

Confronting Affective Atmospheres in Bomonti: Mediatic Representations and Residents' Perceptions of New Luxury Houses

Urban regeneration changes a city's built environment, social patterns, and affective relations. However, urban studies have paid insufficient attention to affective assemblages during urban interventions. Drawing on affective atmosphere as a guiding concept, this study reveals the affective relations in Bomonti in Istanbul, which has been experiencing the urban regeneration through luxury housing developments. The new built environment created by luxury residences is a machine to create a new affective atmosphere through mediatization in housing advertisements and the encounters of Bomonti's new and old residents with the new built environment. The main finding of this study is that urban regeneration causes an affective confrontation between elderly and young, between the mediatization of the city and residents' experiences, and between old buildings and new buildings.

Introduction

Beyond its physical spaces, social relations, and economic value, a city exists through the encounter of a variety of feelings. Feelings, emotions, and especially affective forces are crucial in producing a space (Buser, 2014). According to Thrift (2008: 57), the literature has neglected the role of affect in the production of space. Urban studies have paid insufficient attention to affect, especially regarding the role of affective energy in creating a sense of belonging or a sense of place, specifically during the urban interventions like urban regeneration or renewal. Clough (2013) argues that all disciplines are currently researching the traumas, tortures, and challenges of ongoing wars, thereby focusing on affect. In urban studies also, researchers are investigating the economic and social consequences of planning projects and urban regeneration. The present study focuses specifically on their bodily effects, which obliges us to work on affective processes.

These affective assemblages in the city can be related to issues that we can understand through the five senses, such as sounds and smells, the circulation of light in the city, and its climatic conditions. They also depend on social relations, such as cultural climate, solidarity, and neighborhood patterns, or larger scale issues, such as political climate and urban policies. In addition, the inhabitants' memories and the symbols presented by the media in our digitalized world are also very important in forming these affective assemblages.

Some authors describe these affective assemblage as sense-of-place (Jackson, 1996) or, with a more comprehensive expansion of this concept, as progressive sense of place (Massey, 1993) or, in a post-structuralist way, as character (Dovey et al., 2009). In recent years, geographers have started using the term affect (Duff, 2010; Jones & Evans, 2012; Thrift et al., 2008) or, more

specifically, affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009; Thrift et al., 2008) to explain the relationship between the body and the world around it (Jones & Evans, 2012). Transformative urban interventions and urban regeneration projects transform a city's affective assemblage. An important issue in the reproduction of space is how both new and old inhabitants perceive the new atmosphere created by this transformation (Duff, 2010).

Istanbul's Bomonti district, formerly an old industrial area and middle-lower class settlement, was transformed in the 2000s to become a settlement of luxury multi-storey residences and entertainment venues. This turned it into an activity center for all Istanbul. The present study therefore aims to record how Bomonti's current affective atmosphere is perceived through residents' experiences and developers' advertisements.

The main claim of the article is that the new built environment, especially that created by luxury residences, works as a new affective atmosphere creation machine through housing advertisements. Therefore, the study primarily focuses on advertisements for Bomonti and its luxury residences particularly. In addition, it focuses on the thoughts of Bomonti's new and old residents.

Despite efforts to create Bomonti's affective atmosphere solely through advertisements of the interiors of its residences, the affective atmosphere is mainly created through encounters on the streets and other public spaces. That is, the atmosphere of this space is not formed independently of the processes forming the bodies that comprise it. Thus, memories – which we can think of as traces of any movement hitting the body – determine the formation of this affective atmosphere, making it correct to talk about affective atmospheres rather than a single, homogeneous whole. Therefore, our main assertion is that urban regeneration causes the confrontation of these different affective atmospheres.

This paper examines these claims comparatively, especially from the contrasting perspectives of the developers and those living in the luxury residences or Bomonti's old quarters. The findings show how feelings about Bomonti are intensified among different groups, what kinds of different affective atmospheres are encountered, and how this process relates to urban regeneration.

Urban Regeneration in Bomonti

Urban regeneration practice emerged with the industrial cities' decline in Europe and the end of the second world war (Fraser, 2003). The most important characteristic of this regeneration practice is that developers and the state work together to transform cities (Jones & Evans, 2012). On the one hand, this was necessary to renew aging or destroyed urban areas. On the other hand, by completely changing a city's existing physical and social fabric, it created issues concerning gentrification (Behar & İslam, 2006; Butler, 2007), displacement, and evictions (Ezme, 2014; Lovering & Türkmen, 2011; Markoç, 2018).

1 Luxury residences first became prominent in Turkey and discussed in the
 2 literature during the 1980s, when gated communities began to appear in urban
 3 spaces. At the end of the 1980s, as colored televisions appeared in every home,
 4 the historical background of cities like Istanbul was used extensively in
 5 advertisements for tourism marketing. At the same time, luxury residences
 6 were promoted through these colorful TV advertisements and brochures (Öncü,
 7 1999). Since the 1990s, researches about luxury housing have focused
 8 especially on gated communities (Bali, 1999; Bartu Candan, 2005; Bartu
 9 Candan & Kolcuoğlu, 2009). According to Öncü (1999), these luxury gated
 10 communities have the role to articulate Turkey's middle class into the global
 11 consumption culture of the upper classes and are associated with a desire to
 12 escape from the city. Bali (1999), on the other hand, associates the emergence
 13 of these new gated communities with a new rich typology as the spaces of new
 14 media bosses and financial sector employees.

15 Apart from these gated communities located outside the city, high-rise
 16 residences located in city centers have transformed their surroundings since the
 17 2000s. In Istanbul, for example, luxury housing projects like Tarlabası 360 or
 18 Piyale Istanbul, which are located in the city's formerly run-down center, have
 19 appeared with no consideration for the space's physical and social texture, or
 20 have even tried to completely erase it (Bedirhan, 2016). In luxury housing
 21 advertisements focusing on the reconstruction of the city center, it is striking
 22 that new spaces are created by almost completely eradicating existing ones
 23 while preserving only elements like the "neighbourhood" or "historical"
 24 buildings as objects of nostalgia (Bedirhan, 2016). On the other hand, the
 25 gentrification of Istanbul often takes place in the city center through new
 26 projects and luxury housing, or the development of art spaces or entertainment
 27 elements in the space. The Şişhane-Tophane line is one of the best examples of
 28 attracting the wealthy to the district by opening such art spaces (Özer &
 29 Yeğenağa, 2017). In Bomonti, these transformation processes intersect as the
 30 world of art and entertainment flows towards the area while new luxury
 31 housing projects appear.

32 Bomonti is located in Cumhuriyet and Merkez neighborhoods within
 33 Istanbul's Şişli district, which developers and the state targeted for renewal.
 34 Bomonti district has been significantly transformed seriously since the 1950s.
 35 At that time, it was an industrial zone of large factories and small industrial
 36 establishments in north part of Istanbul. By the end of the 1990s, Bomonti
 37 began to change as a candidate to become a new generation city center. Its
 38 transformation into an attractive place started on 25th February, 1998, when the
 39 Ministry of interior registered the Bomonti Beer Factory as an immovable
 40 cultural property that needed protection while many districts, including
 41 Bomonti, were defined as "tourism areas". Regarding news reports about
 42 Bomonti in newspapers and websites since 2000, the first shopping festival in
 43 Turkey took place in Bomonti on 15 March-15 April, 2002. Bomonti was
 44 subsequently selected for further similar festivals.

45 The projects of the then Şişli Mayor, Mustafa Sarıgül, for the former
 46 factory were one of the most important steps that encouraged capital flow to

Bomonti. Sarıgül¹² announced plans to turn it into a cultural center at a press conference in front of building with the famous Turkish theater artist Yıldız Kenter. Developments continued with the opening concert of Bomonti Ada on September 10, 2015.³ Bomonti Ada has become an important focus with its exhibition areas, the concert venue Babylon, and concept food and beverage venues where beer is served. Since the first day of its opening, Bomonti Ada has been a place for international concerts and exhibitions.

In parallel with these developments, South Bomonti has attracted attention as an ideal transformation area due to its large land parcels formed from chemical factories at the city's periphery, the slums surrounding the district, and its proximity to prestigious residential areas, such as Osmanbey and Nişantaşı, and working areas, such as Mecidiyeköy and Maslak (Seçer, 2020). The luxury housing construction project, which was launched as “branded residences”, has become one of the most fundamental transformative forces in Bomonti.

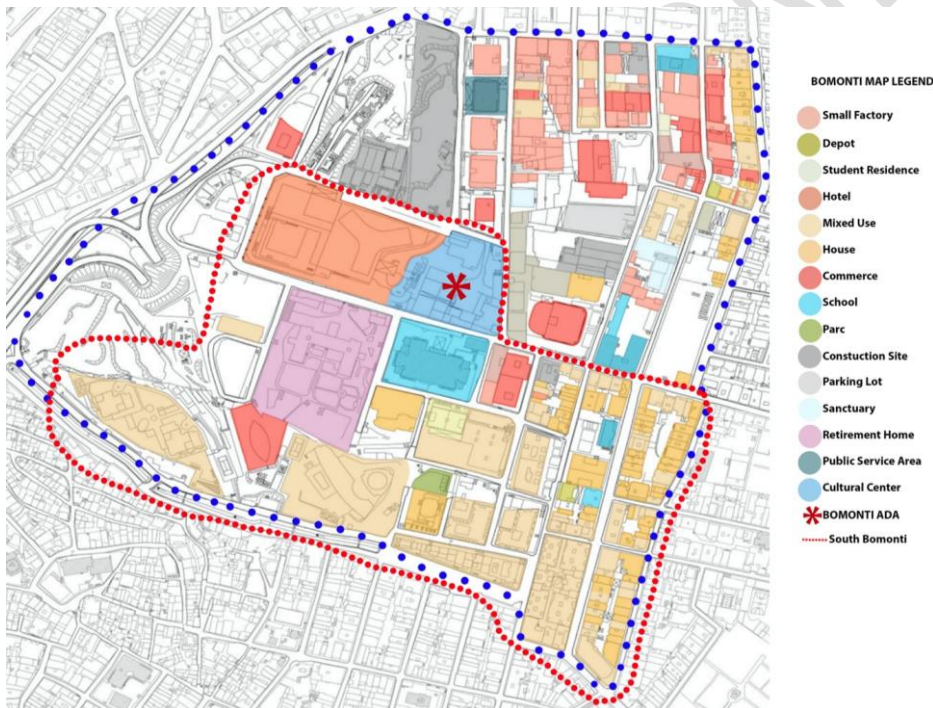


Figure 1. Bomonti Map (Prepared as Part of the Research Project of University No:.....)

Figure 1 shows the area of South Bomonti where the majority of luxury residences and old houses are. All the mixed-use buildings are newly built luxury residences while the old housing units are only labelled “house”. In this context, transforming all these entertainment activities and especially the social

¹23.02.2003. “From Historical Brewery to Culture and Art Center” Milliyet Newspaper.

²14.02.2003. “From Historical Brewery to Culture and Art Center” Hürriyet Newspaper.

³ 29.08.2015. “Istanbul's New Entertainment Center: Bomontiada”. Hürriyet Kelebek.

1 structure of the district, creates an assemblage of feelings by developing a new
2 trajectory in the affective assemblage of Bomonti.

5 **Affective Assemblages in the City**

7 Deleuze (1968, p. 50) provides a simple definition of affect as a specific
8 manifestation of a body's "power of acting". This definition refers to the state
9 of a body when subjected to the action of another body (Deleuze, 1968). That
10 is, affect is a transition, an interaction. Deleuze (1968) expresses this as the
11 emotional state described by the proposition, "I feel the sunlight on me", which
12 speaks not directly of the sun itself, but of the sun's effect on us. The state of
13 this interaction can be expressed as affect. Affect is commonly seen as having a
14 direct relationship with emotions (Katz, 1999; Massumi, 2002; Thrift et al.,
15 2008; Tomkins et al., 1995), although emotions cannot fully explain it; rather,
16 affect describes an interaction or process. Affect can be defined more broadly
17 than emotion to avoid restricting the analysis to emotional expressions
18 (Massumi, 2002, pp. 27–28). Affect is thus distinct from emotions as a
19 transition or an occurrence. Emotions are affects clothed in the language of the
20 affective dispositions we experienced and began to understand their impact on
21 us with the help of others (Dewsbury, 2010, p. 24). Nussbaum (2008) claims
22 that a specific affect cannot exist independently of its historical and social
23 context while Sedgwick(2003) emphasizes the relationality of affect to things,
24 people, ideas, sensations, relations, activities, ambitions, institutions, etc.,
25 including other affects like a network.

26 Affect recently entered urban studies with respect to spatial politics (Thrift
27 et al., 2008), its relationship with planning (Sandberg & Rönnblom, 2016) and
28 geography (Jones & Evans, 2012). In the urban studies literature, affect is
29 considered an assemblage or a kind of atmosphere covering the whole city.
30 These affective assemblages comprise a wide range of forces that fill the
31 interior of the space, encountering each other and resonating or creating some
32 tensions among them. We can infer that affect is reproduced through
33 encounters and that all these encounters relationally form the affective
34 assemblages in the city. Duff (2010, p. 881) claims that the emotional
35 resonance of the city defines much of the routine of the city life. Every time the
36 routine of the city life changes, the affective assemblage changes too.

37 It is important to introduce the term atmosphere alongside affect to
38 comprehend the affective assemblage that literally surrounds and pressures the
39 city (Anderson, 2009). For Anderson (2009, p. 78), atmosphere is a real
40 phenomenon, which he defines by quoting from Marx: "this [atmosphere]
41 'envelops' and thus presses on a society 'from all sides' with a certain force".
42 When the affective atmosphere applies a force on everyone and everything
43 involved, it changes constantly, and the intensity of the force also changes
44 continuously. Thus, all changes in the city and other bodies that encounter this
45 city will transform its affective atmosphere only for that moment or for that
46 encounter. This collective affect may also be considered as atmosphere, which

includes people, things, and spaces (Anderson, 2009). Affective atmosphere is not limited to only these components; it is even more importantly related to memories, feelings, and physical experiences from encounters, formed by social relations, discourses, and various materials (Duff, 2010). It should not be forgotten that all these encounters have a direct connection with time. Emotional connection to place is an intensely personal and visceral phenomenon (Jones & Evans, 2012) that cannot be underestimated in affective atmosphere. In short, the affective atmosphere in the city is strictly relational, variable, and quite subjective.

Thrift (2004) claims that affective atmosphere is shaped by a politics of affect. Thrift identifies four fundamental developments in the way the politics of affect forms in cities. The first covers a wider politics considered as agencies of choice; the second is mediatization processes; the third is the sensory registers that are closely linked to mediatization and the rise of the performance knowledge; the fourth is the design of the urban space. Although this four-dimensional framework provides a concrete focus for discussing affective atmosphere, each item is inseparable from the current epoch, the current inhabitants' social profile, the current state of the built environment, and the emotional flows and political atmosphere of a given time.

Urban regeneration changes both bodies and environments (Jones & Evans, 2012, p. 152) while resetting all the relational patterns of previous affective assemblages. Here, it is necessary to see that the change that comes with urban regeneration not only changes buildings and users but also reshapes routines, emotional flows, and memories in the city. As Jenkins (2002) notes, buildings are not just safe, stable, and static black boxes; rather, all buildings are affect generators. If we go back to Deleuze's Spinoza, an encounter is necessary for the affect to occur, but this encounter can be good or bad. In this sense, good encounters increase joy while bad encounters increase grief or sadness (Deleuze, 1968, p. 28). Therefore, we define all interactions that increase the body's ability to act by creating joy or decrease its ability to act by creating grief, it is possible to distinguish between them. Here, it is necessary to introduce the discussion of desiring machines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983) and relate it to the mediatization in Thrift's framework. Deleuze argues that desire is an assemblage; when we desire, we desire from within a cluster (Boutang et al., 1996). When we desire an object or a person, it indicates that we desire what that person or object represents and therefore adds to us. It should be underlined that mediatization critical in the governementalistic dimensions of planning and urbanism. Advertisements show how every urban project makes the city more beautiful, healthy, and happy. In Turkey, the media plays a very crucial role in urban regeneration by making urban regeneration easier to implement (Aksümer, 2016). Gunder (2005, p. 185), on the other hand, discusses the desirous spaces of planning from a Lacanian perspective. He (Gunder, 2005) concludes that planning now uses the proposition "You will enjoy it" instead of the proposition "No, you can not do that".

In the urban regeneration process, these encounters between the old space and the new space can sometimes create joy and sometimes grief. The media

tries to market and beautify the new projects with the proposition “You will enjoy it” whereas the loss of old habits can cause grief for the old inhabitants. Here, the difference between the built environment of the old city, which is in the memory of the inhabitants, and the new built environment, again becomes a striking element of the affective atmosphere after urban regeneration. Mediatization becomes the primary means to create desirous spaces. Due to its nature, the affective atmosphere of a city cannot be a single whole but a multitude. Urban regeneration causes these multiple affective atmospheres to confront each other.

Methodology

It is difficult to research affective atmosphere empirically because the available literature includes multi-layered conceptual discussions that are not open to empirical research. Empirical research on this topic is thus innovative in itself.

We first considered the relationship that Thrift established between media and affect: “We are living in the societies enveloped in and saturated by the media” (Thrift et al., 2008, p. 65). Here, he emphasizes that, because politics is also mediatized, it is impossible to avoid the effects of screens and images: society is completely surrounded by media. Consequently, media has become one of the most important factors shaping emotions and affective atmosphere. Accordingly we scanned news items on Bomonti and all advertisements for its luxury residences since 2000 from newspapers, magazines, and TV. We then examined how they describe the residences and which images are used. Over 400 news items were identified and scanned from the online archive of Hürriyet, one of Turkey’s best-selling newspapers, and from Emlak Kulisi and Arkitera, the most frequently visited news portals on housing and urban planning.

Michels (2015) defined two different themes to identify the processes creating the affective atmosphere in a concert hall: the aesthetic modulation of the components of the artistic work and the sensual capacities of the human body. The second part of this study investigated how people physically experienced the affective atmosphere of that concert hall. Likewise, the present study also investigated the experiences of people residing, working, studying, or socializing in Bomonti. This data set of the experiences of these Bomonti users depended on two kinds of interviews: first, structured interviews with anyone who experienced Bomonti in whatever capacity; second, unstructured interviews with those living in Bomonti’s luxury residences and long-term residents in non-luxury homes.

Of the 71 interviewees (33 female, 38 male), half resided in Bomonti, 10% worked there, and the others mostly socialized there. Around 80% of those residing in Bomonti had been living there for more than 10 years while 88% of the interviewees overall, and all those living in luxury residences, were

1 university or other higher education graduates. The interviewees were between
2 20 and 60 years old.

5 **Desirious Places: Mediatization of Bomonti and New Lifestyles**

7 Following Deleuze and Guattari (1983), we take desire as an assemblage
8 or a flow. Here, it should be underlined that desire cannot be considered as a
9 deficiency while these desire flows are neither independent nor completely
10 free. We can only desire within a specific cluster whose frame is defined by the
11 capitalistic forces in current urban environment. The media plays a crucial role
12 in the desiring process for the newly constructed environment. Gunder (2010)
13 argues that tplanning plays a central role to support contemporary neoliberal
14 ideology while the popular media or publicity are the most crucial tools for its
15 ideological construction. In Bomonti's case, the new life in the city is tailored
16 for the lifestyles of high-end service industry employees and entrepreneurs.

17 The advertisements for the new face of Bomonti most frequently focus on
18 safety and security, the fun and dynamic atmosphere, and the healthy life,
19 quality food, and attractive interior design, which we can consider as
20 sophisticated pleasures. These form clusters of promises that make the new life
21 attractive. The interviews revealed that these promises and the desirious
22 atmosphere they create affect Bomonti's residents.

23 The advertisements emphasize security through buildings being monitored
24 by cameras or protected by security guards, and which are closed, high, and
25 difficult to enter spaces. For Deleuze (1997), an atmosphere may move with
26 bodies but also even with words and discourse. Because security is the most
27 important discourse in Bomonti's case, it becomes the most important creator
28 of the affective atmosphere.

29 The advertisements claim to have created a new urban life in Bomonti
30 while promising a safe, closed life within thick walls sealed from the city
31 outside. All the websites of the luxury residences foreground the security issue
32 in the first paragraphs of their advertising texts with phrases like "24/7
33 security", "private security", "secure floor gardens", and "24-hour closed
34 circuit cameras".

35 Elysium Fantastic defines security and parking spaces as a "fundamental
36 requirement" of city life: "Elysium Fantastic, meeting the fundamental
37 requirements of the city life such as parking spaces and security, is protected
38 with a 24-hour closed circuit camera system." Similarly, Modern Palas
39 Bomonti's advertisement offers a 24-hour security system while Apart
40 Bomonti's security offering combines isolation from the city environment,
41 security guards, and cameras with smart home systems.

42 In contrast, Bomonti residents did not mention security issues when
43 expressing their thoughts about Bomonti or when they defined the
44 neighborhood in three words. However, six out of the nine interviewees living
45 in the newly built luxury residences said that the new project's security systems
46 had attracted them.

1 Contradicting the promise of life in the city centre, most of the luxury
 2 housing brands emphasize that their projects enable residents to live their
 3 whole life within the building. The developer's website advertising text claims
 4 that all life, including socializing opportunities, are possible without even
 5 leaving the building.

6 One of the most important desiring clusters in new Bomonti is its young
 7 and sophisticated atmosphere. Investment in its youthful and sophisticated side
 8 is first made by emphasizing its proximity to Istanbul's city center (Taksim or
 9 Nişantaşı) in the advertisements. Although Bomonti Ada,⁴ the cultural center,
 10 has an important impact on inhabitants, very few of the housing project
 11 publicity documents mention it. Only Keten Papilio project directly underlines
 12 its proximity to Bomonti Ada. As mentioned by Gregg and Seighworth (2010),
 13 the cluster of promises about a housing project that produce the affect is mostly
 14 limited to its own buildings and services. We know that affect is an active
 15 force, a fluid and dynamic process, which is continually made and remade; it is
 16 the energetic outcome of encounters between bodies in particular places
 17 (Conradson and Latham 2007: 232). Thus, developers try to manipulate desires
 18 through their advertisements. In their advertisements, each project seek to
 19 create a desire flow specific to itself. However, new or old Bomonti residents
 20 alike often point to public spaces as the attractive factor and describe the
 21 affective assemblages created by the whole city as well as the interiors of the
 22 project.

23 A significant proportion of Bomonti residents describe the area as a young
 24 and exciting neighborhood, with 11 of the 61 interviewees describing Bomonti
 25 as fun, dynamic, and lively. To illustrate this fun side, they mostly mention
 26 public activities and cafes or restaurants.

27
 28 "Bomonti means to me: spaces for a coffee, a concert, a beer."

29 "A fun, lively neighbourhood."

30 "The youth is here, alcohol and concerts too."

31
 32 According to the interviewees, the most important factor in the
 33 neighborhood's new young, dynamic atmosphere is the establishment of
 34 Bomonti Ada, which 41 of the 61 participants said had had a positive effect
 35 and attracted young people to the neighborhood.

36
 37 "We can say that Bomonti Ada increases the attractiveness of the district"

38 "Especially in summer, it gives me the perception that I am in a European-style
 39 place with free open-air cinema opportunities, watching movies with a drink, with
 40 the cafes on Fırn street and wide pavements. I love this kind of freedom feeling."

41
 42 The luxury housing project advertisements mostly provide examples of
 43 fine dining experiences and the interior design features of the residences to

⁴Bomonti Ada is a cultural venue completed around 2015 from the renovation of the historic Bomonti beer factory.

1 promote the project. The websites present restaurants offering professionally
 2 prepared cuisines: “Anthill Residence ‘pleasure stops’ promise you, your
 3 family and your friends a pleasant time with different concepts meticulously
 4 prepared by our professional and multi-award-winning chef Orhan Yenidere
 5 and his team.”
 6



7
 8 **Figure 2. Fine Dining Experience**

9 *Source:* Anthill Website. [Accessed 18 June 2020]
 10

11 The House Residence is one of the most striking projects encouraging new
 12 generation white-collar life that appeals to the upper income group. The
 13 project’s advertisement page highlights a wine cellar among the home interior
 14 areas, which is described as “[a] warm, cosy dining room enriched with wine
 15 cellar”. Furthermore, white-collar plaza employees who are time poor due to
 16 their busy pace of work are attracted by concierge services: “Dry cleaning or
 17 repair jobs no longer fill the to-do list”.

18 All these luxury residences stress the opportunity to gain a healthier body
 19 through fitness and sports facilities, spas, and massage services. Anthill
 20 promotes itself as “offering the best examples of comfortable, stylish and
 21 modern design, personalized services that will make your life easier, a
 22 professional team ready to serve you with a smiling face at any time, club areas
 23 where you can play sports and relax whenever you want, and share beautiful
 24 moments with your loved ones.” The interviewees living in Bomonti’s luxury
 25 residences mainly listed prestige, luxuriousness, expensiveness, and
 26 exclusiveness as the main reasons for choosing these projects.

27 In Bomonti, subjective surplus value is produced by the new luxury
 28 houses, especially through mediatization. Wood (2009) argues that the
 29 capitalism produces two kinds of surplus value, of which qualitative surplus
 30 value produces new subjectivation processes. In Bomonti’s case, the
 31 advertisements try to reproduce the space by capturing the desire for
 32 sophisticated tastes in life and the desire to feel special.
 33

Urban Design: Encounters with the New Built Environment and New Neighbors

“Struggles to prevent the wrong kinds of building can easily slip into the exclusion of the wrong kinds of people.” (Dovey et al., 2009, p. 2612)

Affect is fully associated with bodily experience. Since this includes all bodies alive and dead and their contacts, it also includes encounters with the built environment. According to Jacobs (2006), although a building seems like a coherent thing as a ‘black box’, it is not because it is surrounded by the stories or definitions made for it. Given this, the high-rise luxury buildings in Bomonti do not mean anything by themselves; rather, they create an affective flow that encounters their surroundings and the narrative enveloping them. In this way, we can claim that Bomonti’s new built environment shows itself very dominantly next to the old area. This domination shown in Figure 3 leads us to investigate their relationship.



Figure 3. *Bomonti from the Sky*

Source: Emlaktan Gundem Web Site. [Accessed 20 June 2020]

Bomonti’s luxury residences are represented in news items and real estate introduction websites with “mosts” while being prestigious and contemporary, and “high” are presented as attractive characteristics. An advertisement for Anthill describes it as “one of the highest structures of Istanbul” in the most central place. When taller buildings appear in a street, the tone (Dovey et al., 2009, p. 2612) and character of the neighborhood changes. The city’s

environment is coded by the new built environment and this codification changes emotional patterns in the city.

More than half of the interviewees claim that they do not like Bomonti's new built environment because it makes the atmosphere "ugly" or "soulless". For 36 of the 61 interviewees, the luxury residences had harmed the neighborhood, with almost all claiming that the new buildings damaged the neighborhood aesthetically. When they talk about the ugliness of the city's built-environment, they unexpectedly referred to the new social context of the city and talked about the newcomers.

Law and Mol (1995, p. 274) emphasize that materiality and sociality are inseparable: "Look at the social, we are also looking at the production of materiality. And when we look at materials, we are witnessing the production of the social". Grosz (1992, p. 246) also suggests there are two kinds of relationship between bodies and cities. The first is a one-way relationship: cities are built by humans to meet people's needs; hence, the city is a product of the human body. The second relationship is parallel, and occurs in a socio-political context in which the functioning and structure of the city is similar to that of a body (Grosz, 1992, p. 247).

Most of the interviewees said that the wealthy newcomers, such as "Arabs", do not fit into Bomonti.

"I think that it enables different socio-economic segments to be together but also ruins the nostalgic structure."

"Not every person with a lot of money is a modern person."

The interviewees also drew our attention to spatial segregation, such as the way Bomonti's social structure had been transformed because the neighborhood was now divided by very tall buildings.

"These are residences that create visual pollution. They exhibit class distinction, the cream of urbanization."

"I believe that such high-rise residences bring a kind of security problem, especially due to the high number of short-term users. It also hosts a crowd that differentiates the people of the neighborhood from itself. In addition, since the infrastructure is not sufficient, it creates serious traffic and parking problems."

The interviewees did not vary by age or education level in criticizing the damaging effects of the luxury residences or describing them as "ugly", "cold", or "dull".

The interviewees reacted very negatively when shown an aerial image of Bomonti's high-rise residences (Figure 3).

"Disgusting structures."

"Don't you think it's spooky?"

"Feels so bad, like it's drowning the city and the people."

"Masterpieces of ugliness, Manhattan camp."

1 Their reactions were similar to another image of one of the tall buildings
2 (Figure 4).
3



4
5 **Figure 4.** *Bomonti Elysium Residence*
6

7 Interviewees' criticisms of Elysium Residence mostly referred to its height
8 and how it excluded other parts of the neighborhood.
9

10 "It ruined the street with its height and massive size. It would add value to the
11 environment if the building receded even more and allowed green spaces and
12 passages. I think it is the worst building in the area."

13 "The neighborhood's monument of ugliness; you would be surprised if you see
14 the difference between this project and its finished version."

15 "Those stolen from the sky."
16

17 Regarding the interviewees' dissatisfaction with Bomonti's high-rise
18 buildings, the relationships between the bodies living in the neighborhood and
19 using its buildings and the newly built structures were not established together
20 initially because the houses were not built for the needs of the bodies living
21 here. Instead, the relationship between the high-rise luxury residences and the
22 bodies using Bomonti was established after the first building was completed
23 and the first encounter took place. This is the reason for the various emotional
24 ups and downs. Ahmed (2004) claims that 'disgust', which the interviewees
25 also used to refer to Bomonti's new face, indicates some kind of rage and it is a
26 defensive word like 'hate'. In addition, Ahmed (2004) argues that the
27 disgusting objects stick to others near them. In Bomonti, the interviewees
28 talked about their disgust for the tall buildings and they immediately added
29 their negative feelings about their inhabitants.

30 In contrast, when residents were asked how they feel about the photos of
31 Bomonti Tekfen and Extensa Bomonti Apartments, they gave very positive
32 answers.
33



Figure 5. Bomonti Tekfen Apartments

Source: Tekfen Gayrimenkul Web Site. [Accessed 19 June 2020]



Figure 6. Extensa Bomonti Apartment

“Peaceful and calm.” (For Extensa Bomonti)

“It has a clean look.” (For Tekfen)

“A little walking around here is good for us all.” (For Tekfen)

Extensa Bomonti Apartments are more integrated with the Bomonti area, have more green spaces, encourage pedestrian use, and lie close to socialization venues. The apartment building itself is not so tall and fits compositionally with the old Bomonti urban pattern.

Apart from aesthetics, 59 out of 61 non-luxury building residents noted that the luxury residences had made the neighborhood very expensive by increasing house prices. Consequently, older people especially found it difficult to live in Bomonti.

1 “Both the prices of houses and goods such as groceries have increased and the
2 neighborhood has become crowded.”

3 “[It has] caused unnecessary costs; made people a little alienated.”
4

5 Sandberg and Rönnblom (2016) found that the anger caused by change
6 was a feature in the relationship between planning and feelings in the Swedish
7 city of Kiruna (2016: 54). In Kiruna’s case, while no one completely rejected
8 the planned changes, they expressed their anger and anxiety in terms of their
9 fear of rising prices and changing social structure. In another study of two
10 informal settlements in Istanbul, young people especially claimed that the high
11 walls of the gated community located next to their neighborhoods made them
12 angry and unhappy (Yücel & Aksümer, 2017). Likewise, Bomonti residents
13 with negative opinions about the luxury residences emphasized that they
14 especially disagree with their new appearance, which was suddenly imposed
15 top down. Because the changes to Bomonti were not spread over many years,
16 the life of the whole neighborhood was affected suddenly, which created
17 anxiety and anger. Caldeira (1996) found that promoting the high-walled gated
18 communities in Sao Paolo ultimately increases social segregation.
19

20 21 **Memories’ Place: Confrontation Between Past and Future** 22

23 Nussbaum (2008) argues that affect can only be addressed in a historical
24 and social context. The structured interviews and advertisements for Bomonti
25 properties also expressed this historical, social context of the affective
26 atmosphere of the city. In Bomonti, memories are encountered in the residents’
27 Bomonti recipes. Some developers highlight these nostalgic symbols through
28 their advertisements. However, the main difference is that developers mostly
29 emphasize the newest elements whereas residents pay more attention to the
30 connection with the past. These two perspectives conflict. The body, in its
31 affective relations, responds by reference to its own past and the pasts of other
32 bodies (Dawney, 2013, p. 636). We can say that this generally manifests itself
33 in the same way for cities in that bodies living cities following urban
34 regeneration respond to this change by holding on to their own memories and
35 nostalgic sites of the city.
36

37 “It is attractive to me because it is the district where my childhood passed.”

38 “Its historical past and the memories of people make this place attractive.”
39

40 Dawney (2013) claims that the imagination has a very powerful effect on
41 memories so we need to realize that our memories are not stable or fixed
42 (Aksümer, 2019; Yücel Gizem, 2015). Instead, memories change over time and
43 under the influence of today’s experiences (Petiteau & Pasquier, 2001).
44 Petiteau and Pasquiers (2001) identify two different kinds of memory:
45 voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary memory changes over time whereas
46 involuntary memory stays deep in the brain until it comes to light due to an
47 encounter. To smell, to see, or to touch can immediately recall an involuntary

memory that has been retained unchanged for a long time. Here the space and the experiential side of the place are critical; when an intervention eliminates possibilities for encounters with the old city these involuntary memories may be forgotten completely.

While developers added a new face to Bomonti, they ignored its old features as a working-class neighborhood with an urban texture of low-rise buildings. Conversely, and even as a reaction to the domination of the new city life discourse, Bomonti's old inhabitants underline the city's nostalgic features. A few of the interviewees who did this also mentioned Bomonti's new face: 19 out of 65 interviewees used words like "nostalgic", "historical", and "old" alongside "innovative", "renovation", "development", "mixture of old and new" to define Bomonti.

Those who mentioned nostalgia and the modern together mostly claim that they socialize around Bomonti (17 people), like its restaurants and cafes (15 people), or like the neighbors and find them close to themselves (15 people). In short, those who see Bomonti as a mixture of nostalgia and modernity mostly feel positively about the area.

When we asked about the most attractive aspect of Bomonti, 15 out of 20 interviewees who find Bomonti both nostalgic and contemporary answered that they like its historical and old characteristics alongside its modern character:

"Besides its entertainment venues, It is very attractive that it is one of the old neighborhoods of Istanbul."

"It is attractive that it reminds of the old, has a nostalgic vibe and it is a modern city too."

On the other hand, 40 of the 61 interviewees distinguished between Bomonti's modern and nostalgic part, and only gave importance to one. Wanner (2016, p. 216) claims that the nostalgic cosmopolitan affect may indicate that the past can be the future again. In Bomonti's case, most of the people who emphasized the nostalgic aspect (16 per 21) described the new luxury residences negatively.

"It stole our sun, polluted our air, paralyzed traffic."

"I think it disrupts the nostalgic structure as it brings different socioeconomic segments together."

"It disrupts the integrity and warmth of the neighborhood and creates discrete zones."

Half of the interviewees living in Bomonti's luxury answered the question to describe Bomonti in their own words. Of these, only one mentioned the coexistence of nostalgia and the new whereas the others did not mention any historical features. This segregation between nostalgic and modern separates the new comers from the old residents and the young from the elderly.

Bomonti - Conclusion

In Bomonti, urban regeneration has caused an affective confrontation between elderly and young, between the mediatization of the city and its residents' experiences, and between old and new buildings. While the encounter with the destruction of the old is a source of grief for Bomonti's elderly inhabitants, it can be a source of joy for young and new users. News reports and advertisements try to create joy externally regarding urban regeneration. They produce a particularly important and impressive discourse, which plays an important role in the formation of this affective atmosphere, as claimed by Thrift (2008).

Previous studies have also found that the processes that transform the city, especially urban regeneration, also transform the emotional pattern, and physical and social environment in the city, which in turn creates a placeless atmosphere (Jones & Evans, 2012). New buildings and new socializing spaces also reset old relationships and create new encounters so that new relations can form in its place. The main assertion of this paper is that urban regeneration, because of sudden changes, creates confrontations of affective atmosphere. The paper also shows that life as shown through mediatization contradicts the experienced city life. Grosz (1992) claims that bodies and cities are incomplete structures; they co-create and can only work together. Bomonti's representations are a significant affective force, shaped by luxury residences, newly opened cafes, a historic texture with old buildings, entertainment venues, and many other components. Whereas the media presents these affective forces in terms of various lifestyles, Bomonti's residents and users experience this process as different intensities of feelings. While advertisements for these projects mostly claim that city center life is prestigious, they offer a life confined within the building or site, with exclusive services for the residents. These branded projects have a differentiated appearance, detached from the past, and only establishing relations with Bomonti Ada and the new cafes around it. The effort to make each project unique disconnects them from each other, from old residents and from the whole city. Most of Bomonti's luxury residences offer a closed-circuit life within the site or building suitable for a suburban life-style. Consequently, the neighborhood is no longer perceived as a whole; rather, each project has its own separate image. Nevertheless, the arrival of these luxury residents has enabled many new encounters. The inhabitants' affective connections to Bomonti are more crucial. This paper shows that these connections do not follow the developers' expectations. The developers' mediatization machine cuts the desiring flows and tries to lock them inside the walls of the new housing projects. Nevertheless, both old residents and luxury home inhabitants mention their surroundings, not only their buildings.

While the interviewees' responses did not differ significantly by gender, there were some age-related differences. Unsurprisingly, young people immediately like the fun side of Bomonti, which demonstrates one of the dramatic effects of regeneration, namely attracting young people to the site and

changing the inhabitants' demographic profile. This change has reset all the embedded affective connections in Bomonti.

For Massumi (2002), affect is also an assemblage through the transpersonal or prepersonal intensities that emerge as bodies influence one another. In the production and reproduction of space, memories carrying the traces of earlier affective atmospheres play a significant role. Bomonti's old habitants also react to the urban regeneration by holding on to their previous experiences of the area.

The confrontation between past and present creates an emotional pattern that includes fear and anxiety, especially for old Bomonti residents. These attitudes against urban transformation are similar to earlier findings in the literature (Sandberg & Rönblom, 2016).

The most important finding of this study is that the urban regeneration, which is only created through the cooperation of the state and developers, and is polished by the media, ignore's the people's affective connections. Here, it is important to return to the discussion of McGaw and Vance (2008), who claim that the built environment and the people can have meaning together. In Bomonti's case, cutting off existing affective connections and capturing new bodies can create affective atmospheres that include bad encounters or sadness, in a Spinozist way. Bad encounters or sadness can damage the sentiment of belonging and being a part of that community. Even worse, it can increase anxiety and fear of other inhabitants, which risks causing social segregation.

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