlayışı bir "triyalektik" üzerinedir: "algılanan mekan", "tasarlanan mekan" ve "yaşanan mekan"; "gündelik yaşam pratiklerinin mekanı", "mekan temsilleri", "temsil mekanları" olmak üzere Lefebvre triyalektik için iki "üçlü" sunar. Birincisi dil teorisinden, bir diğeri de Fransız fenemonolojisinden gelir (Schmid, 2008). Bu tür bir mekansal üçlü kullanımı, Hegel'in ve Marx'ın eleştirisini taşımakla birlikte tanımlanan mekan tipolojileri birbirilerinden bağımsız değil, süreklilik taşıyan kompleks bir ilişki içerisindedir. Bu tür bir anlayış, diyalektik materyalizmin "lineer" değişim anlayışını Nietzsche'nin "lineer olmayan" gelişim anlayışıyla bütünleştirme anlayışı taşıması sebebiyle üçlü bir diyalektik form alır (Elden, 2004, s. 37).

Lefebvre (1991) bu bağlamda mekanı ve mekansal dönüşümü tarihsel ve çelişkilerle bezeli bir çerçeveye oturtur. Bu çerçevede, soyut mekan ve sosyal mekan tipolojileriyle birlikte çelişkili ve diferensiyal mekan tanımlamalarını takip ederiz. Soyut mekan, baskın mekansal form olarak, Lefebvre (1979) için yalnızca fiziksel özellikler değil, aynı zamanda "apartmanlar gibi barınma ve yerleşim biçimlerini", "babalık", "annelik" gibi özellikleri de içerir. Soyut mekan çelişkilere, karşıtlıklara, direniş biçimlerine ve engellemelere karşı, gücün mekanıdır (Lefebvre, 1979). Bu yüzden farklılıklara ve farklı öznelliklere karşı homojenlik arayışında öznesi olmayan bir özne gibi davranır (Lefebvre, 1979). Fakat çelişkilerin ve farklılıkların homojenlik arayışıyla çözülmesi hedefi, diyalektik bir bakış açısıyla, çelişkiler ve farklılıklar üretir. Diferensiyal mekan, bunun tam tersine farklılıklardan oluşan

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[63] Aynı zamanda Lefebvre'in teorisi üzerinde özellikle teknoloji eleştirisi ve güç-doğa ilişkileri bağlamında Heidegger'in de bir etkisinin olduğunu söyleyebiliriz fakat Lefebvre'in Heidegger'i özellikle ilk metinlerinde sert bir biçimde eleştirdiğini de not düşmemiz gerekir (Elden, 2004).

(Elden, 2004) ve çelişkili mekanın değişimiyle ortaya çıkan, bir potansiyel, bir değişim formu ve Lefebvre'in teorisinin toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik değişimine kapı aralayan bir mekan biçimi olarak karşımıza çıkar.

Kentsel mekanda kent plancıları, politikacılar ve kent sakinleri kenti şekillendirirler. Harvey (2012) için kentte bu bağlamda farklı sınıftan insanların çelişkili bir karşıtlık içinde bulunduğu, değişim içerisindeki bir "müşterek" üretildiğini söyler (s. 65). Bu yüzden, kaldırımlarıyla, kamusal mekanları ve su gibi ekolojik elementleriyle kentsel mekan "müşterekler" olarak da tanımlanır (Gidwani & Baviskar, 2011). Ayrıca; dil, bilgi ve düşünceler de "müşterekler" ile ilişkili olarak tanımlanmıştır (Hardt, 2010). Fakat, Lefebvre'in açıklamış olduğum düşünce biçimini de buna dahil edersek, müşterekler statik bir karaktere sahip değillerdir. Ormanlar ve su gibi müşterekler özelleştirilebilir ya da geri alınabilir. Mekan toplumsal üretimin ürünü olduğu için müşterekler de üretimin, yeniden üretimin ve yeni türde biçimlerin üretiminin parçasıdırlar. Müşterekleştirme bu anlayışla kolektivite, karşılıklılık ve dayanışmayla oluşan ve gelişen bir süreç olarak tanımlanır. Bu yüzden "müşterek" ve "müşterekleştirme" iştirakçilerle birlikte dinamik bir üretim ve yeniden üretim sürecinin parçasıdırlar.

Hardin (2010) "Müştereklerin Trajedisi" makalesinde herkese açık bir otlak alanda çoban ve sığırların yer aldığı bir metofor kullanır. Buna göre, her çoban kendi faydasını ve kazancını en üst düzeyde tutabilmek için üretebildiği kadar sığır üretecek ve sonuçta bu da sınırlı kaynakların yer aldığı bir dünyada müştereklerin çöküşünü getirecektir. Nüfus sorununu ve buna bağlı olarak çevre kirliliğini de ekleyerek "Müştereklerin Trajedisi" argümanın temelini buradan kurar. Hardin'in bunu önlemek için önerileri devlet ya da bir merkezi kontrol ya da özelleştirmedir. Hardin'in buradaki argümanı aynı zamanda neoklasik ekonominin insanların rasyonel olduğu, sınırlı kaynaklar içerisinde fayda-temelli hareket eden bireylerden ve arz-talep eğrisi içerisinde temellenen ekonomik okumasıyla el ele gitmektedir. Ostrom (2002) Hardin'i topluluk-temelli vaka çalışmalarından hareketle, insanların uzun vadede ortak alanı aşırı kullanımlarının yaratacağı olumsuz etkiyi öngörerek alanı korumaya çalışacakları argümanıyla eleştirir ve kültürel pratikler, müzakereler

ve düzenlemeler ile topluluk-temelli yaklaşımlarla doğal kaynakların yönetimine bu çerçevede öneriler geliştirir. Harvey (2012) hem Hardin'i hem Ostrom'u eleştirerek Hardin'in argümanın temel sorununun sığırların özel mülkiyetinde ve neoklasik ekonominin önkabullerinde olduğunu savunur. Ostrom'u ise küçük-boyutlu örnekler temelinde şekillenen argümanıyla birlikte daha büyük kapsamlı durumlarda oluşacak problemleri öne çıkararak eleştirir ve yatay örgütlenme pratiklerinin sınırlarını, gerektiğinde bunun ötesine gitme yönünde uyarısıyla çizer. Hardt (2010) (ve Negri) yaklaşımıyla özel mülkiyeti değil mülkiyeti argümanın temeline alırken, De Angelis (2010) (ve *Midnight Notes* Kolektif) yaklaşımıyla başka bir eleştirel yaklaşım sunarak, 1970'lerden sonraki "yeni çitleme" pratiklerinin altını çizer.

Kent hakkı kavramı ise Lefebvre tarafından bir "yakarış ve talep" (s. 158) olarak tanımlanır. Kent hakkı kavramı literatürde geniş olarak tartışılmıştır (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2013; Kuymulu, 2013; Bodirsky, 2017). Kent hakkı kavramı literatürde farklı tanımlamalarla kullanılmaktadır. Örneğin, Birleşmiş Milletler gibi kurumlar kent hakkını "insan hakları" perspektifinden tanımlarken (Purcell, 2013; Kuymulu, 2013), bu hakları bireysel değil kolektif haklar temelinde tanımlayanlar da bulunmaktadır (Marcuse, 2009; Harvey, 2012). Mitchell (2003) tanımlamasını "kamusal alan" ve hesap verebilirlik üzerine kurarken, Purcell (2013) "liberal vatandaşlık" çerçevesini eleştirir. Kuymulu (2013) kullanım değeri ve değişim değeri arasındaki ayrım, çelişki ve mücadele pratiklerinin altını çizer. Bodirsky (2017) ise kent hakkı tanımlaması ve kullanımındaki "haklar" çerçevesini eleştirir ve benzer bir biçimde kullanım değeri ve değişim değeri ayrımını takip ederek "mekan oluşturma" ve müşterekleştirme pratiklerinin buluştuğu çerçeveyi izler. Bu tez içerisinde de kent hakkı, "haklar" çerçevesinin ötesinde, müşterekleştirme pratikleriyle ilişkileri temelinde, kullanım değeri ve değişim değeri arasındaki çelişki ve öngörücü (van de Sande, 2013) dinamikler takip edilerek tanımlanmıştır.

Covid-19 pandemisi mevcut eşitsizlikleri derinleştirerek görünür kılmış, yeni türde eşitsizlikler üretmiştir. Fakat Lefebvre'in diyalektik temelli kavramsal çerçevesinden hareketle, aynı zamanda izolasyon süreçlerinin yeni türde sosyal etkileşimler ve

dayanışma pratikleri oluşturduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bu bağlamda, küresel ve ulusal çapta insanlar yerel örgütlenmeler ve sosyal medya aracılığıyla iletişim ağları kurarak kendilerini ve çevrelerini pandeminin olumsuz etkilerinden korumaya çalışmışlardır. Bu örgütlenmelerin ve dayanışma ağlarının ortak özellikleri yerel düzeyde olmaları ve birçok farklı sosyal gruptan kişiler barındırmalarıdır. Küresel çapta yer yer sivil toplum örgütlenmeleri ya da politik organizasyonlarla ortaklıklar geliştirilse de çoğunluğu pandemide planlı ve uzun vadeli bir program temelinde değil, önlem amaçlı olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır. Bu durum, ortaya çıkan iletişim ağları ve dayanışma pratiklerine planlı ve kalıcı bir yapı yerine geçici bir karakter vermektedir (Mendes, 2020).

Pandeminin etkisi yerel düzeyde iki temel düzeyde şekillenmiştir. İlk olarak, fiziksel mesafe ve kapanma tedbirleri yüz yüze görüşmelerin azalmasına ve sosyal izolasyona sebebiyet vermiştir. Görüşmeciler bu süreci "beklenmedik", "korku", "kaygı", "şok" ve "karışıklık" olarak nitelendirmişlerdir. Fakat öte yandan, evde kalmak ve izolasyon süreçleri kişilerin kendi apartmanları ve mahallelerinde yeni ilişki bağları geliştirmelerine ve yeni sosyal ağlar inşa etmelerini sağlamıştır. Bu yeni sosyal bağlar, evde veya mahalle ölçeğinde köpekler, kuşlar ve ağaçlarla da ilişkilerini gözden geçirmelerini ve yeni sosyal ilişkiler kurmalarını içermektedir. Örneğin, evde köpek veya kedileri ile yaşayan kişiler bu süreçte evlerini paylaştıkları hayvanlarıyla duygusal bağlar kurduklarını ve kendilerini daha az yalnız hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca semt sakinleri, yerel gazetede ve görüşmelerde bahsettikleri üzere, değişen sosyal dinamiklerle birlikte pandemi sürecinde Ayrancı'nın kuşlarını ve ağaçlarını gözlemlemeye başlamışlar, müşterek alanlar (parklar, bahçeler ve kent) içerisinde iştirakçiler olarak hayvanları, çiçekleri ve ağaçları tanımlamaya başlamışlardır. İkinci olarak, pandemi içerisinde küresel çapta "sorumluluğun bireyselleştirilmesi retoriği" (Cardona, 2021) pandemi yönetiminde ortaya çıkmıştır. Cardona (2021) bunu neoliberalizm kavramıyla da ilişkili olarak açıklar. Bu retorik, temel anlamda 1970'lerin ortalarından itibaren toplumsal ve ekonomik dönüşümle serpilen bireycilik ve bireylerin yaşamlarının, sorunlarının ve

sorumluluklarının kendi tercih ve eylemleriyle şekillendiğini temel alan neoliberal[64] yaklaşımdır (Harvey, 2007). Yerel düzeyde kendi imkanlarıyla yeşeren, yatay örgütlenmeye ve farklılıklara dayalı gruplar müştereкleştirme pratikleriyle ve çevrimiçi iletişim ağları kurarak "sorumluluğun bireyselleşmesi retoriğine" bir cevap olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır. Bunun yanında, müştereкleştirme ve dayanışma pratikleri bir "kolektif refleks" (Stravrides, 2021) olarak küresel düzeyde yetersiz kalan maddi ve duygusal destek mekanizmaları sonucunda gelişmiştir. Araştırma sahası içerisinde bazı dayanışma pratiklerinin kısa-zamanlı kaldığı ve uzun süreli planlı bir organizasyona dönüşemedikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu dayanışma pratikleri her ne kadar pandeminin olumsuz etkilerine karşı önlem amaçlı ortaya çıksalar da özellikle pandeminin ilk dönemlerinde yerel düzeyde hayati rol oynamışlar ve yeni sosyal bağlantıların ve dayanışma ağlarının oluşmasını ve bununla birlikte mahallelilerin kendi aralarındaki sosyal bağlarını güçlendirmesini sağlamıştır. Örneğin, bir grup mahalleli yerel Facebook grubu (Ayrancı Ahalisi) üzerinden iletişim kurarak pandeminin ilk dönemlerinde 5000 adete yakın siperlik üretmiş ve bu siperlikleri mahallede koronavirüs pandemisine karşı risk altında bulunan yaşlılar, engelliler, aile hekimleri, kronik rahatsızlığı bulunan kişilerle birlikte Türkiye'nin birçok kentindeki hastanelerde çalışan sağlık çalışanlarına koronavirüsle mücadele için ücretsiz olarak ulaştırmışlardır. Bunun yanında, kitaplar üzerinden bir müştereкleştirme pratiği olarak pandemi döneminde mahallede yerel bir kütüphane (Sevgi Sosyal Kütüphanesi) ortaklaşa olarak kurulmuştur. Ortaklaşa kurulan bu kütüphane, yalnızca kütüphanenin kendisinin mekansal olarak bir öngörücü dinamiğe sahip olmasını sağlamamış, aynı zamanda Lefebvre'in kavramsal çerçevesiyle kent hakkının dönüştürücü gücüne kapı aralayacak bir biçimde kitaplar aracılığıyla yeni öngörücü mekansal tahayyüllerin de tohumlarını ekmiştir.

Bir diğer önemli kısım, pandemi kamusal alanlar, balkonlar, pencereler ve dijital mekanların kullanımını etkilemiş ve dönüştürmüştür. Pencereler ve balkonlar,

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[64] Neoliberalizm kavramı her ne kadar 1930'lardan itibaren kullanılmaya başlanmış ve geniş bir literatüre sahip olsa da günümüzün kompleks kapitalist ilişkilerinin açıklamasında sıkça kullanılan bir kavram olması sebebiyle, bu çalışma içerisindeki kullanımının ayrı bir dikkat ve şüphe ile yer aldığını not düşmemiz gerekmektedir.

Lefebvre'in (1991) çizdiği anlamda, pandemi dönemi sosyal izolasyon sürecinin diyalektik bir izdüşümü olarak sosyalizasyonun, protestonun ve "çelişkili alanın" (contradictory space) (Lefebvre, 1991) yeni kamusal mekanları haline gelmiş, "karşıt-alanın" (counter-space) üretimi olasılığını çehresinde taşımaktadır. Balkonlar ve pencereler içerisi-dışarısı arasındaki köprüler olarak kent hakkı temelinde Lefebvre'in (1996, s. 158) tanımladığı anlamda bir "yakarış" ve "talep" mekanlarına dönüşmüşlerdir. Diğer bir deyişle, mahalleliler hem sosyal izolasyona karşı diyalektik bir ürün olarak sosyalizasyonu hem de yakınma ve huzursuzluklarını bu mekanlar aracılığıyla kurmuşlardır.

Bunun yanında "QueerAntina" gibi yeni dijital dayanışma ağları yerel ve ulusal düzeyde iletişim ağları olarak pandemide gelişen dayanışma pratiklerinin yatağını oluşturmuşlardır. Buna ek olarak, pandemi mahallelilerin sosyal izolasyona karşı yeni eğlence ve duygusal dayanışma pratiklerine sahne olmuştur. Örneğin, Zoom, Google Meets, Microsoft Teams gibi uygulamaları kullanarak sanal çevrimiçi partiler düzenlenmiştir.

Ayrıca semt içerisinde pandemi öncesinde kurulmuş olan "Ayrancı Mahalle Meclisi" ya da "Ayrancı Kızları" gibi dayanışma ağları pandemi içerisinde aktif hale gelmiştir. Bu dayanışma ağları maddi ve psikolojik destek kanalları oluşturmuştur. Örneğin, pandeminin ilk dönemlerinde alışverişlerini yapmakta güçlük çeken kişi ve gruplar için alışveriş, eczaneden ilaç temini ve finansal destek gibi dayanışma pratikleri sağlanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, pandemi döneminde Çankaya İlçe Konseyi bünyesinde 17 Kasım 2021'de resmi olarak Ayrancı Semt Konseyi kurulmuştur. Ayrancı Semt Konseyi, Ayrancım Derneği gibi semt ve mahalle örgütlenmeleriyle ortaklaşmalar içermekte ve farklı grupların bir araya geldiği bir oluşum olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yalnızca pandemi temelli değil, kentsel dönüşüm ve afet risklerine karşı da yerel cevaplar üretme girişimleri görülmektedir. Bu amaçla AFAD[65] ile ortak olarak

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[65] Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetim Başkanlığı

afet eğitimi düzenlenmiştir. TMMOB[66] ile kentsel dönüşüm ve bina yapı stoğu ile ilgili bilgilendirici toplantılar düzenlenmiştir. İlk iki grubun pandemi öncesi dönemden gelen deneyim ve birikimleri, Ayrancı Semt Konseyi'nin kuruluşuyla birlikte üç grubun semt yönetimine katılım istek ve girişimleri, kent hakkı kavramının (kamusal) hizmetlere erişim isteğinin ötesinde tanımlanan karar alma mekanizmaları temelindeki dönüştürücü gücünü imlemektedir. Bu bağlamdaki bulgular, çelişkili alanın karşıt alana dönüşme olasılığını doğurmaktadır.

Bir diğer değerlendirme ise Covid-19 pandemisinin bir kez daha küresel düzeyde dünyanın farklı bölgelerinin birbiriyle karşılıklı bağlantılılığını vurgulamasıdır. Sassen (1991) tarafından çizilen çerçevede, kentler birbirleriyle ekonomik ve politik düzeyde bağlantılıdır. Pandeminin yayılımı ve ekonomik etkileri bu bağlantılılığın izlerini takip etmiştir. Sassen (2020) Covid-19 değerlendirmesinde bunun altını çizerek "kaçacak bir yerimizin olmadığı" bir durum tespiti yapmıştır.

Lefebvre'in yaklaşımı bize kentsel mekana çelişkiler ve taşıdığı potansiyeller üzerinden bakmamızı sağlar. Mahalle kültürü temelinde şekillenen dayanışma ve müşterekleştirme pratikleri aynı zamanda Ayrancı'nın içinde bulunduğu kentsel dönüşüm ve soylulaştırma süreciyle birlikte çelişkili mekanın Zukin (2008) tarafından bahsedilen şekilde bir "otantik alana" dönüşme olasılığı da bulunmaktadır. Bunun arkasındaki temel sebep, artan organik ve etnik market ve restoranlar, üçüncü-dalge kahveci dükkanları, semt tarihinden gelen eski bağ evlerinin varlığı, seramik, yoga ve çizim gibi sayıları artan sanat atölyeleri ve antika dükkanları olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu sebeple, bu çalışmanın odak noktası olmamasıyla birlikte gelecek araştırmalarda kentsel dönüşüm ekseninde bu çalışmada belirtileri görülmüş olan soylulaştırma süreci ele alınabilir. Böylece Zukin'in (2008) altını çizdiği tüketim temelinde gerçekleşen ekonomik ve toplumsal dönüşüm pratikleri görülebilir. Pandemi sonrası sürecin bu dönüşüme olan etkisi bu alandaki geniş ve zengin literatürle birlikte gelecek araştırmalar için önem kazanmaktadır. Araştırma sahasında ortaya çıkan gelecek araştırmalar için bir diğer başlık, yerel düzeyde

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[66] Türkiye Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği

insanlar ve insan-olmayan (sokak hayvanları, evcil hayvanlar, bitkiler, çiçekler, ağaçlar gibi) arasındaki ilişkilerin çevresel etik, hayvan hakları, gündelik hayat pratiklerine ve dinamiklerine olan etkisi gibi alanlar kapsamında incelenmesidir. Diğer yandan, araştırma sahasında pandemi öncesi süreçteki dayanışma pratiklerinden beslenerek ortaya çıkmış olan ve pandemi sürecinde gelişmiş olan dayanışma pratiklerinin pandeminin devam eden koşullarında sürekliliğinin olup olmayacağı, kısa süreli mi kalacağı yoksa uzun vadeli dayanışma pratiklerine evrilip evrilmeyeceği önem kazanmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu dayanışma pratiklerinin sürekliliği olduğu takdirde hangi biçim ve dinamiklerle şekilleneceği, ne tür dayanışma ağları içereceği, hangi kişi ve grupların yer alacağı, yerel düzeyde hangi güç ilişkilerine sahne olacağı gibi sorular da gelecek araştırmalar için önem kazanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte başka semt ve mahallelerde ortaya çıkan dayanışma pratikleri, bu pratiklerinin taşıdığı özellikler ve dinamikler bu alanda toplanan verileri çeşitlendirebilir. Pandemi döneminde gerçekleşen dayanışma ve müşterekleştirme pratiklerinin analizi için yeni perspektifler sunabilir ve gelecek araştırmalar için farklı sosyo-demografik alanlara sahip olan yerler için karşılaştırma yapma imkanını sunabilir.

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