



Class and space: Residential differentiation in industrial city Karabük

Beyza ONUR¹, ORCID: 0000-0001-8246-9571

Abstract

As a result of the industrialization struggles in the Republican period, the Karabük Iron and Steel Factory was established in 1937, and new areas were planned for factory employees of different social statuses. This article investigates the effects of social class on spatial formation in Karabük, an industrial city in Turkey. The article discusses the reflection of class positions and stratification on space by referencing David Harvey's theory of "class structure and residential differentiation." In addition to the theoretical perspective, the spaces of the working class, middle class, and upper-middle-class in Karabük were investigated in the study that included archival research. When the positions and architectural qualities of the structures in settlements where the working class, middle class, and upper-middle-class were located were examined, it was observed that the space was organized depending on the social class hierarchy. Accordingly, the spatial inequalities and divisions brought by the capital system also determined the hierarchy of the urban structure. Residential differentiation, which is not a product of the self-preferences of individuals, was formed as a result of production relations that led to changes in urban space, and different groups of classes experienced differentiation in the possibilities of access to resources. In this respect, urban space production is related to the class issue.

Highlights

- Social class differences are an important factor that shapes urban space.
- Residential differentiation is produced by forces arising from the capitalist production process.
- Residential differentiation occurs when different class groups experience differentiation in their access to social resources.

Keywords

Urban space; Urban theory; Social classes; Residential differentiation

Article Information

Received:

14.12.2021

Received in Revised Form:

22.06.2022

Accepted:

07.09.2022

Available Online:

30.01.2023

Article Category

Research Article

Contact

1. Faculty of Architecture, Karabük University, Karabük, Türkiye

beyzaonur@karabuk.edu.tr



Sınıf ve mekan: Endüstri kenti Karabük'te mekansal farklılaşma

Bezya ONUR¹, ORCID: 0000-0001-8246-9571

Öz

Cumhuriyet dönemindeki sanayileşme mücadelelerinin sonucu olarak 1937 yılında Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikası kurulmuş ve fabrikanın farklı sosyal statülerdeki çalışanları için yeni alanlar planlanmıştır. Bu makale, Türkiye'de bir sanayi kenti olan Karabük'te sosyal sınıfların mekansal oluşum üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Makale, sınıfsal konumların ve tabakalaşmanın mekâna yansımaları, David Harvey'in "sınıfsal yapı ve mekansal farklılaşma" teorisine referansla tartışmaktadır. Çalışmada, teorik perspektifin yanında, arşiv araştırmalarından yararlanılmıştır ve Karabük'te işçi, orta ve üst orta sınıfın mekânları incelenmiştir. İşçi, orta ve üst-orta sınıf için üretilen yapıların konumları ve mimari nitelikleri değerlendirildiğinde mekânın, sosyal sınıf hiyerarşisine bağlı olarak örgütlendiği gözlemlenmiştir. Kapital sistemin getirdiği mekansal eşitsizlik ve ayrılmalar, kentsel yapının hiyerarşisini de belirlemiştir. Bireylerin kendiliğinden tercihlerinin bir ürünü olmayan mekansal ayrışma, üretim ilişkilerinin kentsel mekânda değişime yol açmasıyla ve sınıfsal grupların kaynaklara erişim olanaklarında farklılaşma yaşamasıyla oluşmuştur. Bu yönüyle kentsel mekânın üretimi sınıf meselesiyle doğrudan ilişkilidir.

Öne Çıkanlar

- Sosyal sınıf farklılıkları, kentsel mekanı şekillendiren önemli bir faktördür.
- Mekansal farklılaşma, kapitalist üretim sürecinden kaynaklanan güçler tarafından üretilir.
- Mekansal farklılaşma, farklı sınıfsal grupların sosyal kaynaklara erişimlerinde farklılaşma yaşamasıyla ortaya çıkar.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Kentsel mekan; Kent teorisi; Sosyal sınıflar; Mekansal farklılaşma

Makale Bilgileri

Alındı:

14.12.2021

Revizyon Kabul Tarihi:

22.06.2022

Kabul Edildi:

07.09.2022

Erişilebilir:

30.01.2023

Makale Kategorisi

Araştırma Makalesi

İletişim

1. Mimarlık Fakültesi, Karabük Üniversitesi, Karabük, Türkiye

beyzaonur@karabuk.edu.tr

INTRODUCTION

After the 19th century, the social structure also transformed with changes in production relations. Accordingly, discussing new class positions within the social structure is possible. Especially at the end of the 19th century, the concept of class appears as a stratification style. When defining the concept of social class, it is necessary not to perceive it as a categorical formation. While social classes form the social structure, groups' space is limited by a narrower framework. In social classes, different classes do not need to know each other. As a result, social classes show disorganization in space (İnce, 2017, p. 296). On the other hand, social inequality, one of the determining factors in social relations, refers to the state of inequality in terms of gender, capital, class, status, reputation, and educational status in society (Marshall, 1999; İnce, 2017, p. 296).

In this context, the situation of social inequality also brings differentiation within the same space. In urban spaces, differentiation is often experienced in the context of status. For example, the distribution of professional occupation categories qualified as blue-collar and white-collar workers in space reveals a residential differentiation (Massey et al., 2009, p. 78). Due to residential differentiation, resources cannot be distributed evenly in urban areas, leading to a differentiated socio-economic structure in the urban area. In cities where socio-economic characteristics differentiate, social status, professional and cultural characteristics, lifestyles, and income level cause individuals to be positioned in different areas of the urban area, and these socio-economic differences shape the space.

Regarding this view, David Harvey's theory of class structure and residential differentiation is significant. Before introducing the theory, Harvey mentions three factors that cause social differentiation. These are the main factors based on the power relationship between capital and labor, division of labor, specialization, consumption patterns, and lifestyle and social relations established in the previous mode of production. According to the theory, residential differentiation is produced by forces arising from the capitalist production process. This differentiation process is not the choice of individuals. Spatial units are social interaction environments that significantly affect individuals' values, consumption practices, and consciousness. Residential differentiation is a complementary effect within the processes in which class relations and social differentiations are produced (Harvey, 1992; Duru & Alkan, 2002, p. 161).

Based on Harvey's theory, this article aimed to establish its originality by re-reading the Yenışehir district via a specific theory. So the aim of this article, based on such a perspective, is to analyze how the different class positions that became evident with industrialization in Karabük in the first

half of the 20th century shaped the urban space and what kind of differentiation these classes created in the urban space. For this article, it is important to analyze the spaces belonging to different social classes in the context of their location and architectural qualities. Thus, to perform this analysis, housing and social structures belonging to the middle class, upper-middle class and working-class settled in Yenişehir and Ergenekon districts in Karabük were examined through archival data. The KIFS archive was scanned for primary archive data. In addition, a literature review was conducted by examining the studies of Çabuk (2017), Kaya (2011), Özkan-Altınöz (2016), and Öktem (2004). They studied the industrialization process and spatial development of the city of Karabük. And the relationship of residences, which are basic living spaces, with social structures was also studied. The space-society relationship in the Yenişehir region, which was chosen as the case location, was examined in the context of Harvey's theory for this aim. In order to analyze this process, it is important to determine the housing areas, social facilities, architectural qualities of the houses, and access of the houses to the social areas in the Yenişehir district that belong to different class groups. For this reason, the analysis strategy of the study is to examine the relationship of the working class, middle class and upper-middle class with these areas by marking the locations of educational buildings (iron and steel primary school, primary school of Yenişehir, iron and steel middle school, high school of trade, officers' club, engineers' club, cinema of Yenişehir, social building, garden with pool and stadium in the area.

When the historical background that guides the spatial development of the industrial city of Karabük is examined, it is evident that the Iron and Steel factory is the most important factor. The early twentieth century witnessed many large-scale industrial projects in Turkey. These industrial projects were not only established as industrial buildings but also designed as places of application of Turkey's modernization ideology (Asiliskender, 2009, p. 112). In fact, the new Republic considers factories a holistic social engineering and social formation tool beyond just a production unit. Industrialization, one of the founding elements of modern Turkey, has been used to organize society while transforming and differentiating it (Kahraman, 2004; Durukan Kopuz, 2018, p. 35).

The iron-steel factories of Karabük were seen as a key development in the country's move toward industrialization. Thus, the agreement for the Karabük investment was signed between Sümerbank and the English Brassert company in 1936. The agreement to establish the factory also created expectations about constructing of new residential areas (Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 364). While the factory was built in Karabük in 1937, Sümerbank embarked on a major zoning movement. The main reference in this zoning movement was the Yenişehir Plan, which was prepared in 1938. The district, called "Yenişehir" and designed by architect-urban planner Henri Prost, is the model that the British call "Garden City." This universal approach was also utilized in planning other Sümerbank factory campuses. Within the garden city concept produced by Prost in the first half of the 20th century, residential areas and other social living spaces were planned for the working class, middle class, and upper-middle class (Çabuk, 2017, p. 74). Özkan (2015) also discusses establishing a social class hierarchy in the Yenişehir district. There is a plan in Yenişehir, developed by French planner Henry Prost, in which social stratification is deepened, and employees own houses based on their social position.

According to Cengizkan (2000), housing types based on status, with diverse lifestyle origins, class, and layer expressions, such as worker's house, boss's house, officer's house, and manager's house,

have been the focus of architectural design processes in every period of industrialization. According to Özkan Altınöz (2016, pp. 366-367), the Yenışehir district provided socially and spatially separated areas to its inhabitants, whereby each employee's living quarters were organized according to socially determined setting rules. Notably, the social infrastructure was intended to keep different classes of people within their social groups. Each class can be seen to have possessed its unique infrastructure. Sometimes, members of a particular class were prohibited from trespassing in areas belonging to other classes by restrictive membership regulations. This social segregation was particularly effective in the various social clubs, which were critical to the development of social life in Karabük. The earliest ones were designed following the hierarchical employee status arrangement. In other words, this construction indicates that social stratification has started to dissolve in the urban setting.

The subject of social segregation in the Yenışehir district, which Çabuk and Özkan also emphasized, has been the subject of this article. However, this article examines this author's observations regarding Harvey's theory and aims to re-read the city via this theory. In the light of the theoretical inferences mentioned above, research will be carried out to examine the industrial city of Karabük. In this research, the industrial city of Karabük was investigated in light of the above-mentioned theoretical assumptions. As a result of these investigations, it was seen that the segregation and differentiation experienced in urban space had a class aspect. These segregations are a condition that has been created outside of individuals' preferences. In this aspect, urban space maintains its quality of being class and political.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Spatial inequalities brought by capitalism also determine the hierarchy of urban structures (Akgün, 2014). Therefore, it is possible to mention many theories in the context of the relationship between class and space. One of the most important of these is David Harvey's theory of class structure and residential differentiation. In this study, the reflection of class positions and space stratification is discussed regarding Harvey's theory. However, first of all, the theories in class are discussed by referring to the literature.

Theories on Social Classes

In the sociology studies of the last century, the subjects of class and social stratification occupied an important place. The class subject, which constitutes one of the most important areas of discussion in the science of sociology, can be considered a "place" or "hierarchical relationships" held within the social structure (Onur, 2017). Instead of thinking class, one of the concepts used to explain a situation of inequality, as a 'category,' it is necessary to treat it as the social role a person has and the socio-political relationships built-in in everyday life. Classes are the basis of social inequalities and discriminations, and class differences built on these inequalities and discriminations are relationships reproduced within social processes (Alpman, 2019, p. 381). The concept of class has been used to characterize social groupings or hierarchies among people. This usage is especially noted as a concept that qualifies the working class (Calvert, 1982; Öngen, 1994, pp. 55-58). The arrangement of the space in which communities live is also built according to a system based on a

hierarchy. Therefore, in the following stages of the study, the concept of the class will be examined first in the literature, and then how space is shaped, segregated, and differentiated depending on the class structure will be conveyed.

The use of the class concept in the traditional sense arises in two ways (Akbaş, 2011). These two uses become concrete in Marx and Weber's theories of class. "Class" is the basis of social analysis in Marx's theory, while it constitutes the views of social differentiation and stratification in Weber's theory. Marx and Weber's class theories constitute classical theories, and thus the class theories produced in the current sociological literature are based on these theories (Edgel, 1998, p. 81). According to Marx, who points out that class relations are at the root of social differentiation, the defining phenomenon of classification is the relations of production. In other words, the main determinant of class relations is the material production system. Classes exist within the social production system as those who have the means of production and those who do not. The concept of proletariat, the class of laborers, who have to sell their labor force for a living since they have no means of production, is meant (Marx & Engels, 1976).

One of the most important criticisms of Marx's social analysis belongs to Weber. Compared to the concepts used by Marx, Weber has a very different paradigm. In Weber's theory, the concept of class has two determinants: these are classes based on ownership and classes formed depending on status differences. According to Weber, what constitutes class relations is market relations. The basis of this grouping is "status" (Margin, 1987; Akbaş, 2011). During the post-industrial period, the class positions of the segment formed by groups such as engineers, lawyers, and psychologists called "staff" were controversial. In post-industrial societies, the source of debates related to the middle classes, whose existence was undeniable, was actually based on the concern that the contradiction between class and status should be named. Uca (2016, p. 23) mentions two backgrounds of the middle-class formation. The first background has been formed by adapting people not working in manual labor to the capitalist system. Those people develop their cultural and social capital but do not own the means of production in a changing form of production. Instead, they know the changing value of the merchandise and are masters of market relations. The second background that makes up the middle class is those who know the working class closely, have an influence on them, and help the capital owner regulate the forces of production. With the development of machine technology, labor has become a part of the machine. Despite the struggle of the working class to protect its labor, mechanization has continued; the desire to produce more efficient machines, on the other hand, has enabled professions such as technicians and engineering that could repair and maintain to gain importance.

According to Poulantzas, political and ideological relations are also structural determinants of class (Akbaş, 2011). Poulantzas states that the distinction between brain and manual labor differentiates roles in social position. The distinction between brain and manual labor represents an ideological distinction (Poulantzas, 1976). Poulantzas indicated that the new petty bourgeoisie is not of the working class. Furthermore, in the context of the productive labor/non-productive labor criterion, Poulantzas questions the relationship of the new petty bourgeoisie with the working class, characterized by brain labor, especially within engineering and technicians. On the other hand, Wright, who developed a Weberian analysis along with Marxism, mentions an approach based on the concept of exploitation. Wright's most important concept that can be associated with the topic

of the middle class is the concept of "contradictory class locations." This concept was created to show contradictory positions in class relations. For example, in capitalist production, the group of auditors and managers have adapted to the production relationships of the capitalist domination to a point, and these are authorized persons (Wright, 2014, p. 61).

Also, the term "precariat," which has a current place in social class theories, is used by Guy Standing. While defining the precariat, Standing (2011, p. 8) can be argued to have attempted an analysis based on class and status with reference to Weber. Standing talks about the types of the precariat and lists them as part-citizens, temporary workers, part-time workers, contractors, call center workers, and interns. Standing (2014, p. 104) notes that there are also belts from the "middle class" to the precariat. Standing argues that the precariat is not "part of the working class or the proletariat." "The majority of workers are unionized and collectively bargained," he adds, "with established ways of promotion, parent-understandable job titles, and local employers whose names and characteristics are familiar, long-term, regular, and specific." He states that he has the impression of "a society where he works at regular hours." Likewise, Standing (2011, p. 8) points out that the precariat has none of the social-contractual relations of the proletariat. While the precariat is expressed as a new "class in the process of formation" (2014, p. 9), it is underlined that it is not a "working class or proletariat" (2014, p. 20). Precariat also responds to this need for a new language and term. While the precariat is defined as a new category that loses its proletarian role, works in precarious jobs (2014, p. 18), and is not the "working class or proletariat," it is emphasized that it should be differentiated from the working poor and precarious employment. Therefore, the precariat points to a whole new segment.

Although various theorists produce different paradigms for the concept of the middle class, the middle class represents basically a state of being an interim class because class analyses are no longer in a bipolar structure today. The middle classes, also called white collars, cannot be defined only by economic indicators. This mass of people working in the service sector increases capital by representing it, working for it, and receiving wages. In this aspect, they present a state of being in a contradictory position. Thus, the concept of the middle class emerged in 20th-century class theories. One of the determining factors for this study is the concept of the middle class, which emerged after Marxism's critiques. Also, in sociology, the upper-middle class is the social group constituted by higher status members of the middle class. This is in contrast to the term lower middle class, which is used for the group at the opposite end of the middle-class stratum, and to the broader term middle class. There is considerable debate as to how the upper middle class might be defined. According to Weber, the upper middle class consists of well-educated professionals with postgraduate degrees and comfortable incomes. The upper-middle class mostly defines those working in higher professional positions with higher incomes and social status. (Aslan, 2012). Carchedi (1977, p. 89) describes the upper-middle classes as paid managers and supervisors. It has neither economic nor legal ownership of the means of production. It fulfills the function of capital. It is the one that suppresses the capital while performing its function. On the one hand, it is on the side of the capitalist and on the other hand, it is on the side of labor. The upper-middle class consisting of managers, job security, higher wages, social conditions, etc. compared to the working class. It has advantages in terms of possibilities (Goldthorpe, 1996).

Urban Space and Harvey's Theory of Class Structure and the Residential Differentiation

Social theorist and geographer David Harvey establishes a close relationship between the development of capitalism and urbanization. In *Social Justice and the City*, where he discusses economic inequality, social justice, and urban experiences, he aims to expand the boundaries of the field covered by the discipline of geography and provide it with a scope and quality that will provide a perspective towards society. Instead of asking "what is space," this study explores how diverse human behaviors create different spatial forms and the linkages between space and social power and power relations. (Harvey, 2003, p. 83). Also, Harvey bases the city on the class struggle within the framework of capitalism. Harvey's articles about the city and its struggles are brought together in his book *Spaces of Capital* (Harvey, 2012, p. 424). Here, in a wide and connected field ranging from geography to economics and urban studies, there are important articles in which the dimensions of geography and space are added to Marxism and social theory, and the geopolitics of capitalism is examined. According to Harvey (2012), there is an inevitable relationship between accumulation processes and the built environment. And urbanization should be seen as a spatially based social process. In other words, it is a class-based process. Cities produced after the industrial revolution have become places where the segregation between social classes deepens. Capital reshapes urban spaces in line with its interests and excludes the low-income segment.

In *Rebel Cities*, in a context starting from Harvey Lefebvre and his famous "Right to the City" proposal and extending to the debates about today's cities and the city, it reaches a framework that requires the overthrow of the capitalist system with a revolutionary movement. In this work, Harvey examines the forms of struggle for the city in relation to the processes of capital accumulation in American cities since the 1980s (Harvey, 2013, pp. 174-179). The "theory of class structure and residential differentiation" produced by Harvey, following these views, is the focus of this article. According to Harvey (2002, p. 11), residential differentiation occurs because capitalist relations of production lead to changes in urban space, and social segments experience differentiation in the possibilities of access to resources. Education, health, transport, and communications are the basic public services. Inequalities experienced by various segments of the urban population in public infrastructure opportunities arise as a result of residential differentiation. Residential differentiation should be explained within the framework of the reproduction of social relations in capitalist society (i.e., by social differentiation). Residential differentiation reflects a differentiation that leads to segregation in many areas and becomes a loop. In other words, each social status unit can settle in differentiated spaces in the form of blue-collar and white-collar groups. Harvey argues that all of these are shaped by the individual's will. Harvey puts forward several assumptions to associate residential differentiation with social structure.

These assumptions are based on the continuous expansion of capital in a rapidly increasing urbanization process (Harvey, 2002, p. 14). According to Harvey's theory:

- Residential differentiation should be explained within the framework of the reproduction of social relations in capitalist society.
- Spatial units, neighborhood units, and local communities are unique social interaction environments that will significantly affect the values, expectations, consumption habits, market equipment, and states of consciousness of individuals.
- The separation of large population densities into different communities serves division of class consciousness in the Marxist sense. Thus it makes difficult the transformation from capitalism to socialism through class warfare.
- However, residential differentiation models reflect and embody many of the contradictions in capitalist societies. Consequently, the processes that generate and maintain them are areas of instability and conflict.

With these assumptions that he has put forward, Harvey mentions a forced relationship between residential differentiation and social order. By emphasizing neighborhood units, Harvey draws attention to local communities' impact on their environment. However, there are material conditions of capital accumulation in the background of this effect. The spaces where the communities live are the spaces where the labor force suitable for the place of production is reproduced. Thus, the white-collar labor force is reproduced in a white-collar neighborhood unit, while the blue-collar labor force is reproduced in a blue-collar neighborhood unit (Kurban & Akman, 2019, p. 3268). According to Harvey's theory, the residential differentiation model is as in Figure 1.

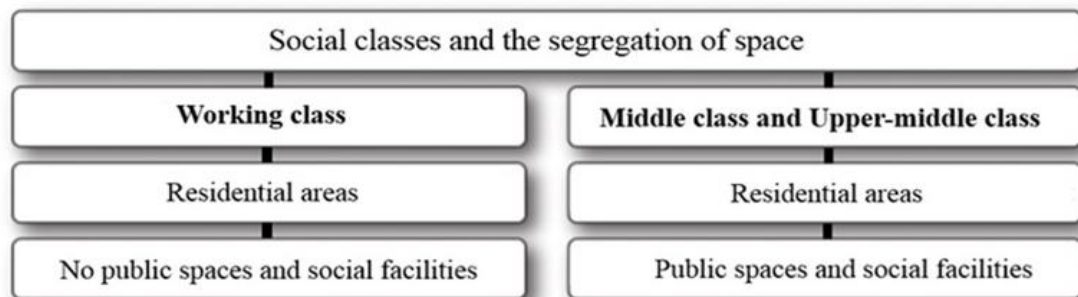


Figure 1 - Residential differentiation Model According to Harvey's Theory.

The relationships between values, consciousness, ideology, and life experience are crucial. To continue the debate at this point, Harvey emphasizes that forces outside individuals will produce preferences and choices. If residential differentiation is largely already established, individuals have to adapt their preferences to it. The market and power mechanisms destroy the chances of choice. When the power mechanism makes a decision on settlement, this situation is no longer open to choice (Harvey, 1992, p. 148). Consequently, according to Harvey, residential differentiation is produced by powers from the capitalist production process; it should not be perceived as the product of people's autonomous and spontaneous preferences. Therefore, instead of seeing residential differentiation as a system of preferences formed based on social relations, we need to perceive it as a process in which social differentiation is produced and maintained.

Although this article is re-reading the urban space through Harvey's theory, it should be reminded of the theoretical contribution of Engels' *Housing Problem* on the urban space. Engels makes a historical and theoretical contribution to class politics in a wide space by approaching the problems of regional equality, environment, and urbanization not as a contradiction between capitalist society and nature-derived from abstract intellectual determinations but as the real contradiction inherent in a capitalist society, the contradiction of labor and capital, and social classes. In the *Housing Problem*, Engels states that there is almost no housing shortage in cities established as industrial cities from the beginning. Undoubtedly, what is meant here is not that the real housing problem of the working class is not experienced in such cities but that no remarkable concrete debate on the housing problem has come to light in these cities. Or on the contrary, just as labor exploitation is normalized in a concrete place where the housing deficit has become evident, under the dominance of political processes, the real housing problem of the working class, which is at the level of a general law of capitalism, is rendered invisible as if it were normal, and interest, despite all its temporariness, is a certain housing deficit, or it can be focused on the housing deficit of the bourgeoisie.

In light of this theoretical assessment in the context of class structure and residential differentiation, a brief history of Turkey will be mentioned first in this article. Then, in the Karabük-Yenişehir region, an assessment of how urban space has been produced and differentiated based on the class structure fed by economic, cultural, and symbolic indicators will be conducted.

KARABÜK AND PLANNING RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Karabük was considered important for this study in the context of being an industrial city that reflects the development policies of the Republican period in Turkey. Moreover, especially Yenişehir and Ergenekon districts, which are specially planned for factory staff, constitute the case study of this article. Thus, in this chapter, a theoretical reading of these areas will be made in the context of Harvey's urban theory mentioned above.

The Emergence of Industrialization and Hierarchical Differentiation of Space in Karabük

In the early twentieth century, Turkey's Republican rule inherited an economy that depended mostly on agriculture rather than industry (Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 363). As a result, many institutions have sprung up to help with industrialization. The Turkish Industry Credit Bank was established to assist in the financing of government-owned and operated industrial undertakings. The Industry and Mine Bank was established to fund the organizational capacity of the two key sectors of the economy; the Government Industrial Office was tasked with activating industrial investment policy, and the Government Industrial Office was tasked with activating industrial investment policy. (Tuna, 2009; Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 364). The management and investment strategies were then integrated to establish heavy industry in the country. Sümerbank was founded to establish iron-steel mills. Their feasibility analysis for investment in the Karabük area discovered that it was far from coal reserves and steel beds, resulting in higher production costs. However, their evaluation had to consider broader strategic and military goals, making it a suitable location for such an investment. In 1936, Sümerbank and the English Brassert business linked a deal for

the Karabük venture. On 3 April 1937, the president laid the foundation for the factories to be built and installed by a British business. (Tümertekin, 1954; Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 364).

The agreement for the factories' construction also raised anticipation for developing new residential zones and cities. Dr. Martin Wagner, a German architect, predicted that new cities, such as Karabük, would arise from these industrial districts and that the Sümerbank Karabük Iron–Steel Factories would raise hopes for the construction of modern city houses in the vicinity. Even after the establishment of Karabük's municipality in 1938, Sümerbank's requirements remained to shape significant developments in the city (Fındıkoğlu, 1962). It was not easy to establish such a large-scale industry. The iron–Sümerbank operated steel factories, but the permanent staff was difficult to come by due to worker concerns about workplace safety and conditions. The industries' administration was frequently troubled by this issue; therefore, Sümerbank was urged to write to the Turkish Ministry of Justice regarding the idea of creating a prison in the area to supply factory workers. However, this system of solitary confinement was not a practical option. Sümerbank wanted a permanent team that was well-trained. As a result, it was decided that their incomes would be increased in tandem with improving their living conditions. Sümerbank commissioned Henry Prost, a French urban planner, to design a new community known as 'Yenişehir/New City' in 1939 (Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 364).

In 1940, 3096 workers, 220 officers, and 26 engineers were registered in the factory. In response to the resulting housing problem, it was decided that Sümerbank create a modern campus for workers, artisans, officers, engineers, and managers who would work within the factory. Sümerbank had the famous French architect-urban planner Henri Prost make the plan of this settlement, called “Yenişehir”, in 1938 (Eröz, 1962; Çabuk et al., 2016, pp. 23-24). Like other Sümerbank factory settlements, many public buildings have been built in the Yenişehir settlement and housing areas (Çabuk, 2017). However, when the designs of the houses and public buildings built for factory employees and their locations on campus are examined, it is clear that the employees' status positions have been considered. As a result, designing the space based on the status differences of the factory employees revealed a two-zone structure in Karabük. As a result, different housing types were created for workers in the Ergenekon district of the city and managers, engineers, civil servants, and workers in the Yenişehir district (Figure 2).



Figure 2 - a) Yenişehir District b) Ergenekon District c) Factory Area (Google Earth, 2021).

The whole campus was planned as two zones by Henri Prost. However, while the Yenişehir district was declared an urban protected area in 1996, the Ergenekon district was excluded from the scope. As a result, a conservation development plan was prepared only for the Yenişehir district, and the Ergenekon district was excluded from the scope of protection. (Çabuk, 2017, p. 82). The residents of the Yenişehir district were segregated into socially and physically divided regions, with each employee's living quarters organized according to socially decided rules. Various groups of workers were lodged here, depending on their employment status. Sümerbank's power in the planning procedures, led by Sümerbank members of staff, was responsible for the hierarchical formation of Karabük at the time (Sümerbank, 1944). The management of the iron–steel companies in the city's core district, Yenişehir, took special care to ensure a stable workforce. Perceptions of the population's social demands in a modern industrial setting were among the factors considered. Hospitals, schools, movies, and different social clubs were all part of their objectives. These sophisticated amenities allowed residents to socialize and spend their leisure time. Different work groups were also assigned their own social gathering areas. The city's second urban section was built alongside the Yenişehir district. The factory supervisors and their families were the target audience for this development. This section's architectural layout was created in the 'siedlung' or 'cite jardin' style, as was the case with all of Karabük's early dwellings (Kessler, 1949; Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 366).

Various housing developments were added throughout time after the building began in the 1940s, as seen by the physical differences between the residences built at different times. The city's third portion was set aside for general laborers, whose salaries were lower than those of the other workers. This part of town was closer to the industrial zone (Fig.2). 'Yüz Evler' and 'Dere Evler' were designed as blocks of residences in this third area. The siedlung construction principles were also followed in constructing these blocks (Togay, 1959). On the other hand, the gardens were constructed and laid out to allow for small agricultural operations, which satisfied the workers' families, who had mostly come to the city and were accustomed to country life. On the other hand, the blocks' placement was discovered to hinder workers' family privacy. The concept of a garden city, known as siedlung, emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and was given that term by Ebenezer Howard in 1898. His urban idea included green belts and was intended to house 30,000 people. The fundamental goal of the garden city concept was to relieve urban overpopulation and pollution, which were prominent in industrial towns at the time (Oktay, 2012; Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 366). Yenişehir district, as a twentieth-century settlement, followed the same romantic and contemporary route. While interest in nature suggested a continuation of romantic recognition, the building was on the verge of becoming modernist. Siedlung became an architectural language for any modern, urban context in Karabük's case, as it did in many other similar examples in Turkey (Akcan, 2005; Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 367).

In addition, those who lived in the Yenisehir district were also located in different places, depending on their status. The factory administration was compelled to begin intense building activities due to the strategic initiatives to attract a permanent workforce to the industrial zone. It's also worth noting that the social infrastructure was designed to retain people in their respective social groups. Each group appears to have had its particular infrastructure, and members of one group were sometimes prevented from trespassing in regions that belonged to other organizations due to tight

membership rules. This social division was especially effective at Karabük's different social clubs, which were vital to the city's social growth. The first ones were built following the hierarchical employee level system; however, as populist policies became more prevalent in the next era, the spatial organization of social infrastructure changed with time. Planners aimed to meet the community's demand to interact with one another across pre-determined segregations when social boundaries blurred. The Worker's Club, established after the 1960s in the heart of Yenışehir District, is a significant example of how the built environment of Yenışehir began to lose the earlier ideals of modern urban planning. In other words, this structure implies that socio-economic stratification in the city had begun to dissipate (Özkan Altınöz, 2016, p. 367).

Housing Areas

The first housing group designed for workers in the Ergenekon district was "Yüzevler." This housing group, which was completed in 1942 and consisted of 190 houses, is single-story and in a row house layout. Some have two floors, and the kitchen unit in these houses is located in the basement. The gardens of the houses were created as an area where workers could continue their traditional habits. Dereevler constitutes other worker houses built after Yüzevler. It is located to the east of the Yenışehir district. They are in a row housing type consisting of ten rows and 163 houses with small gardens. These houses, built in 1945, are single-story and two-room (Kaya, 2011, p. 58). Another example of worker houses in the Ergenekon district is the workers' pavilions. It is one of the first examples of buildings produced in the city together with the factory (Öktem, 2004). The interiors of the workers' pavilions, placed as one-story thin and tall units, were designed so families could live later. All these housings, designed for the worker class, were built with the masonry system (Figure 3).

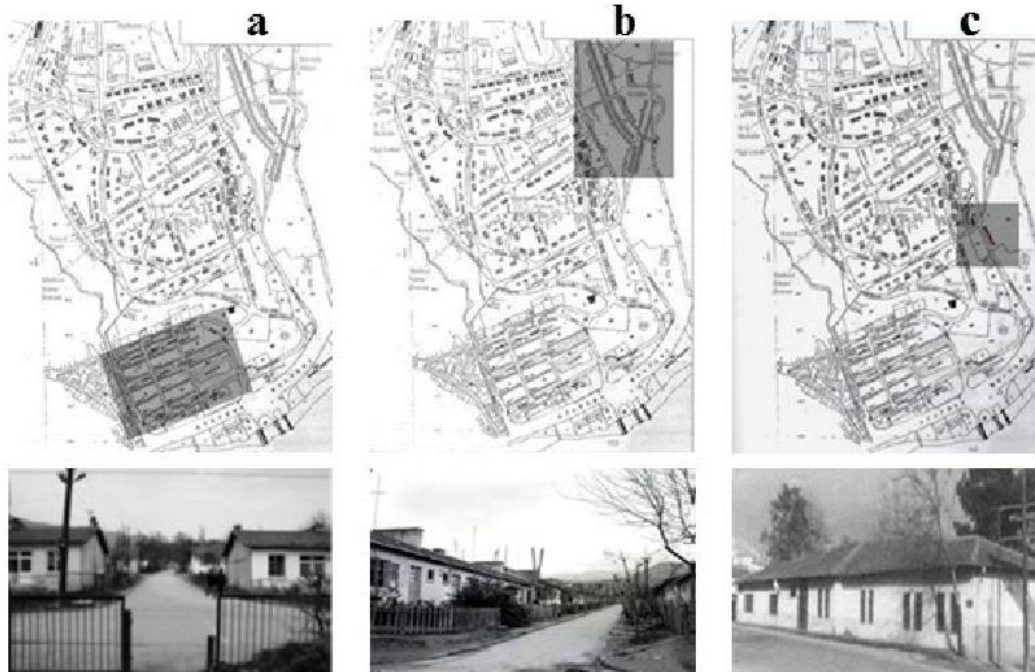


Figure 3 - KISF Worker Houses and Settlements; a) Yüzevler; b) Dereevler; c) Worker Pavilions (Kaya, 2011).

Yenişehir district, the modern face of the city, is a privileged area designed for the factory's managers, officers, and engineers. In this area, there are 3 manager houses, 13 engineer houses, 73 Çamlık houses for senior workers, 20 officer and senior officer houses. In the district, which was at a higher elevation than the Ergenekon district, cinema, clubs, and taverns where employees could continue their social lives were built in addition to houses. Çamlık houses were built for senior workers in the Çamlık area of the Yenisehir district. These houses are the first worker houses built in Yenisehir. Çamlık houses are one-story and consist of 73 blocks. Each block has two houses, and each is 115 m² in size (Çabuk, 2017, p. 85). Some of the Çamlık houses were also designed as twin or row houses consisting of four units. The Bachelor lodgings for engineers, designed by architect Münici Tangör, one of the well-known architects of the period, are located next to the social facilities in the settlement. Münici Tangör, one of the architects of the Republican period, made important contributions to the efforts to create a modern city in Karabük from 1953 to 1963 (Özkan, 2010). The bachelor lodgings do not have kitchens, and food needs are met from the social building. Bachelor lodgings were built with reinforced concrete system and have central heating (Kaya, 2011, p. 66) (Figure 4).

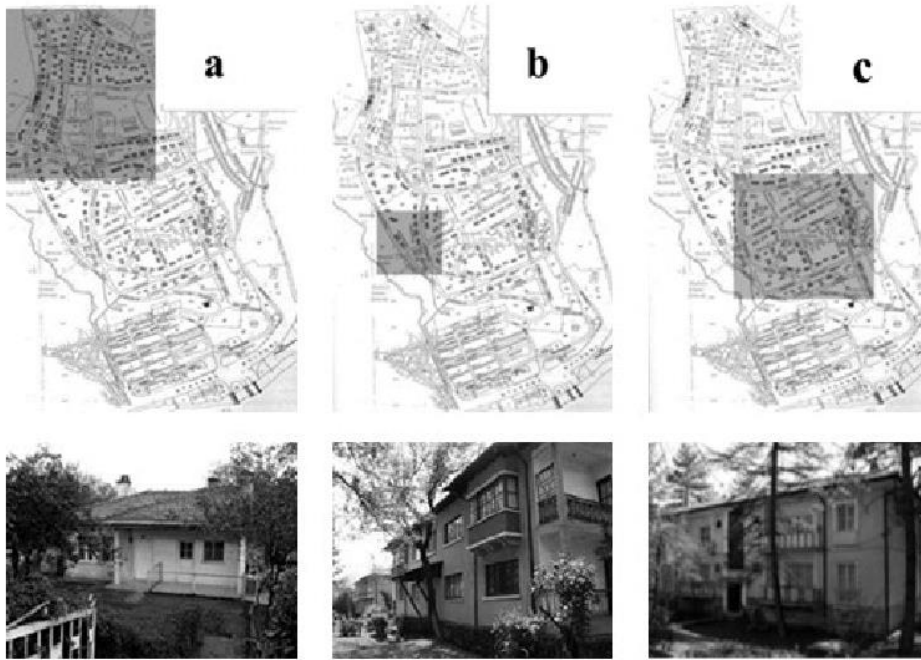


Figure 4 - Middle Class Settlements and Housing Types; a) Çamlık Houses for senior workers b) Bachelor Lodgings for engineers c) Officer Houses (Kaya, 2011).

Another building group designed for senior officers in the Yenisehir district is Kübana houses. These houses, whose architect was Münici Tangör, are the highest floored buildings in the settlement. Kübana houses have four floors and eight apartments. On the facades of Kübana houses, the stairwell is highlighted by vertical lines. There are balconies and windows along the front facade. Balcony parapets and floorings create a horizontal linear effect, while the windows and concrete elements in the stairwell on the facade create a vertical effect (Onur, 2021, p. 672). The structure was built with a modernist approach with both facade and plan solutions. Since

Kübana houses were designed for senior officers in a sense, they are a significant example that confirms the social status-housing relationship (Figure 5). The manager houses, which are 13 in Yenisehir district, are two-story and have a reinforced concrete bearing system. They are located near the area where social and cultural equipment is more in the Yenisehir district. Entrance to the houses is provided by a verandah located on the front facade, and they have central heating. These houses, built in 1939, are cubic structures where the principles of modernism were applied. Finally, the design of general manager houses built for senior managers is similar to that of manager houses. General manager houses, which are 3 in total, are cubic structure examples with garden house typology shaped by modern design principles like other types of manager houses (Figure 5).

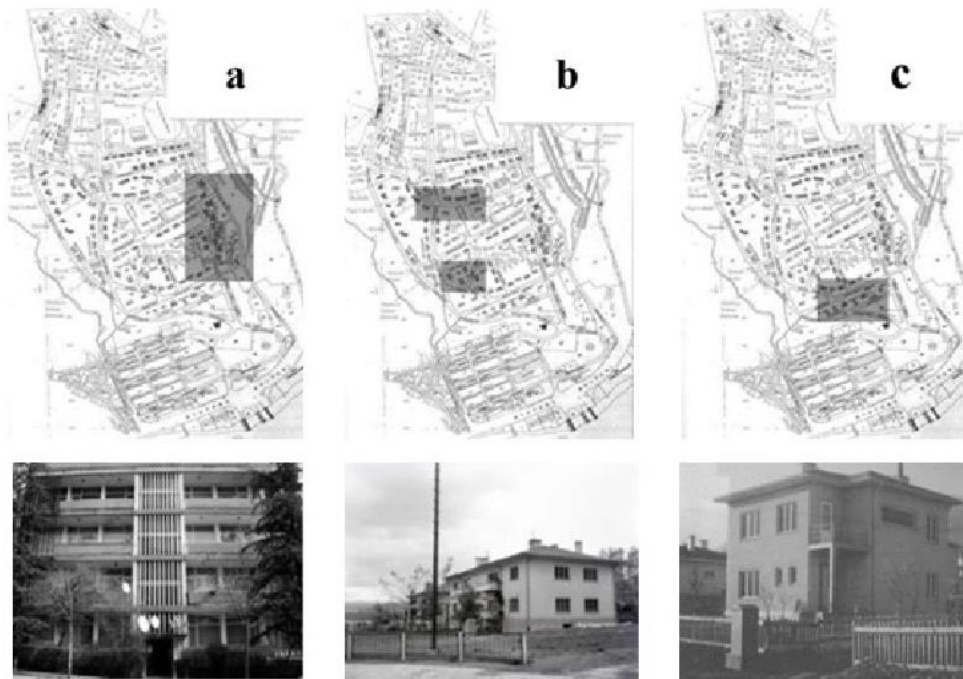


Figure 5 - Upper-middle Class Settlements and Housing Types; a) Kübana Houses for senior officers b) Manager Houses c) General Manager Houses for senior managers (Kaya, 2011).

Public Spaces

Sümerbank has also been involved in zoning efforts for Turkey's social development, in addition to the creation of industrial enterprises. In this context, urbanization operations were carried out in the early years of the factory's inception due to the necessity for housing for employees, and the building of parks, gardens, sports fields, and a bazaar, in addition to single-story and garden houses, was planned (Kütükçüoğlu, 2010). Kardemir (Kardemir Iron and Steel Factory-KISF) has provided various supports and facilities in the fields of health, recreation, village development, religion, and entertainment for its employees and the Karabük people (Karakök, 2010).

In addition to housing in the Yenisehir district, social reinforcement applications have also been made to meet employees' social needs. For this reason, public buildings such as hospitals, schools, cinemas, and clubs belonging to various professional groups have been built over time (Özkan & Çabuk, 2010, p. 361). Significant transformations have occurred in the socio-cultural life of the city

thanks to cinema of Yenişehir, engineers' club, officials' club, sports area as garden with pool, social building, wide roads, and parks (Karakök, 2010) (Figure 6).



Figure 6 - Public Spaces in Yenişehir (adjusted from KISF archive).

As in Figure 1, which visualizes Harvey's theory, no public facilities were planned for the working class. In Yenişehir, different club structures were built for officers and engineers working in the factory. These clubs are places where factory staff can perform their social activities. These clubs have also held various celebrations (Kaştan & Demirci, 2010). These clubs, created for employees, have differed by the status of employees. The Yenisehir district has club structures for three different types of staff. These are the "Officers Club," the "Engineers Club," and the "Workers Club" (Figure 7). However, the Workers Club was built in a later period. The Officers Club was the first club that was built. It was started to be used in 1940. The Engineers Club was built in 1950 as a single-story building. The Workers Club was built in 1967 as a two-story reinforced concrete structure. It was built for workers' wedding events and as a daily entertainment space. With their architectural qualities and spatial contexts, club structures in Yenisehir are an indicator of labor stratification and a representative of status differences (Çabuk, 2017, p. 86). In Karabuk, the main entertainment places of the city have been open-air and indoor cinemas for a long time. There are three indoor cinemas, including the Yenisehir cinema, which has excellent acoustics and is located

in the Yenişehir district. The building was designed not only to be used as a cinema but also to host theater and opera performances. Yenişehir Cinema was designed to meet the needs of wealthy families living in Yenişehir. It is one of the important heritage structures of Karabük Yenişehir Campus, as a structure that has been carefully considered from its planning to the selection of materials (Özkan, 2015, p. 89) (see Fig. 7).

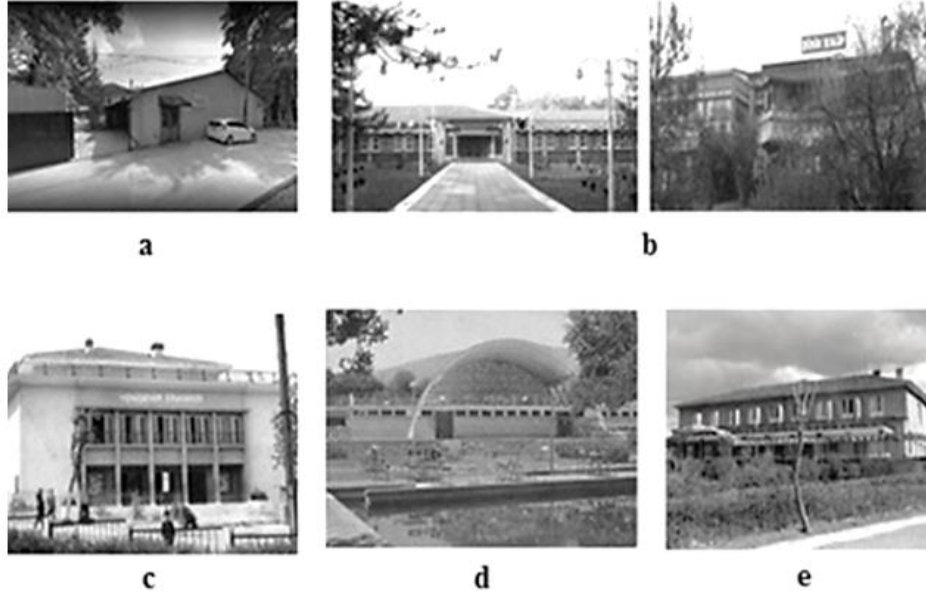


Figure 7 - Clubs and Social Buildings in Yenişehir; a) Club of Officers b) Club of Engineers c) Cinema of Yenişehir d) Garden with Pool e) Social Building (Kaya, 2011).

In addition, the swimming pool, which also serves as a summer amusement place and park in Yenişehir, is one of the most important entertainment places in the city. The swimming pool provides the opportunity to learn swimming for factory employees and the public. The pool was also used as a cafe during summer and for different social activities (Kaya, 2011, p. 76). In addition, in 1958, the Social Building was built as a restaurant, cafeteria, and guest house in the Yenişehir district. It was intended to serve mainly senior guests and bachelor staff. The garden with a pool (see Fig. 7), designed by architect Münci Tangör, was built near the cinema in the Yenişehir district in 1948. The structure is two-story. Closed spaces are observed in the basement, the structure's first floor is semi-open, and its garden is used as open space. Important celebrations and entertainment of the upper-class staff have been held here. In addition, the facility has a restaurant, bar, swimming pool, and cabins (Çabuk, 2017, p. 88).

It is seen in this place that the distinction between men and women disappeared in the early Republican period. Furthermore, the place of sport is very important in the modern society targeted by the Republic. In the 1940s, areas for sports activities were also considered in the Yenişehir region. The stadium, basketball court, and swimming pool in Yenişehir can be shown as examples of sports areas. The stadium's foundation was laid in 1957 and aimed at ensuring public socialization. Like the Yenişehir cinema and the pool garden, the Yenişehir Stadium project was also drawn by architect Münci Tangör (Kaya, 2011, p. 82). With all of these features, the Yenişehir district in Karabük, the Republic's contemporary town, is a model settlement that attracts attention in terms of spatial context and the planned formation of social life. The Yenişehir district has

become a campus representing the state's new regime, ideology, and way of life and has gained importance in achieving international standards.

FINDINGS

It was observed that in Karabük, an industrial city, urban space was transformed depending on industrialization movements. In this transformation process, the presence of social classes in the city also played a role. In parallel with industrialization, social classes became evident in the city, and the upper-middle, middle, and working classes became visible. Throughout the late 1930s, with the establishment of the iron and steel factory, migration from the countryside to the city surged, which also increased the working class in the city. Ergenekon has been where the workers' accommodation needs have been met due to its proximity to the facility. Furthermore, it was discovered that there was a problem of housing shortage. In order to solve this problem, the Yenisehir district of the city was selected, and several social reinforcement areas were constructed in the region, as well as housing. Figure 8 depicts the location of housing and social facilities in the Yenisehir district, which was planned for the middle class and upper-middle class, and the Ergenekon district, which was home to the working class.



Figure 8 - Upper-middle Class, Middle Class and Working Class Housing Areas and Social Facilities (adjusted from KISF archive).

When the housing types built for the working class in the Ergenekon district were examined, it was found that these structures were single-story with small gardens and offered only functional, simple solutions. An example of a specialized architectural design for working-class housing cannot be mentioned. The state built these houses with an understanding of collective production and a common typology. Worker houses were simply close to the factory and did not have a close relationship with other social facilities. Although they were few in number, manager houses and general manager houses, which were built for the upper-income group, were located closest to the social facilities. In addition, it was observed that the housing types built for the officers, managers, and general managers who are factory employees were positioned in the Yenisehir district, which architect Prost specially created with the garden-city planning theory. These housing types in the Yenisehir district were also positioned differently depending on the status of the employees. Houses of the middle class, represented by officials and engineers, were located on the outskirts of the Yenisehir region. In contrast, the houses of managers and general managers, which were upper-middle class, were located in the central area. These upper-middle-class houses were close to the cinema, garden with a pool, clubs, and other social facilities. In addition, it was observed that Kùbana houses, designed for the upper-middle class, formed a border between worker houses and the Yenisehir district (see Figure 8).

The fact that the Yenisehir district is at a higher elevation than the Ergenekon district indicates that area preferences were made consciously. In other words, decision-makers deliberately constructed the settlement and living areas of the upper-middle class in the Yenisehir district, which was located at a higher level than the Ergenekon district. In this sense, it is observed that urban space production is related to class issues and political situations. In the context of residential differentiation, in addition to differences in quality, such as the design and construction technique of upper-middle-class and working-class houses, it is noteworthy that the social facilities were also built in the Yenisehir district which was the campus of the upper-middle class. The working class's access to these social facilities was determined to be constrained as a result of this predicament. Due to this situation, the working class had restricted access to these social facilities. As a result, residential differentiation has made it easier for relatively privileged segments to move away from other social groups and identities that do not resemble them.

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

This article evaluated the residential differentiation practices based on class location through Karabük that is an industrial city. In order to make this evaluation, first of all, the literature examining the spatial development process and planning strategies in Karabük was examined. Then, a social settlement analysis of the region was made in the light of archival data and literature reviews of the region examined. Since the information obtained from the study was discussed with reference to a specific theory, it was desired to prove whether Harvey's class structure and residential differentiation theory could be validated for this region. According to archive data obtained from KISF, in the social settlement in Yenisehir district the middle class and upper-middle class are located close to each other and close to social spaces. It is seen that the upper-middle class is located closest to clubs, sports fields and cinemas. The working class, on the other hand, is

positioned the furthest from these social spaces but closest to the factory area. A club for the working class was built only towards the end of the 20th century.

The article, which started this evaluation depending on Harvey's theory of class structure and residential differentiation, concluded that class locations and identities are one of the primary determinants in urban space formation. As mentioned in the theory, residential differentiation has been produced by powers arising from the capitalist production process and is not a product of individuals' own preferences. Therefore, instead of being a system of preferences formed on the basis of social relations, residential differentiation has been the process in which social differentiations are produced and maintained. The practice of residential differentiation of the city was reproduced and interpreted in the context of the industrial settlement in the first half of the 20th century. In this context, the organization of space in Karabuk, an industrial city, has also been formed by economic, sociological, ideological, and political factors.

When the relationship of residential differentiation with social practices is examined, it is seen that the concepts of status, class differences, hierarchy, and privilege are predominant within the emerging concepts. Within the definition of status in the urban area, a division on the basis of professional categories has been also experienced. The distribution of professional occupation categories that are qualified as blue-collar workers and white-collar workers reveals that there is a residential differentiation. It has been determined that the separation of the upper-middle class and working class increases residential differentiation. It is understood that residential differentiation is a strategic production, and concepts associated with the economic politics of space have emerged from the spatial practical relationship. Residential differentiation exists as the practice of physical space through social practices. Residential differentiation has occurred in a nature that reflects and embodies inequality and discrimination in social areas.

In conclusion, as in Harvey's theory, spatial inequality and divisions brought by the capital system have also determined the hierarchy of the urban structure. Residential differentiation, which is not a product of the spontaneous preferences of individuals, has been formed due to the fact that capitalist production relations have led to changes in urban space and different class groups have experienced differentiation in the possibilities of access to social resources. Natural and social resources are not evenly distributed in urban areas, which has also led to a differentiated socio-economic structure and settlement in urban areas. In cities where socio-economic characteristics differ, social status, professional and cultural characteristics, lifestyle, and income level cause residents to settle in different areas of the urban area, and these socio-economic differences have shaped the space. As the study tries to express; Inequalities in the utilization of physical space opportunities by only some segments are an indicator of spatial segregation. With the existence of different social classes that occurred with the change of the mode of production, the urban space has also been transformed and there have been social segregations in the urban space. This situation has resulted in social polarization by emphasizing social class differences. In briefly, Harvey's class structure and residential differentiation theory has been verified in the case area where social and residential differentiation takes place.

LIMITATIONS

The study had limitations due to physical conditions. Only a few of the housing types are existing mentioned in the study. Therefore, the images of the houses were obtained from the archives. And the interiors of the houses could not be reached and no comparison could not been made in this regard. In this way, the limit of the study was created within the scope of the exterior architectural features of the houses, their locations and their access to social resources.

Conflict of Interest Statement | Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı

There is no conflict of interest for conducting the research and/or for the preparation of the article.

Financial Statement | Finansman Beyanı

No financial support was received for conducting the research and preparation of the article.

Ethical Statement | Etik Beyanı

The author confirms that the article ‘A Planning Examination via Class Structure and Residential Differentiation Theory: The Case of Karabük’ was written with full consideration to ethical norms.

Copyright Statement for Intellectual and Artistic Works

In the article, copyright regulations have been complied with for intellectual and artistic works (figures, photographs, graphics, etc.).

Author Contribution Statement

A. Fikir / Idea, Concept	B. Çalışma Tasarısı, Yöntemi / Study Design, Methodology	C. Literatür Taraması / Literature Review
D. Danışmanlık / Supervision	E. Malzeme, Kaynak Sağlama / Material, Resource Supply	F. Veri Toplama, İşleme / Data Collection, Processing
G. Analiz, Yorum / Analyses, Interpretation	H. Metin Yazma / Writing Text	I. Eleştirel İnceleme / Critical Review

AUTHOR 1: A/B/C/E/F/G/H

REFERENCES

- Akbaş, K. (2011). *Avukatların Sınıfsal Konumlarındaki Değişim: İstanbul Örneği* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey.
- Akcan, E. (2005). *Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth-Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture*. Columbia: Columbia University.
- Akgün, A. (2014). Ayrışma-ayrıştırma temelli mekansal pratiklerin toplumsal pratiklerle ilişkisi üzerine bir çalışma. *İdealkent*, 12(1), 28-39.
- Alpman, P. (2019). Mekân, kimlik, sınıf: farklar neden bir arada barınamazlar?. *İdealkent*, 26(10), 373-401.
- Asiliskender, B. (2009). *Anadolu'da "Modern" Bir Yaşam Kurmak: Sümerbank Kayseri Bez Fabrikası ve Lojmanları*, Fabrika'da Barınmak, Der. A. Cengizkan, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.
- Aslan, Z. (2012). Geçmişten bugüne eleştirel bir orta sınıf değerlendirmesi, *Toplum ve Demokrasi*, (6), 55-92.
- Bottomore, T. (1990). *Sosyolojik Çözümlemenin Tarihi*. Ankara: Verso Publication.
- Calhoun, D. (1994). *Sociology*. New York: Mc Graw Hill Inc.
- Calvert, P. (1982). *The Concept of Class*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Carchedi, G. (1977). *On the Economic Identification of Social Classes*. England: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Cengizkan, A. (2000). Türkiye'de fabrika ve işçi konutları: İstanbul Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali, *ODTÜ MFD*, 20(1-2), 29-55.
- Çabuk, S., Demir, K. & Gökyer, E. (2016). Cumhuriyet'in yeni kenti Karabük'ün 1937-1988 dönemi mekansal gelişimi ve şehir planları. *Karabük Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 2(2), 20-39.
- Çabuk, S. (2017). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Karabük Kentinin Biçimlenişi ve Kamu Mekânları*. In Çelikyay S. (ed) *Kamusal Alanların Mekânsal Organizasyonu* (pp. 69-91). Bartın.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1968). *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Duru, B., Alkan, A. (2002). *20. Yüzyıl Kenti*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Durukan Kopuz, A. (2018). Alpullu Şeker Fabrikası ve işçi konutları, *METU Journal*, 35(2), 29-54.
DOI: 10.4305/METU.JFA.2018.2.7
- Edgell, S. (1998). *Sınıf*. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi.

- Engels, F. (1992). *Konut Sorunu*. (G. Özdural, Çev.) Ankara: Sol Yayınları.
- Fındıkoğlu, F. (1962). *Kuruluşunun XXV. Yılında Karabük*. Türkiye Harsi ve İctimai Araştırmalar Derneği, Sayı 46, Seri A. İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. (1996). Class analysis and the reorientation of class theory: The case of persisting differentials in educational attainment. *British Journal of Sociology*, (45), 481-505.
- Gündoğan, Ö. (2019). Konut sorunu: Engels'in kent kuramına katkısı, *Madde, Diyalektik ve Toplum*, 2(4), 341-347.
- Harvey, D. (1992). *Class structure and the residential differentiation, The Urban Experience*, 2nd edition, UK: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (2002). *Sınıfsal Yapı ve Mekânsal Farklılaşma Kuramı*. Ankara: İmge Yayınevi.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *Sosyal Adalet ve Şehir*. (M. Moralı, Çev.) İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Sermayenin Mekânları: Eleştirel Bir Coğrafyaya Doğru*. (B. Kıcı, D.Koç, K. Tanrıyar, S. Yüksel, Çev.) İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Harvey, D. (2013). *Asi Şehirler: Şehir Hakkından Kentsel Devrime Doğru*. (A. D. Temiz, Çev.) İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- İnce, M. (2017). Toplumsal tabakalaşma ve eşitsizlik. *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 19(1), 294-319.
- Kahraman, H. B. (2004). *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye*, İstanbul: Everest Yayınevi.
- Kanbur, R. & Rapoport, H. (2005). Migration selectivity and the evolution of spatial inequality. *Journal of Economic Geography* (5), 43-47. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jnlcecg/lbh053>
- Karakök, T. (2010). *Kardemir ve Karabük*. In: Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir Çelik Sempozyumu, pp. 281-290, Karabük, Turkey.
- Kaya, S. (2011). *İdeoloji, gündelik yaşam pratikleri ve mekân etkileşiminde Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikaları yerleşiminden öğrendiklerimiz*. (Unpublished thesis). Gazi University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Kurban, S. & Akman, H. (2019). Aynı mekânda ayrılıklar: David Harvey 'in mekânsal farklılaşma kuramına dair bir değerlendirme. *International Social Sciences Studies Journal*, 5(38), 3266-3273. <http://dx.doi.org/10.26449/sss.1565>
- Kütükçüoğlu, M. (2010). *Millî şef dönemi'nde Karabük* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Mardin, S. (1987). *Max Weber Üzerine*. İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları.
- Marshall, G. (1999). *Sosyoloji Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Marx, K. & Engels F. (1976). *Komünist Manifesto*. D. J. Struik (Ed.). Ankara: Sol Yayınları.

- Massey, D. S., Rothwell, J. & Domina, T. (2009). The changing bases of segregation in the United States. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (626), 74-90.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716209343558>
- Onur, B. (2017). *Beyaz Yakalı Üretken İşçi Olarak Mimar: Meslek Pratiği ve Sınıf Algısı* (Unpublished PhD Thesis). Gazi University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Onur, B. (2021). Endüstri kenti Karabük'ün modern mahallesi Yenişehir'de konut tipolojileri. *Avrupa Bilim ve Teknoloji Dergisi*, (23), 666-677. <https://doi.org/10.31590/ejosat.821267>
- Öktem, S. (2004). *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Modernleşme Hareketi: Karabük Demir-Çelik Fabrikaları Yerleşim Örneği* (Unpublished Master thesis). İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Öngen, T. (1994). *Prometheus'un Sönmeyen Ateşi Günümüzde İşçi Sınıfı*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık.
- Özkan, M. & Çabuk, S. (2010). *Karabük demir-çelik fabrikaları işçi konutları sorununun ve çözüm sürecinin incelenmesi*. In: Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir Çelik Sempozyumu, April 2010, 357-366, Karabük, Turkey.
- Özkan, M. (2010). *Karabük'te Modern Mimari Oluşumda Yüksek Mimar Münci Tangör ve Yapıları*, Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir-Çelik Sempozyumu, Karabük Üniversitesi, 1-3 Nisan, Karabük: 367-377.
- Özkan Altınöz, M. (2015). Endüstri kenti Karabük'ün sosyal yaşantısının şekillenmesinde Yenişehir Sineması'nın rolü, *ITOBİAD*, 4(1), 83-99.
- Özkan Altınöz, M. (2016). Karabük industrial heritage site and associated regeneration projects in Turkey, *Turkish Studies*, 17(2), 361-380. DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2016.1166056
- Poulantzas, N. (1976). *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*. England: NLB.
- Poulantzas, N. (1992). *Siyasal İktidar ve Toplumsal İktidar*. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları.
- Sunar, L. (2018). *Sosyal Tabakalaşma*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Açık ve Uzaktan Eğitim Fakültesi.
- Sümer Bank İnşaat Fen Heyeti. "Sümerbank Amele Evleri." *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1944), 9-13.
- Togay, H. (1959). "İşçi Meskenleri Meselesi." *Arkitekt* 296, 115-116.
- Tuna, S. (2009). *Türkiye'de Devlet İşletmeciliği ve Sümerbank (1932-1939)*, Dünya Ekonomik Krizine Bir Cevap mı? İstanbul: Derlem Yayınları.
- Uca O. (2016). *Türkiye'de Orta Sınıfın Fotoğrafı: Akışlar ve İlişkiler*. İstanbul: NotaBene Yayınları.
- Wright E. (2014). *Sınıf Analizine Yaklaşımlar*. İstanbul: NotaBene Yayınları.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Beyza ONUR (Asst. Prof.)

Received her B.Arch. from Karabük University in 2008, M.Arch. from Erciyes University Faculty of Architecture in 2011 and Ph.D. from Gazi University Faculty of Architecture in 2017. In 2014, she was Erasmus student with scholarship at West Pomeranian University and Technology, Faculty of Architecture in Szczecin-Poland. Currently she is Assistant Professor at Karabük University. Major research interests include architecture; sociology of architecture; theory, criticism and method in architecture, planning and design.