

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION UNDER
NEOLIBERALISM: THE PRECARIZATION OF ARCHITECTURAL LABOR
IN TURKEY BETWEEN 2002-2024

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LABOR IN TURKEY BETWEEN 2002-2024**

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ABSTRACT

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION UNDER NEOLIBERALISM: THE PRECARIZATION OF ARCHITECTURAL LABOR IN TURKEY BETWEEN 2002-2024

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This thesis interrogate the precarization of architectural labor in Turkey as a consequence of the neoliberal transformation of architectural education. Neoliberal policies implemented during the 1970s have significantly altered labor processes. The historical process that undermines labor is seen in the growing research on the concept of 'precarization'. Concurrent with the worsening of precarious working conditions in architecture, literature on architect labor has proliferated since 2000. The qualitative and quantitative demands for architectural labor under neoliberal urbanization strategies have also diverged in Turkey. To regulate the inexpensive labor force of capital in Turkey's building sector from 2002 to 2024, the presence of a reserve army of labor (architects) was essential.

Architectural education is a significant area of research concerning the precarization of architectural labor. Neoliberal transformation of university has established a juncture in knowledge production. In the university system, which has been restructured for capital accumulation and emphasizes profit-driven knowledge production, the de-marketization of education has become unavoidable. The growing

prevalence of foundation institutions significantly contributes to financialization of education. This process has significantly impacted architectural theory, practice, and labor.

The findings from the analysis of institutions offering architectural education provide some insights. The focus on individualism in the architectural school curriculum prompts a discourse over the architect's role. Architectural education significantly contributes to the transition of architects into entrepreneurial individuals. Within this framework, the precarization of architectural labor is linked to the transformation of architectural education, prompting an examination of the current condition of the architect subject.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Precarization, Architect Labor, Architectural Education, Architect Subject

ÖZ

MİMARLIK EĞİTİMİNİN NEOLİBERAL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TÜRKİYE’DE 2002-2024 YILLARI ARASI MİMAR EMEĞİNİN GÜVENCESİZLEŞMESİ

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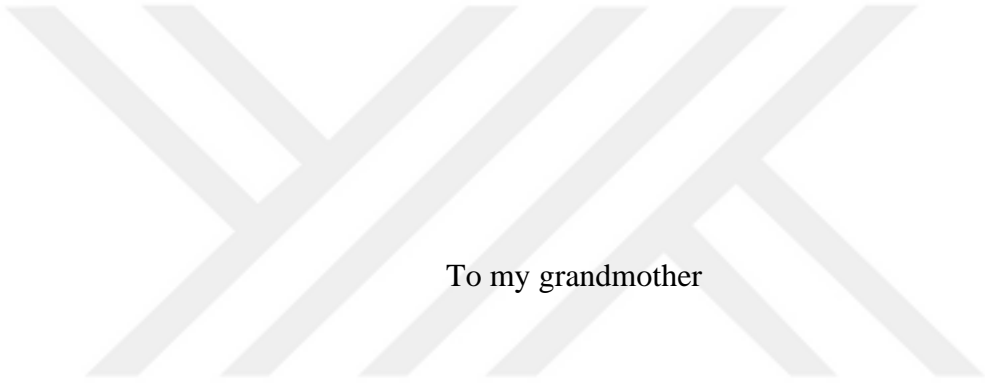
Bu tez, Türkiye’de mimar emeğinin güvencesizleşmesi sürecini mimarlık eğitiminin neoliberal dönüşümü üzerinden sorgulamaya çalışmaktadır. 1970’li yıllardan itibaren yürürlüğe konulan neoliberal politikalar emek süreçlerinde de ciddi değişimler yaratmıştır. Emek ve emekçi lehine işleyen bu tarihsel süreç emek teorisi içerisinde ‘güvencesizleşme’ kavramına dair araştırmaların da arttığı görülebilmektedir. Mimarlık pratiği içerisinde de güvencesiz çalışma koşullarının yoğunlaşmasına paralel olarak mimar emeğine dair literatür 2000 yılları sonrasında giderek genişlemektedir. Neoliberal kentleşme pratiklerinin Türkiye ölçeğinde de mimar emeğine duyduğu niteliksel ve niceliksel ihtiyaçlar farklılaşmıştır. Türkiye’de 2002-2024 yılları içerisinde inşaat sektöründe sermayenin ucuz emek gücünü kontrol altına alabilmek üzere yedek işgücü (mimar) ordusunun varlığına ihtiyaç duyulmuştur.

Mimar emeğinin güvencesizleşmesine dair gelişen sürecin bir parçası olarak mimarlık eğitimi önemli bir araştırma konusu olmaktadır. Üniversitenin neoliberal

dönüşümü bilginin üretiminde belirli bir kırılma noktası yaratmıştır. Sermayenin birikim aracı olarak ve kâr odaklı bir bilgi üretim sürecini ön plana alarak yeniden kurguladığı üniversite kurumu içerisinde eğitimin piyasalaşması da kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, giderek artan vakıf üniversitelerinin sayısı eğitimin finansallaşması sürecinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu dönüşüm sürecinin mimarlık teorisi, mimarlık pratiği ve mimar emeğinde ciddi yansımaları olmuştur.

Bununla birlikte, mimarlık eğitimi veren kurumlara dair yapılan inceleme sonucunda elde edilen bulgular bu dönüşüm sürecine dair ip uçları vermektedir. Öte yandan, mimarlık eğitimi müfredatı içerisinde gözlemlenen bireyciliğe yapılan vurgu mimar özneye dair de bir tartışma konusunu gündeme getirmektedir. Mimar öznenin girişimci mimar bireylere dönüşümü sürecinde mimarlık eğitiminin de ciddi bir katkısı olduğu söylenebilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu tez bağlamında mimar emeğinin güvencesizleşmesi mimarlık eğitimindeki dönüşüm süreci ile ilişkilendirilirken mimar öznenin mevcut halini sorgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neoliberalizm, Güvencesizleşme, Mimar Emeği, Mimarlık Eğitimi, Mimar Özne



To my grandmother

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Following our lively and vibrant university years, we find ourselves at a phase where the futures of many of our peers after graduation are enveloped in a 'uncertain' state. Many of our colleagues, whose future has been taken away from them and are facing an uncertain existence, are finding it difficult to maintain their balance on a difficult path. Architects, whose profession involves constructing structures by metaphorically 'driving stakes' into the natural world, are facing difficulties in finding stability in their personal lives.

The current condition of uncertainty cannot be attributed to the young generation's tendency to live without considering the future, nor can it be attributed to a large group of individuals neglecting their own progress. Conversely, those who have the chance to moving overseas immediately after completing their studies, those who endure years of job searching, and those who face the constant threat of unemployment even after securing a job, contemplate their future on a daily basis. Individuals who perpetually experience feelings of inadequacy persistently seek out various courses, even after obtaining a diploma.

The widespread prevailing narrative that attributes individual achievements or failures only to human exertion and competence fosters a growing sense of isolation among individuals in their search of survival. On the contrary, there exists a significant number of individuals who are compelled to accept a life devoid of security and hope. We constantly engage in a fierce competition inside a structured system that designates a certain position for every person on an endless raceway. Our identity is irrelevant in this competition. We, as individuals, who have been reduced

to abstract symbols with a numerical value attached to our chests, engage in competition. We are represented as a numerical value in unemployment data, included in publications regarding precarious employment situations, and surveyed among young individuals seeking to 'emigrate'.

The prevalence of architects facing impoverished working and living situations necessitates an inquiry into the persistence of this dire situation. What have led to the current state of labor conditions for architects?

1.1 The Objective of the Study

The last session of the 11th Architecture and Education Congress, which took place in Eskişehir on November 26-27, 2021 under the theme 'Change/Solidarity in Architectural Education and Practice', commenced with remarks from a renowned 'star architect'. The architect expressed, “I was a socialist in my youth, but when I lost hope that socialism could change the world, I decided to do architecture to change the world”.

Although these comments may not possess an academic nature, they were spoken during an architectural education conference attended by architects, members of academia, and architecture students. This thought-provoking discussion raises inquiries regarding architects, architecture, and architectural education. Even, the transformative power attributed to architecture is made the 'creative' power of the dream of establishing a new world beyond the boundaries of socialist thought, which developed as an alternative system to the existing capitalist system. Nevertheless, the oversimplified conversion of architecture into an ideology with the ability to bring about significant change may result in shallow outcomes, such as viewing architecture as a separate activity from the dominant political structure and considering the architect as an individual unaffected by social class dynamics.

Architecture creates strategically planned environments that serve as visual manifestations of the historical circumstances in which they are situated. In

Lefebvre's tripartite theory of space, the spaces of professionalized professions like architecture, urbanism, and engineering are referred to as 'abstract spaces'. These spaces are constantly connected to ideology, power, and knowledge (Lefebvre, 1991). The architectural environment is fundamentally influenced by the production relationships that arise inside the capitalist system, as well as by many signals, codes, knowledge, order, and oppositional relationships that come from these production relationships. Hence, it is the prevailing domain of capitalist society (Lefebvre, 1991). Furthermore, as per Lefebvre's perspective, the architect, functioning as a 'the creator of space,' elevates an envisioned place to a conceptual level through intricate technical illustrations and replicates the physical realm by rendering it quantifiable. Therefore, the approach of reductionism, which utilizes scientific and technical processes, converts social and concrete space into abstract space. This field compels the interpretation and reinterpretation of the nature of existence. The architect's comprehensive analysis of the physical area is insufficient to fully capture the essence of reality through the procedures of drawing, coding, and decoding. The architect lacks the ability to differentiate between the concepts of 'projection' and 'project' due to a misguided belief in an idealistic perspective (Lefebvre, 1996). He mistakenly believes that he has grasped the essence of 'life' through his initiatives executed at an abstract level (Lefebvre, 2003). Nevertheless, the lived space refers to the space that is occupied by the residents. This area features intricate codes and re-codes that defy the abstract space created by the architect (Lefebvre, 2003). Thus, the architect's perception of capturing the 'real' limits him/her from being the sole agent of a real transformation. Indeed, according to Lefebvre's categories of space, a revolutionary transformation in the spatial sense might occur despite the architect's design, not with it.

Architectural theorist Tafuri, also, contends that the field of architecture has a profound connection to the capitalist system. Architectural practices, as a part of bourgeois culture, are inevitably bound to perpetuate capital relations within the regime of production and accumulation that is controlled by the capitalist system. Architectural practice, regardless of its focus on social issues or its commendable

political position, lacks the ability to resist the current impositions of the capitalist system. Tafuri argues that the capitalist system sustains itself by exploiting architectural practices, just as it does with whatever opposition it encounters. Tafuri characterizes the alternatives that arise from the process of form development as the ideological crises of architecture. However, these alternatives are inadequate in resolving the tensions inherent in the field of architecture (Tafuri, 1987). Tafuri refers to a design crisis that is a multifaceted process. The root reasons of this crisis cannot be thoroughly studied and can only be resolved via many forms and discourses (Tafuri, 1976)

Considering different social groups and political-ideological perspectives, the subject of architecture goes beyond the subjective world of the designer. Sargin argues that the architect-subject embodies the qualitative alteration and expression of several identities, including but not limited to the user, producer, decision maker, capitalist, political or professional organization, institutional framework, and state (Sargin, 2017). Architects and architectural practices evolve and adapt in response to the ideological, political, economic, and production processes they are engaged in. This transformation occurs independently of any one architect's desire to revolutionize the world via their creative imagination. Hence, to examine contemporary architect-subject and architectural practices, it is necessary to investigate the changes in production relations and the social and political environment.

The architect-engineer emerged during the late 19th century among the fast changes brought about by industrialization. However, their distinct identity, which was solidified during the economic crisis of the 1930s, is now being eroded in the wake of another capitalist tragedy (Artun, 1999). The crises encountered by the capitalist system in the 1970s prompted the implementation of the neoliberal action. During this age of significant worldwide economic and social changes, there were substantial alterations occurring in both urban and rural built environments. The insufficiency of Fordism, the prevailing mode of production in the capitalist system until the 1970s, and the inflexibility of Keynesian policies in response to the

relentless pursuit of infinite expansion by capital accumulation resulted in significant structural transformations (Harvey, 1997). Thus, the 1970s and 1980s signified the start of economic reorganization and the shift towards a novel social and political framework through the implementation of a new regime for capital accumulation. Unlike the strict regulations of the Fordist system, the idea of flexibility became prominent in the labor market, labor processes, manufacturing, and consumption phases (Harvey, 1997). The neoliberal program emerged as a response to the crisis of the 1970s. It introduced the post-Fordist production style, emphasized flexibility in the labor market, and promoted privatization to enhance capital's influence by reducing state control over the market.

The economic activities and relationships resulting from the implementation of free trade and free market policies under the neoliberal agenda aim to develop a more prosperous world for all of mankind, serving as an approach to address the crisis. However, these arguments rely on theoretical and misleading notions that distort the true mechanics of capitalism. The current situation involves a growing number of people being subjected to enslavement through a global process of accumulating capital. This has led to rising unemployment rates and insecure living and working situations (Hart-Landsberg, 2006). This shift in economic dynamics has led to adverse working conditions for workers, with a significant increase in the prevalence of 'precarious' employment. Due to the growing significance of geography and space in labor markets, labor relations, and employment, the global reorganization of work has led to a rise in precariousness (Peck 1996). Prior to the neoliberal period, precarious work was mostly found in a secondary labor market, characterized by unstable and unpredictable employment. However, starting in the 1980s, precarious working conditions grew widespread and affected all sectors of the economy (Kalleberg, 2009). A significant number of professional and administrative positions are currently characterized by instability and uncertainty.

Furthermore, throughout the neoliberal period, there has been a trend towards centralization in the service sector, as highlighted by Kalleberg (Kalleberg, 2009). Additionally, the process of professions being integrated into the service sector has

been increased. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). includes the profession of architecture and integrates it into the new process of accumulating capital (Öngel, 2016). Together with the evolution of capitalism, professions are undergoing a transformative process characterized by fast changes in the quality of practice, service delivery environment, and professional position. These changes are occurring within a system that is formed by a novel type of production organization. The architectural profession has seen significant changes due to the rise of international organizations, the transformation of design firms into capital institutions, and the development of specialized fields such as project management and investment specialty. The architectural profession has experienced a growing trend towards rationalization and managerialization. The evolution of architecture is currently progressing as a shift from a professional ideology to a neo-liberal pursuit of authority and economic prosperity (Pinnington and Morris, 2002; Kornberger, Kreiner, and Clegg, 2010)

In recent years, there has been a noticeable surge in study on the subject of the architectural profession, running parallel to its evolution. The architectural profession is facing growing criticisms over its perception, which is often limited to project production and the working circumstances of freelancers. These criticisms, although not yet thoroughly debated, are progressively rising from many theoretical viewpoints. Gutman's examination of the 'discontent' experienced by young architects, who initially embarked on their architectural careers with great enthusiasm, reveals that the actual working conditions in the field of architecture do not align with their initial expectations. Furthermore, this analysis provides insights into the hierarchical organization of architectural firms (Gutman, 2010). The essay looks into the psychodynamics of architects and examines how architectural offices are influenced by the norms and practices of the corporate sector. Ahuja, Clegg, and Nikolova also emphasize the architects' feeling of being trapped or immobilized. Their perspective on working circumstances provides a viewpoint that removes the identification of the architect as the topic. Their work exposes the circumstances that compel architects to establish their professional identities, such as the erosion and

fragmentation of their competence, being undervalued and alienated during the construction phase (Ahuja, Clegg, ve Nikolova, 2017). The recent find that labor conditions such as division of labor and alienation, which are fundamental to the working class in a capitalist system, are also present in the experience of architects who are viewed as 'creative' and 'self-employed', suggests that architects are also subjected to the same process of being transformed into workers. Peggy Deamer's significant contributions to contemporary architectural thought directly examine the role of the architect as a laborer, expressed in a straightforward manner. She examines the various ways in which immaterial work has been exploited throughout the history of capitalism, as well as the exploitation of labor that is disguised under the notion of 'creativity' associated with architects (Deamer, 2015). The political economy of a historical period lasting about two centuries has shaped the cultural norms that influence the role of architects. Deamer's analysis reveals how these codes illuminate the ways in which architects have been exploited throughout the neoliberal era. Sargin highlights that under the structured framework of capitalism, the architect is compelled to commodify their labor to the same extent as a manual laborer. Sargin expresses the aspiration for architects to evolve into revolutionary political agents while functioning as workers (Sargin, 2017). The architect's revolutionary impact does not stem from their 'creativity'. This work discusses the potential for an architectural practice that is more socially and politically involved, taking into account the architect's position as a worker within the class structure.

The growing number of theoretical perspectives on the social status of architects is a response to the fact that architects are increasingly being seen as workers. The rise in the number of employed architects relative to freelance workers results in a rise in study on the conditions of architectural labor. Aykaç, Sert, and Zırh's research aims to uncover the actual working conditions of young architects who are paid within the construction industry in Turkey. The study focuses on the impact of production relations and urban policies that have emerged within the neoliberal capitalist economic system in Turkey. Its objective is to shed light on the real condition of the architectural profession in the country (Aykaç, Sert, Zırh, 2021).

In the neoliberal age of globalization, the importance of qualifications has significantly grown in employment policy. Globalization has led to a large workforce, resulting in increased competition among workers worldwide. However, national employment policies have worsened working conditions for millions of people, particularly due to increased flexibility and unemployment following the crisis (Öngel, 2016). The process of "deskilling of the profession" occurs through the meticulous division of labor, which is a distinct outcome of capitalism society. In the capitalist division of labor, it is a well observed principle that the work process undergoes a progressive fragmentation, aiming to achieve the highest level of detail. Each portion or process is converted into basic manual activities that demand less expertise and hence require less training (Braverman, 1974). The process of becoming labor 'deskilled' reveals the disposable nature of a large work force that is kept in reserve due to a continuously growing surplus population. Consequently, with the increasing implementation of specialized tasks in the field of architecture, there has been a rise in the utilization of architects as technicians for specific aspects of projects. As a result, architects, who are now perceived as technicians alongside unskilled workers, have become easily replaceable. Consequently, wage-earning architects are seeing a progressive deterioration in their working circumstances, leading to a situation of precariousness.

During the neoliberal era, there has been a growing interest in studying the precarization of professions like architecture and engineering, which rely on creative and immaterial labor. This includes the massification of these professions, where individuals are employed as technicians without the necessary skills, as well as the increasing proletarianization of the white-collar class. In Turkey, numerous studies have been conducted on the experiences of white-collar workers in their professional lives, the detachment of university graduates from their fields of interest, the employment and unemployment situation of university graduates, the state of 'waiting' in the face of indebtedness, unemployment, and precarious employment, as well as the intricate and ambiguous perspectives of the younger population towards work. Such investigations have greatly contributed to the literature by highlighting

the concepts of precarization and precariat. The rise in the number of architects employed on a salary, facing unemployment, giving in to non-professional work, experiencing insecure working conditions, and enduring long periods of job searching fosters an opportunity to establish a link with such research.

While the term "precarity" has been commonly used throughout the neoliberal period, it fundamentally underlies the capitalist system of production. The term 'precarity', which has gained prominence in academic literature via the influence of Bourdieu, is rooted in Karl Marx's examination of the 'reserve army of labor' in Bourdieu's later studies (Jonna and Foster, 2016; Bourdieu, 1999). The presence of a substantial surplus labor force presents a risk that wage workers can be readily replaceable. Engels' examination of the industrial reserve army in 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' and Karl Marx's depiction of the 'reserve army' in Volume I of Capital as a crucial component in maintaining the fundamental principles of capitalist accumulation highlight this concept to expose labor exploitation and relationships (Engels, 1984; Marx, 1990). The concept of the reserve army of labor, frequently mentioned in Marxist theory, provides a significant framework for analyzing the labor relations of architect-engineers. These professionals have experienced increasing levels of proletarianization and precariousness during the neoliberal period.

There has been a notable surge in the number of architects throughout Europe over the time after the year 2000. This increase is linked to the growth of construction practices, which have become a crucial part of the capital accumulation strategy under neoliberal policies. Additionally, it leads to the creation of a surplus labor force, which intensifies the exploitation of architects. They are increasingly being treated as workers and technicians, with a highly specialized division of labor within architectural firms. Based to the 2022 survey conducted by the Architect's Council of Europe, the current count of architects in Europe is at 620,000 and is steadily rising (ACE, 2022). Based on these statistics, the ratio of architects to population in Europe is one to one thousand. The countries with the highest number of architects in Europe are Italy, Germany, and Turkey. Indeed, the combined number of

architects in these three countries surpasses the collective number of architects in the other European nations.

Still, the recent rise in the number of architects is not enough to only evaluate the labor situation and analyze it in connection with the notion of a 'reserve labor army'. To carry out an in-depth review, it is necessary to evaluate complex interrelated relationships, such as the architects' contribution to the Gross National Product, the research on architects in various roles and social positions within the architectural production process, and the findings regarding the precarious working conditions of employed architects.

The lack of comprehensive data provided by the government in Turkey, along with the limited release of gathered data to the public, limits the ability to make definitive assessments regarding the labor of architects. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine the higher education policies of the neoliberal period to determine whether the significant rise in the number of architects was driven by a desire for social progress in planned development projects or solely for the purpose of capital accumulation, ignoring the well-being of architects and the benefit to society.

In the neoliberal age, monopoly finance capital has brought about a change in the realm of politics. This transformation involves a restructuring process where private interests gradually undermine public assets and the role of the state. During the neoliberal period, public services like education and health have become a new avenue for the accumulation of capital, leading to the implementation of privatization policies. Furthermore, education plays a crucial role in the expansion of the labor force, which has resulted in a rise in neoliberal plans for restructuring the education system (Foster, 2011). One element of the restructuring of higher education in the neoliberal era is related to the field of political economics. The privatization of education has not only strengthened the university institution's ties with industry and companies, but has also facilitated the transformation of the university into a corporate entity.

Neoliberal policies have had a significant influence on the way universities are transformed, particularly in terms of their purpose and function. In the context of the post-industrial revolution, the main objective of the university was to actively contribute to the establishment and maintenance of liberal democracy. Nevertheless, in alignment with the attempt to promote and validate liberal democracy, the role of the university and science in enlightening society, doing scientific research, and producing information for the improvement of society remained relatively intact (Erbaş, 2016). Due to the crisis experienced in a specific period of capitalism, society required a new understanding of university and science in order to stabilize. However, the university and science were unable to produce knowledge that aligned with the societal understanding of that time, leading to an identity crisis (Erbaş, 2016). Consequently, following the economic crisis in the 1970s, a new conception of the university that aligned with stability and the neoliberal era was embraced.

Neoliberalism has a significant impact on both the political economy and social interactions, leading to ideological disruptions in education and shaping the characteristics of individuals who become the future workforce via education. With the introduction of the notion of human capital, education has come to be seen as a strictly personal matter, and its objective is defined in relation to the individual's future income (Ercan, 2005). When we view education just as a means to enhance an individual's future income, we start to see education as a process that diminishes its significance to purely economic value. Consequently, the academic institution's societal principles are converted into the individual's personal benefits and the intangible concepts of the economy. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that when education, which serves as the primary avenue for societal improvement, is solely regarded as an investment for individuals and the future personal advantages it may output, both the commercialization of education and the circumstances surrounding its production become subject to capitalization (Ercan, 2005)

At this point, the changes occurring in the university institution following the capitalist crisis can also be linked to architectural education. This thesis will suggest that architecture education experiences comparable dynamics within the context of

neoliberal higher education regulations. Architectural education is being reformed as a component of wealth accumulation. Alternatively, viewing education as a personal experience leads to the transformation of the architect-subject into architect-individuals. The phrase 'entrepreneurship', commonly used and promoted throughout the neoliberal era, intensifies the competitiveness among individual architects. One may argue that the notion of architect-specific 'creativity' discussed earlier can still have a social significance throughout the early stages of capitalism. While architects in the past may have been involved in the creative aspects of national growth, the focus of today's architects is mostly on maximizing personal income. Furthermore, when architect candidates are expected to be creative 'entrepreneurs' during their education, they transition from being just students to being people. Consequently, they become more susceptible to being exploited in the process of architectural production.

Following the September 12 coup d'état in Turkey, significant changes occurred at universities with the founding of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK). Universities were subjected to centralization and greater supervision, undermining the environment of free thinking and the autonomous structure of the university. Furthermore, the impacts of neoliberalism were evident in the dynamics inside the university. Timur states that the research commissioned by TUSIAD in 1995 laid the foundation for universities in Turkey to adopt a management approach based on the 'business model' (Timur, 2000).

The university, which was described as an establishment in current economic terms, had to adhere to the principles of the market economy and the dynamics of supply and demand. The students who are to get education must also possess a profile that fulfills the criteria of the 'knowledge society' and the process of globalization. In 2000, the AKP expedited the implementation of the neoliberal agenda in Turkey, which therefore led to a faster reform of universities in line with neoliberal principles. The quantity of private universities has progressively risen, while the production of knowledge in public universities has steadily changed towards responding to the requirements of capital.

In this context, the transformation of architectural education with Turkey's transition to a neoliberal program is an important topic to explain labor relations in architectural practice. The construction sector and architectural practices, as one of the important instruments of capital accumulation in the post-1980s capitalism's search for a way out of crises, are widely discussed in the context of the production of capitalist space. On the other hand, discussions on the architect-subject remain more limited. Therefore, it is essential to engage in discussions on the architect's role and labor processes in the globalized service sector, in which architectural practice has become integrated throughout the neoliberal period. This is critical for understanding the current situation of architects who are forced to work under progressively worse conditions.

The objective of this thesis is to offer a viewpoint on the evolution of architectural education with the purpose of supporting in an awareness of architects' working circumstances. It is important to point out that the investigation of architectural education will not specifically focus on the 'design crisis'. The discourse surrounding architectural form, a central focus of architectural education, includes a significant amount of literature dating back to the birth of the architectural profession. However, to fully understand how architectural education has contributed to the increasing insecurity of architectural work over the past two decades, it is necessary to consider the influence of the political economy and political interventions throughout the neoliberal period.

Hence, it is significant to analyze the institutional changes that have occurred at Turkish universities offering architectural education, since they have been completely included into the neoliberal agenda since the AKP assumed charge in 2002. Furthermore, it is crucial to highlight the influence of the demands of recently established institutions during this era on architectural education, as it plays a significant role in the process of transforming architectural education. In this context, this thesis will attempt to explain both the quantitative consequences of the massification of architectural education and the qualitative effects of the content of architectural education on the definition of the architect-subject.

Although there are limited academic texts on architectural education in Turkey that are analyzed from a political perspective as described above, the problems of architectural education have been discussed for many years. The Communication Group of Heads of Departments of Schools of Architecture (MOBBİG), founded in 1996, addresses the overarching issues in architectural education from the perspective of department heads and releases yearly reports. In addition, since 2000, when globalization and neoliberal policies began to be widely debated in both architectural theory and our nation, the Architectural Education Congresses, held every two years, have served as a significant platform for detailed discussions on architectural education. Despite the speakers often claiming that the participation rates in these congresses are insufficient, the Architectural Education Congresses play a crucial role in gathering diverse perspectives on architectural education from both within and outside the architectural academy, thus serving as an important archive. In addition to these sources, the contents of the institutional structures that provide architectural education also provide important data in terms of detailing the research.

In summary, the reorganization of the capital accumulation structure in Turkey throughout the neoliberal era has led to increased construction activities and architectural practices. Nevertheless, over this time frame, there has been an increase in the awareness of precarious working circumstances in service sectors and professions that need 'creative' labor, such as architecture. The rise in demand for architects due to the growth of the construction industry has unfortunately resulted in a decline in the skills and status of the architectural profession. Architects have been treated as disposable workers, leading to poor working conditions. An essential aspect in the process that produces these circumstances is the establishment of a 'reserve labor army' constituted of architects. Although this 'army' transformed the architect into a readily replaceable workforce, it also intensified the environment of rivalry within the architectural profession. Although the growing number of architects in Turkey is a significant factor in understanding this situation, it alone does not provide a comprehensive explanation of the circumstances of architect

employment. Therefore, the transformation of universities, whose content and institutional structure has been reshaped by the neoliberal project to meet the needs of the new production regime, is an important point to explain this situation. This process has had significant effects on architectural education. It has shifted the focus of architects from serving social interests to pursuing their own individual interests. Additionally, it has led to the transformation of architects from being seen as subjects to being seen as individuals. At last, the changes in both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of architectural education, together with the measures taken in higher education through the utilization of education as an instrument throughout the AKP era, will provide insight into the present condition of architectural labor in Turkey.

1.2 Research Question

This framework of architectural practice and architectural education gives rise to the following question, which is the main research topic of this thesis:

“While the new production regime of capital accumulation in line with neoliberal policies forces paid architects in the architectural profession into precarious working conditions, what is the role of the university and architectural education, which have been reorganized as a result of neoliberal policies, in the precarization of architectural labor?”

In this context, this thesis will focus on the transformations of architectural education institutions in the neoliberal period and question the problems of our paid colleagues who are subjected to precarious working conditions in many architectural offices today. The state of 'uncertainty' that architects, especially recent graduates, but in general architects who have started their professional life in the last 20 years, face in their professional lives will be elaborated through the context of higher education policies. The results of the serious transformation process realized in higher education policies in Turkey with the AKP era and the reflections of education,

which has become an important 'apparatus' for the AKP's ideological regime, on architectural education will be tried to be revealed in this context.

The fact that there are 131 active architecture departments in Turkey as of the 2023-2024 academic year does not make a detailed examination of each university possible within the scope of this thesis. Therefore, a general perspective on architectural education will be presented first. However, in order to elaborate and illustrate the study, the province of Ankara will be taken as a sample. On the one hand, Ankara is a province where intensive construction and architectural services have been realized in the last 20 years and where many architectural offices are located. On the other hand, it is a province that hosts both state universities with a long-established history and foundation universities that have opened in recent years. Therefore, the province of Ankara was deemed appropriate for this thesis because it is a location where the reality that the capital accumulation process is shifting towards a construction-oriented field is clearly visible, as well as a province where there are institutions providing architectural education with different characteristics. In addition to all these, the province of Ankara was chosen as a reference for this thesis because the author of the thesis spent his higher education life in Ankara, which allowed him to develop a more direct relationship with the universities in Ankara.

1.3 Research Method

As mentioned earlier, the literature on architectural education has largely been concerned with the design process of architectural forms and the pedagogical part of this process. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Marxist viewpoints in architectural discussions and the growing focus on the employment of architects, particularly in light of the rising insecurity in the field, have prompted this thesis to investigate the connection between architectural education and the working conditions of architects. Hence, this analysis will examine the impact of architectural education on the work of architects within a historical context, as well as the reciprocal influence of the production process on the circumstances of this labor. This examination will be

conducted from a historical materialist standpoint, focusing on a specific geographical area.

The shaping of architectural education by institutional structures and the development of this institutionalization within a certain political economy requires taking Marx's famous concepts of base and superstructure into account. In this context, Alasdair MacIntyre's comments on Marx's concepts of base and superstructure are as follows (as cited in Thompson, 1973: p. 189):

As Marx depicts it the relation between basis and superstructure is not only not mechanical, it is not even casual... Marx certainly talks of the basis 'determining' the superstructure, and of a 'correspondence' between them... The economic basis of a society is not its tools, but the people co-operating using those particular tools in the manner necessary to their use and the superstructure consist in the social consciousness moulded by and the shape of this co-operation... Creating the basis, you create the superstructure. These are not two activities but one.

Therefore, while considering architectural education, it is important to acknowledge that the labor conditions of architects cannot be oversimplified as a mere cause and effect connection. This discussion will focus on the economic foundation of architectural services throughout the neoliberal transformation process and the structural nature of the university, specifically architectural education, which has been reorganized to align with the principles of neoliberalism. Furthermore, as the opportunity arises for various capital groups to engage in the realm of higher education, this transformation process will also examine the shared and distinct attributes of state universities and foundation universities established by different capital groups.

In this context, the AKP period from 2002 to 2024 led to major social and political divisions in Turkey. During the governance of a political Islamist government that supported neoliberal thought, the labor process was distorted in a way that harmed workers, and the level of social unrest increased. Currently, the constructing industry is significantly contributing to the accumulation of capital, which is directly impacting the architectural profession and the process of architectural production.

Furthermore, the government has implemented a thorough reorganization throughout all educational categories, reconfiguring it based on an ideology that aligns with conservative and neoliberal agendas. Consequently, these modifications in higher education have also influenced architectural education.

Such a research will also require the collection and analysis of specific data. Therefore, after outlining a general framework of architectural education, a review of the architecture faculties in Ankara, which are included in the sample of the research, will be conducted. At this point, by using the content analysis (CA) method, the studyable outputs of the institutions providing architectural education will be analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively.

The content analysis (CA) approach is a research strategy used to draw reliable and accurate conclusions regarding the contexts in which texts (or other relevant things) are utilized (Krippendorff, 2012). This thesis aims to investigate a certain process and draw conclusions regarding architectural education since 2002. It will analyze if certain components associated with the neoliberal changes are consistently present in architectural education. Therefore, the content of the analyzable outputs of architectural education will be analyzed and interpreted by considering the research question above.

One reason, content analysis will be used in this research because to its dual nature, which enables the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Content analysis (CA) is a systematic and quantitative technique that is between content analysis and other approaches that are more qualitative or interpretative (As cited in Gheyle and Jacobs, 2017). This research on architectural education aims to utilize both quantitative and qualitative data. Various factors such as the number of architectural faculties in universities, the ratio of academic staff to students, the availability of adequate space for architectural education, and the range of courses offered, allow for a quantitative analysis to be conducted. One significant topic of debate in architecture education is the provision of education even in the absence of sufficient physical facilities and qualified academic personnel. This circumstance not

only compels students of architecture to get instruction in unhealthy and insufficient settings, but also imposes a substantial burden on the academic staff. Furthermore, to address the shortage of academic staff, non-academic architects are often hired on a part-time basis in the architecture sector. This trend, however, tends to prioritize the technical aspects of architectural education over the theoretical aspects, leading to a neglect of theoretical instruction.

In addition, qualitative analysis and interpretations can offer valuable insights into the changes in architecture education resulting from neoliberal policies. Analyzing the articles published by academic staff, course materials, the vision and mission statements of faculties, and the language used in promotional advertisements can provide insights into the goals of architectural education as perceived by specific institutions during the neoliberal era. The roots of the pervasive cultural code that fosters intense competition among architects and architecture students, as well as the expectation for every student to adopt an entrepreneurial mindset, may be traced back to architectural education.

1.4 Outline of the Study

In the second chapter, the current situation of architect labor will be summarized. The effects of neoliberalism will be examined through the labor of architects. Findings on the precariousness of architect labor in Turkey will be presented and conceptualized. The problems faced by paid architects in their professional practice will be associated with the reserve army of labor at the end of the chapter. This will pave the way for the development of a hypothesis that one of the reasons for increasing labor exploitation is the qualitative and quantitative transformations in architectural education.

In the third chapter, the effects of neoliberal policies on higher education in Turkey will be analyzed. Issues such as universities becoming more and more corporate-like, internal university relations shifting from a democratic basis to a structure determined by market relations, education being restructured from being a center of

science production in the search for truth to training cheap labor for the sector, etc. will be discussed. Towards the end of this section, it will be analyzed how the political economy process affecting the university has caused a shift in the subject of architecture. The transition from architectural subjects to 'entrepreneurial' architects will be tried to be explained. It will be tried to show how the 'creative' class function given to architectural subjects as a result of their professional production (which is also open to discussion). is reversed in the neoliberal period and evolved into entrepreneurial individuals.

In the last chapter, the shift in architectural education in Turkey over the previous 20 years will be illustrated using observations from the architecture academy. The approach outlined in the preceding two chapters will be attempted to be supported by specific information, particularly by examining the outcomes of the universities in Ankara city. While this chapter intends to criticize the existing situation of the architectural academy, it will also underline the significance of creating a framework for the future of the architectural education program. Therefore, the Architectural Education Congress, academic publications, educational programs and outputs of universities will all be reviewed.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRECARIZATION OF ARCHITECT LABOR IN NEOLIBERAL ERA

Neoliberal thinking, which emerged as a novel economic and political model inside the capitalist system, has made a direct impact since the 1980s. However, the beginnings of this notion may be traced back more than a century. During the early 1920s, as a reaction to the challenges faced by liberalism and the increasing influence of social democracy, proponents like Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich von Hayek put forth ideas that pushed classical liberalism to a more extreme stance. The philosophy, which emerged under the guidance of Mises and Hayek, faced severe criticism from Marxist intellectuals and was given the label 'neoliberalism' by the German Marxist Alfred Meusel in 1924 (Magness, 2018).

Neoliberal thought, in contrast to classical liberalism, promotes the process of transforming many aspects of society into financial assets. Neoliberal ideology rejects the relatively regulated market conditions established by Keynesianism, which was the prevailing economic model during the wealthy period of the capitalism system known as the 'golden age'. A laissez-faire economic paradigm where the state's supervisory function is abolished, all public acts are subjected to market forces, and the market takes supremacy over the state. Neoliberalism promotes the process of making all social activities centered around finance, turning all aspects of human existence, including the economy, into commodities, and even converting ordinary life into something that can be bought and sold (Harvey, 2005).

Harvey (2005) argues that while neoliberal ideology prioritizes autonomous capitalist activity and diminishes the role of the state, it does not support the total

elimination of the state. However, the state is essential as a significant entity that establishes the required institutional framework for the establishment and implementation of market activities. Therefore, the significance of state authority remains valid, but undergoing a transformation. In the early phases of capitalism, the state apparatus was responsible for regulating the market and managing class conflicts. However, throughout the neoliberal period, it witnessed a dramatic restructuring to primarily serve the interests of the capitalist class. The state has a responsibility to remove any barriers that might limit the accumulation of wealth, using its military, police, and legal systems. Furthermore, sectors such as water, education, health, and others, which were formerly supplied by the government as public services before the 1980s, have undergone commodification and are now predominantly controlled by the market. It is crucial to see how the state restructures sectors that have not developed their own market and incorporates them into the realm of capital groups. Neoliberal ideology advocates for an increased utilization of the state's authority to promote marketization and benefit capital interests, rather than regulating it. In the 21st century, while financial institutions and major capital groups have gained prominence as influential entities, the state apparatus continues to play a crucial role in maintaining the stability of this economic system.

The neoliberal argument clearly seeks to concentrate capital, prioritize the market above the state, and legitimize a capitalist system of social control. The concept of minimizing governmental restrictions and interventions in the market is based on the neoliberal belief that all social aspects should be managed according to a single thought: "Competition" (Foster, 2019). Neoliberalism is characterized by its emphasis on competition, which influences market conditions and all social activities. Unlike before neoliberal period, which emphasized a degree of equality in different areas, neoliberalism completely rejects equality (save for equal opportunities). and prioritizes "free competition" as the primary regulatory factor (Foster, 2019).

The establishment of competition as the primary concept in all aspects of life has resulted in significant changes in the social framework. Due to the loss of social

interactions caused by individual rivalry, individuals have been forced to act for themselves in protecting against threats. Harvey evokes Thatcher's statement, which summarizes the essence of the neoliberal era: "Society does not exist; there are only individuals." (Harvey, 2005; p. 82). The social fabric has been restructured based on an ideology where competition replaced all forms of solidarity, and individuality has taken the place of social institutions and relationships. Under Thatcher's leadership, the promotion of individualism based on neoliberal principles has become the prevailing ideology, resulting in a shift from viewing humans as social beings to perceiving them as isolated individuals. The hegemony of neoliberalism, which has brought about a profound shift in the norms governing social existence, has posed challenges for the organization of parties, unions, community solidarities, and other entities that resist the capitalist elite and advocate for the working class. During the rise of neoliberalism, individuals who experienced labor exploitation did not unite to resist, but instead focused on enhancing their own performance and engaging in competition with those in their own social class, whom they perceived as rivals. One of the key elements of neoliberalism is the belief that individuals have full control over their own destiny.

Within this framework, neoliberalism, referred to by J. Bellamy Foster as 'absolute capitalism', persists in embodying the fundamental tensions of the capitalist system. However, there are distinct characteristics that define the age of neoliberalism. In the Keynesian period, the authority of state planning has been replaced by the prevalence of market forces in the neoliberal age. Although the state remains significant as a framework, its role evolves into an apparatus that modifies any processes that might hinder the accumulation of wealth in favor of the market. Furthermore, throughout the neoliberal era, the state has implemented market-oriented policies in other sectors that were formerly under state control and responsible for public services such as water, coastal regions, education, and health. The primary governing concept in the economic domain is the notion of 'competition'. Nevertheless, the concept of competition and individualism extends beyond the realm of economics and takes on a cultural significance that affects all interactions between individuals. During the

neoliberal age, the values of solidarity and living together have been displaced by a focus on competitiveness and individuality, when individuals are only responsible for their own well-being.

2.1 Neoliberal Transformation and Precarization of Labor

Neoliberal policies, implemented by capitalist groups in response to the 1970s economic crisis, also brought about shifts in social relations and labor processes. Studies on the features of the neoliberal period have stressed the notable rise in 'precariousness' in both working conditions and social connections during this time (Kalleberg, 2018; Butler, 2004; Standing, 2011).

“ (After 1980’s). have witnessed a rise of precarious work, which contrasts sharply with the period of relative growth, equality, and stability in Europe, the United States, and East Asia in the first three decades after World War II. This growth of precarious work represents a partial return to the market-mediated employment systems and relative lack of social protections that preceded the development of Keynesian welfare states, and has created considerable uncertainty and insecurity about the future of jobs and careers as well as economic situations and family formation, among others.”
(Kalleberg, 2018: p.33)

Kalleberg's comprehensive inquiry into precarity shows that several fundamental characteristics of neoliberal policies result in significant uncertainty in working conditions. The neoliberal period is characterized by several factors that lead to the rise of insecure working conditions. These include globalization, the post-Fordist mode of production, immediately technical advancement, the goal of cost savings, financialization, and privatization. Nevertheless, the 2008-2009 crisis also resulted in a significant rupture. The challenges inherent in capitalism, which is prone to crises, in effectively addressing this current crisis have also undermined the credibility of neoliberal programs. The implementation of austerity measures following the crisis, together with policies supporting the wealthy elite, increased socioeconomic disparity and brought greater attention to the issue of precarious employment (Kalleberg,2018).

The widespread experience of precariousness among a significant portion of the population has led to several advances in theory in understanding this phenomena. In particular, the argument made by Guy Standing (2011), a former economist at the International Labour Organisation (ILO), that a 'new dangerous class' is emerging due to a growing number of insecure working conditions, has sparked widespread debate. Conversely, the notion of the "precariat" has faced strong opposition, especially among Marxist intellectuals.

Standing (2011) describes the precariat as a novel and potentially threatening social class, sometimes referred to as a 'new dangerous class' or 'monster'. The term 'precariat' is formed by combining the phrases 'insecure' and 'proletariat', and it is used to redefine those who are jobless or working in precarious conditions. According to his perspective, the precariat was distinct from both the "working class" and the "proletariat." He differentiates between insecure workers and the 'traditional working class'. The precariat have the capacity to become a more risky social class due to their employment in more challenging environments compared to those with secure, fixed-term, and enduring employment. Standing argues that as a result of neoliberal policies and the influence of globalization, the precariat, who have distinct working experiences compared to industrial workers, face conditions such as temporary contracts, piecework, ambiguous employment agreements, and informal types of work, which are different from those experienced by blue-collar workers. The precariat, comprising various demographics such as migrants, the youths newly graduated from college, women, and child laborers, experiences significant loss of labor rights.

However, Geoff Bailey (2012) expresses doubt over the definition of the 'precariat' as a new social class. During the neoliberal era, the working class has experienced a decline in working conditions and employment rates, resulting in the emergence of many subgroups within this social class. Nevertheless, Bailey asserts that class creation is not dependent upon social standing, but rather on capital and capitalist production processes. Therefore, Bailey defines the working class in a

comprehensive manner, including white-collar workers, the urban poor, and informal laborers.

In this context, the working class is not a frozen object. This phenomena is not static, but rather undergoes changes and transformations as it interacts with capitalist production processes. Thus, by comparing the working conditions of the traditional working class to the current precarious conditions faced by a significant portion of the working class, it becomes evident that a new 'class' formation has emerged. This perspective allows us to view the working class as a phenomenon that originated at a specific historical moment and has since remained unchanged and stable.

According to Bailey, the rise in precarity during the neoliberal era leads to the erosion of the advancements made by the working class through their historical struggles. Nevertheless, even though his suspicious stance towards the notion of precariat, Bailey emphasizes a significant issue. The feelings of insecurity, instability, and vulnerability that arise from the neoliberal attack on the working class are real and experienced by a wide variety of individuals. Thus, the author denies the idea that the precariat is a new social class, but instead advocates for a more comprehensive working class viewpoint that encompasses many vulnerable groups.

In a similar way, Richard Seymour also expresses skepticism on the concept of the precariat (Seymour, 2022). The precariat is not considered a distinct social class. Precarity, a widely embraced and populist notion, arises from the particular circumstances associated with the neoliberal era of economic progress. Seymour states that neoliberalism is distinguished by the presence of risk, instability, and precarity.

In the context of neoliberalism, where financial risk is used for profit, capital is compelled to seek out high-risk projects. This scenario creates instability inside the economy and necessitates government involvement to ensure the security of capital. Thus, the state transfers the financial burden of risks and instabilities on the lower socioeconomic groups through taxation and other regulatory measures in the market. Therefore, the system shifts the burden of instability onto the workers.

In this context, Seymour does not perceive the precariat as a distinct social class. This is because all segments that are not part of the capitalist class have become precarious in the neoliberal period, albeit at different levels. Individuals employed as civil servants in the public sector, as employees in the commercial sector, and those working in white or blue collar occupations all encounter varying degrees of instability caused by the system. According to Seymour, if we do not belong to the capitalist class, 'we are all part of the precariat'.

In addition, according to Jonna and Foster, the concept of 'precarity' has an important place in the long history of Marxist literature. Pierre Bourdieu's early work on Algeria, in which he analyzed the 'precarity' of workers alongside Marx's study of the 'reserve army of labor', played a crucial role in the development and popularization of the concept of precarity over the latter half of the 20th century (Bourdieu, 1963: as cited in Jonna and Foster, 2015). Bourdieu argues that insecure groups, referred to as the 'sub-proletariat', arise within the working class when the widespread belief in the ease of replacing individuals is accepted, owing to the presence of a substantial surplus labor force.

Also, Marx and Engels often mention the notion of precarity in their analyses. Engels made an in-depth study of the effects of uncertainty on the social status of the jobless "surplus population" on both employed and unemployed workers in his influential book, "The Condition of the Working Class in England." Engels describes the overall status of the working class as precarious, marked by a persistent sense of uncertainty due to the potential of becoming part of the jobless or underemployed people throughout the process of capital accumulation (Engels, 1845). Engels argues that the condition of precariousness and uncertainty is a tangible aspect of the concept of the 'unemployed reserve army of labor', which serves as a base for worker exploitation.

In his theorization of the General Law of Accumulation in Capital, Marx clarifies his studies on the reserve army of labor, the employment status of workers, and the precariousness of their life. Marx argues that as workers increase their efficiency in

creating wealth for capital, their role as a source of capital accumulation becomes increasingly precarious (Marx, 1976). In the capitalist production process, the accumulation of capital leads to a rise in the demand for labor and simultaneously increases the supply of labor by liberating up workers. Furthermore, the pressure exerted by the jobless leads workers to exert greater effort, therefore making the availability of labor somewhat detached from the availability of laborers. The reciprocal interaction between labor supply and demand in capitalist production enhances the dominance of capital. Workers who work harder not only produce more money for others, but also increase the productive potential of their labor. However, paradoxically, they find themselves stuck in a progressively unstable and uncertain existence due to their role in facilitating the growth of capital. The insecure working circumstances experienced by laborers are a result of fierce competition caused by the presence of a surplus population (Marx, 1976).

Overall, precarity has been a significant aspect in understanding the process of capitalist accumulation, as evidenced by early Marxist writings. Capital maintains its control over workers primarily by generating acceptance to layoffs, inadequate salaries, and insecure working conditions, all of which are facilitated by the existence of a surplus labor force. In addition, Bailey and Seymour highlight that throughout the neoliberal era, the concept of precarity has become widespread across each tier of social labor, intensifying the fundamental contradiction within the capitalist system. Since the 1970s, the process of capital accumulation has restructured the circumstances of work and existence, resulting in a tangible state of precarity for all socioeconomic groups. Thus, it is crucial to comprehend the changes that the neoliberal age has imposed on the labor sector.

2.2 Precarization of Immaterial Labor

The practice of architecture is primarily characterized by its artistic dimension and creative endeavors. The link between architecture, aesthetics, and science situates it at the intersection of artistic creation and technical knowledge. A design

methodology rooted in imagination makes mental work demanding. Furthermore, recognizing that artistic work constitutes a form of labor, architecture is classified as a profession within the realm of immaterial labor. Deamer suggests that architecture should be regarded as an imaginative, creative, and self-actualizing activity, reflecting the essence of human labor (Deamer, 2015). Furthermore, architectural creativity relies on an imaginative approach for problem-solving and an increasingly broad embrace of form creativity. Thus, the profession of architecture is manifested through the methodical accumulation of knowledge, wherein creative and imaginative immaterial labor are employed in finding answers to societal issues.

The development of neoliberal capitalism, the implementation of the post-Fordist production regime, the process of globalization, and the fast advancement of communication technology have profoundly influenced working patterns on a global scale. An emerging labor market characterized by a growing proportion of workers engaged in insecure, temporary, or irregular employment has been observed. The phenomenon of precarity, historically recognized in low-paid and low-skilled professions under capitalist labor relations, has grown to encompass a broader spectrum of occupational groupings throughout the neoliberal era. In recent times, individuals who were formerly well-compensated and had prestigious positions have now been included in the category of 'precarious workers' (Gill and Pratt, 2008). The prevalence of precarity has expanded from low-skilled employment that mostly involve physical work to include high-skilled professions that require significant intellectual effort, such as engineering and architecture, which were highly sought-after occupations throughout the industrial age.

Mahmud emphasizes that the 'labor crises' and 'contingency bursts' that define the neoliberal age have heightened precariousness, resulting in workers living on the margins of society. An expanding portion of the workforce finds themselves in a state where they are not fully employed nor wholly excluded from labor, but rather on the periphery of it (Mahmud, 2014). The utilization of new information technology has facilitated the expansion of immaterial labor, including labor practices and working circumstances. This expansion generates a condition of

uncertainty that also obscures the distinction between work and non-work. According to Mahmud, the factory is progressively extending its influence over society, as interpreted by Hardt and Negri in their analysis of class relations in the neoliberal age (Mahmud, 2014). Consequently, the condition of uncertainty caused by capitalist labor exploitation, which is prevalent in industrial society's factories, has now extended to encompass creative work and immaterial labor.

In this context, it can be argued that the profession of architecture, which is considered as a professional group where creative labor and immaterial labor are intensive, is also affected by new labor markets and working conditions. As previously mentioned, architects are likewise affected by the widespread state of precariousness that affects significant portions of society. However, in order to explain the decreased worth of once valued professional groups like the architectural profession under recent circumstances, it is essential to examine the progression from the 1970s until now. Hence, to elucidate this process, the sections that follow will address two key aspects. Firstly, the deskillingization of professions in the context of capitalist development will be examined. Secondly, the neoliberal transformation of the architectural profession will be discussed within this framework.

2.2.1 Deskillingization of Professions

The capitalist division of work is a significant factor in the process of improving the value of labor. Braverman argues that within the capitalist system, work undergoes a continuous process of fragmentation into ever smaller components, while also becoming more intricate. Each minute component is subdivided in a manner that minimizes the need for extensive work and expertise. Job descriptions that necessitate a lower level of education and include predominantly physical or cognitive tasks are redefined as positions that demand less qualifications. Consequently, the cognitive and physical abilities of workers get divided into two opposing forces. The progressive expansion of the capitalist division of labor and advancements in science and technology intensify the inherent polarization within

the capitalist system. The shift in the division of tasks is responsible for the progressive merging of the conventional working class, which relies on physical labor, and the wage-earning class that exists outside of it. Braverman's main argument in this context is that intellectual labor will inevitably become equivalent to manual labor, with a complex division of labor, and that labor in capitalist society will become entirely unskilled (Braverman, 1974).

The notion of professional qualification has significant importance at this moment. The engineering-architecture professions have experienced a significant surge in demand for labor since the late 19th century, resulting in its massification. Through the use of this function, they have progressively begun to display some attributes commonly found in other large-scale professions (Öngel, 2016). Phenomena such as rationalization, division of labor, task simplification, mechanization, decrease in relative wages, and unemployment are commonly found in the field of architecture. The contemporary significance of this process has grown in line with the division and specialization of labor activities. The architectural profession has seen a rapid shift due to the globalization process and technical advancements.

Nevertheless, there is a prevailing notion that the profession of an architect is inherently intellectual and requires a high level of talent, regardless of the actual level of expertise. Although there are inherent benefits to design as a 'learned profession' independent of working conditions, the architectural field is progressively being undermined by labor and trade regulations. Deamer (2021) highlights that architects may have a disadvantageous position in labor law as compared to even blue-collar workers in certain situations. Although architectural knowledge obtained via specialized intellectual training and sophisticated expertise falls under the category of 'professional activity,' it may yet lack even the most fundamental worker rights. Architects who are eligible for exempt from minimum wage and overtime pay are considered 'qualified' based on their job description. However, this might result in these architects becoming employees who are deprived of even the most fundamental labor rights in terms of their working circumstances.

2.2.2 Transformation of Architecture

Neoliberal policies have influenced the practice of architectural profession. These consequences may be assessed based on two primary factors: firstly, the urbanization practices throughout the neoliberal era, and secondly, the structure of architectural institutions.

The assessment of the first topic refers to the spatial ramifications of the neoliberal period. Urban capital accumulation operations are grounded on enduring tactics that embody the fundamental principles of neoliberalism (Theodore and Pack, 2011). Urbanization and capital accumulation are connected through the ownership of real estate assets and the consequent generation of land income. Sager identifies three key characteristics of neoliberal urban planning: public-private partnerships, urban marketing and branding, and the gentrification of previously publicly regulated services (Sager, 2011: as cited in Dimelli, 2018).

The distribution and utilization of urban space has shifted from a focus on public interests and social welfare to prioritizing the private sector's accumulation of wealth. After the adoption of neoliberal policies, governments disengaged from supporting public life and civic activities, and instead began prioritizing commercial demands. In line with the privatization of services like education and health, the field of architecture has relinquished its public function and transformed into a commercial enterprise overseen by private construction firms, real estate developers, and contractors. Consequently, architects have primarily focused on safeguarding the interests of private enterprises rather than prioritizing their own financial gains and the welfare of the general public (Sadri, 2018).

Therefore, the role of architecture has been transformed to fulfill the requirements of neoliberal policies. The principles of marketization and competition that are characteristic of neoliberalism have infiltrated architecture. Cities competing on branding have developed alongside competition in the field of architecture. 'Star architects' have entered into a race to create eye-catching cities.

A consideration of the latter relates to the scale of architectural firms. The vast majority of practices in design-related fields, including architecture, have historically been organized as small. However, their size has placed inherent limitations on their ability to compete with increasingly larger and economically dominant practices in capitalist markets. By exposing their structures, financial resources and means of distribution, small firms are defined as inherently precarious. The large architectural firms that have emerged in the field of architecture have monopolized and increasingly precariousized small-scale boutique architectural offices (Cayer, Roudbari and Shvartzberg, 2020).

Furthermore, the architect who owns the firm is both a capitalist, as they possess the means of production, and a wage-earner themselves. This production method has more of the attributes associated with an artisan rather than a capitalist process. Most offices lack capital accumulation and do not exhibit a capitalist division of labor (Artun, 1999). Nevertheless, the transformation of architectural offices into business structures throughout the neoliberal era has also had an impact on the architect's position. The implementation of corporatization has led to a rise in the division of labor within architectural companies and an accelerated decline in the professional qualifications of architects. Furthermore, there has been a transition from a scenario where the majority of architects are independent contractors to a scenario where the number of architects engaged by a corporation on a fixed wage has risen. Consequently, there has been a growing inclination towards 'earning wages' in the field of architecture, leading to a rising proletarianization of architects.

2.3 Architect-Workers in Turkey

Following the 2001 crisis and the rise of the 'Justice and Development Party' (AKP) in 2002, Turkey experienced a significant transformation in private sector investments, with a notable focus on the construction, energy, and transportation sectors. In the 2000s and 2010s, the most prominent topic in the growth dynamics of the Turkish economy was the centralization of the construction and real estate sectors

in line with the motto of 'construction-led growth'. The accessibility to the construction industry and its dominance in the Turkish economy were enhanced by the rents generated from public lands, as well as through public-private investment partnerships (TOKI) and the provision of low-interest bank loans to the construction and real estate sector. Between 2000 and 2018, the proportion of agriculture and manufacturing in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) decreased, while the construction sector's contribution grew and reached 18% (Voyvoda and Taymaz, 2023). Despite the economic slowdown that has occurred since 2018, the construction sector remains crucial for the Turkish economy.

Yeşilbağ (2016) examines Turkey's construction-focused economic expansion in relation to the influence of global market circumstances. He describes it as a deliberate approach employed by the AKP administration to establish and maintain its dominance, which possesses distinct features. During the era after 2002, although the construction sector became an important component of the economy as a result of the AKP government's policies, the strategy underlined by Yeşilbağ was not limited to the economic sphere. The surge in building is also influenced by non-economic considerations. During this time, significant construction endeavors and massive construction projects were handed over to institutions and people who had substantial influence and interests aligned with the AKP government. This resulted in a restructuring of power dynamics within the wealthy elite in Turkey. Furthermore, the AKP utilized building operations to symbolically and ideologically display the narrative of Islamic modernity and to include a significant number of individuals into its hegemonic goal.

Following 2002, the architectural profession witnessed a transformation due to the AKP regime's implementation of capital accumulation through construction. The neoliberal restructuring of urban areas, major investments in mega building projects, and municipal policies that favor rental income have all contributed to labor exploitation by rendering the working circumstances of architects precarious and insecure. Aykaç, Sert, and Zırh's 2021 research examines the correlation between the labor practices of architects and urban policy in Turkey. The study utilizes interviews

and surveys to provide insights on the working circumstances of architects. Their research on architects who began their careers in Turkey during the neoliberal period, referred to as 'young architect-workers', demonstrates that many types of exploitation, ranging from the design phase to the construction phase of architecture, have significantly increased since 2013. Furthermore, they acknowledge that some architects have ambivalence due to unhappiness with their profession, in addition to being subjected to labor exploitation. As Yeşilbağ mentioned before, the construction sector, which is expanding due to the AKP's efforts to gain control, promotes architectural practices that worsen environmental crises, urban conflicts, and an authoritarian Islamic ideology. This leads to dissatisfaction among architects who work within this system of building production, as it goes against their ethical principles. The research findings indicate that there are some frequent themes that the majority of young architect-workers face. These topics may be stated as follows:

“a new series of interdependent factors substantially changing working conditions of young architect-workers began in the 2000s in Turkey: increase in short-term and project-based employment (similar to seasonal workers), proliferation of government subsidized iconic mega-scale urban projects, market-driven degradation in ethical professional standards, disbelief and dissatisfaction underlying the ethical positioning of projects, lengthening of working hours, aggressive project schedules, and declining living standards and conditions of architects.” (Aykaç, Sert, and Zirh, 2021)

In this context, the violation of rights, oppressive working conditions, insufficient compensation, and other unfavorable circumstances faced by architects during their work have intensified as a result of the urban policies implemented by the AKP in accordance with the neoliberal agenda, which also incorporates the distinctive features of its own quest for dominance. As another outcome of the research shows, a large number of young architect-workers in Turkey today have given up hope of being able to practice their profession satisfactorily in the land of their birth and have started to make plans to go abroad. In this respect, according to Aykaç and Sert, the young architects who are working in the 2010s are a generation that is stuck in a state of uncertainty and increasing precarity. While the architect-worker is distinguished from other workers by their creative labor, the relationship between the worker and

the architect-boss remains unclear which adds to the insecurity faced by young architect-workers in their professional careers (Aykaç, Sert, 2018).

Another study on the labor process of architects in Turkey highlights that, in line with the changes in production relations during the neoliberal era, the skills required for architect labor have decreased. Additionally, the growing number of paid architects has resulted in architects being placed in a conflicting class position as 'white-collar productive workers' (Onur, 2018). Onur suggests that the rise in construction output and the workload resulting from neoliberal economic policies have caused changes in labor processes, namely by introducing division of labor and specialization within the profession. The rise in architectural production within private offices has resulted in a shift where the architect, who is the owner or employer of the firm, hires and compensates other architects as paid employees. This has led to the change of the architect from a self-employed professional to a salaried worker. Therefore, it can be asserted that the manner in which the architectural profession is now conducted directly influences the quality of work. Currently, the supply of service production relies on the architect's labor meeting certain requirements. This includes sustaining the function of capital, ensuring its cycle, and generating surplus-value, all of which contribute to the growth of global capital.

Onur argues that the rapid expansion of the construction industry in Turkey has led to a greater need for skilled workers in the building construction sector. This demand has mostly been fulfilled by employing recently graduated architects. Furthermore, the practice of subcontracting in the construction industry leads to a disconnection between architects and their work. This occurs when architects, employed as technicians in subcontracting firms, are assigned to separate the architectural design process from the technical aspects of the job, resulting in their alienation from their profession.

In this particular situation, architects who are compensated for their work have transformed into "white-collar productive workers" and are experiencing a trend towards "proletarianization." This is primarily due to several factors, including the

insufficient wages they receive despite their active and productive contributions to the production process, the ease with which architect labor can be accessed due to the rapid increase in the number of architects, the massification and trivialization of the profession, the decrease in the skill level of the labor force, and the loss of credibility associated with architect labor. The architectural profession has increasingly accepted and normalized precarious working circumstances, making it easier to abuse architects' labor.

Table 1 Comparison of the number of members registered with the Chamber of Architects and the number of registered offices

	2022	2023
Number of members Chamber of Architects	75.756	79.847
Number of members with office registration	14.490	13.507
Number of Members / Office Registrations	%19	%17

Based on the statistics published at the last Architectural Education Congress conducted by the Chamber of Architects in 2023, there has been a rise in the number of employed architects. In 2022, the Chamber of Architects had a total of 75,756 registered members, out of whom 14,490 held an office registration. In this scenario, a total of 19% of the members possess the authorization to establish their own offices. As of 2023, the Chamber of Architects has had a growth in membership, reaching a total of 79,847 members. Nevertheless, the total count of registered members observed a decline, reaching a figure of 13,507 (Table 1). Consequently, there was a decline in the number of architectural firms, despite an increase in membership, between 2022 and 2023. The economic crisis and increased competition among architectural firms have led to a decline in the number of architects operating their

own offices. The number of working architects is consistently rising, with a yearly increase in the number of young architects.

In this context, the service sector, which includes the field of architecture, has experienced substantial employment growth during the last century. This growth has contributed to the accumulation of capital within the capitalist system. In the case of Turkey, the growing number of architects resulting from the rising interest in the construction sector due to neoliberal policies has not resulted in an improvement in quality. Conversely, the architectural field has become more precarious and lacking in qualifications due to the growing specialization of tasks. Newly graduating architects in particular are facing challenges of unemployment and a sense of futility.

2.4 Reserve Army of Labor in Turkey

The reserve army of labor is a part of the surplus population that is continually generated by capital under the capitalist mode of production. Capital utilizes this surplus population according to its own needs. Marx categorizes the reserve army of labor, which is made up of the relative surplus population, into four distinct groups: floating, latent, stagnant, and pauperized surplus population. The term "floating surplus population" refers to individuals who are unemployed as a result of changes in the value of capital, the introduction of automation, and the appearance of new investment opportunities, and who are subsequently hired as needed. The surplus population, which can be seen as a response to technical or structural unemployment, also serves as a reserve labor force in line with the requirements of capital accumulation. The concept of the latent surplus population refers to the incorporation of non-capitalist sectors, like agriculture, into capitalism systems, where laborers are transformed into wage workers and subjected to exploitation. The stagnant surplus population has been described as a reserve labor force that is part of the active labor force but works occasionally and under challenging conditions. This population grows by incorporating further flexible and hidden types of reserve into the labor force. At last, the pauperized surplus population symbolizes the part of society that

experiences extreme suffering and hardship within the broader context of the surplus population (Oğuz, 2024).

Hymer (1975: as cited in Foster and others, 2017), a prominent researcher in the 1970s, emphasized that capital accumulation leads to a growth in the proletariat, as per Marx's idea of the 'reserve army'. The 'external reserve army' in third world countries serves as a complement to the 'internal reserve army' in advanced capitalist nations. It forms the real material foundation that allows multinational capital to expand production globally. This resulted in an ongoing inflow of excess people into the workforce and undermined labor on a worldwide scale through a strategy of "divide and rule".

Jonna and Foster highlighted the significance of the global reserve army of labor in the neoliberal age and the precarious conditions faced by a majority of the world's workforce. They supported their argument using statistics obtained from the International Labor Organization (ILO) (Jonna and Foster, 2016). Based on these numbers, the global reserve army of labor accounts for 60% of the worldwide working population. Based on data from 2015, the global reserve army comprises over 2.3 billion individuals, whereas the active labor army, the majority of whom have unstable employment, consists of around 1.66 billion people. Hence, the insatiable desire for boundless capital accumulation on a global level during the neoliberal era has led to intensified labor exploitation in both developed and developing nations. This has resulted in a surge in the process of turning individuals into workers due to the accumulation of capital, and the expansion of the reserve labor force from a national to a global scale. Consequently, precarious working conditions have become a persistent issue.

Oğuz's research on Turkey (2020) reveals that the reserve labor force in the country is larger than the active labor force and tends to grow in parallel with paid work in general. As a result of the 2008 crisis, there was a general rise in the proportion of the reserve army. Although there was a subsequent decline, it did not go back to the levels seen before the crisis. During the 2008 crisis, nearly all categories of surplus

labor grew, but the stagnant surplus diminished as a result of employment losses. After the crisis, the proportion of the stagnant reserve grew more rapidly. This rise might be interpreted as a sign of the growing prevalence of low-wage, flexible-hour, unofficial, and unsatisfactory working circumstances as a means of escaping the crisis.

There is a limitation of data about the work force statistics of architects in Turkey. Nevertheless, Oğuz's (2024) research, which examines the relationship between unemployment, incomes, and the reserve labor force across several industries, may provide insights into the position of architects within the reserve labor force. Examining statistics from 2004 to 2013, Oğuz demonstrates that the sector of "constructing and public works" ranks second in terms of having the largest reserve army, among other industries. Furthermore, Oğuz provides information regarding the mean salaries in various industries, highlighting that the average pay in the construction and public works sector decreased below the overall average wages throughout this timeframe. The study's findings indicate a negative association between the reserve labor force and wage fluctuations. Additionally, a rise in the reserve labor force ratio is linked to a decrease in real income.

The construction industry is not only comprised of architects. Nevertheless, the surplus of available workers in the construction and public works industry, including architects, coupled with the relatively low incomes, enables us to draw a broad conclusion regarding the working circumstances of architects. Since 2000, the construction sector in Turkey, which is a significant contributor to capital accumulation, has seen financial growth, resulting in an increased need for staff members in this industry. The capitalist system generates an excess of workers compared to the actual demand, leading to the expansion of the reserve labor force in regions experiencing capital accumulation. Consequently, this results in the suppression of wages.

Unemployment in this sense is an essential outcome and requirement of capitalist accumulation. Architects, like the working masses, are compelled to join the 'reserve

labor army' and participate in the labor market due to similar underlying factors that lead to unemployment.

Architect-workers today in Turkey under the rule of the AKP can be classified among the surplus population categories of 'floating' and 'stagnant' as established by Marx. Among the unpredictable variations in investments and exchange rates in the building sector, it may be inferred that architects were periodically laid off and rehired as per the need for their services. Furthermore, it is plausible to discuss a continuously growing stagnant surplus population due to the rise in part-time employment, subcontracting, and insecure working circumstances within the field of architecture. Hence, the causes of unemployment, precarious work, inadequate incomes, and challenging working circumstances faced by architects may be attributed to the proliferation of the reserve labor force to an ever larger group of workers throughout the neoliberal era.



CHAPTER 3

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF UNIVERSITIES IN TURKEY

Chapter 2 examined the precarization of architect work in Turkey, specifically in relation to the concept of the 'reserve army of labor'. This chapter will continue to examine the variables contributing to the current state of affairs in the professional lives of architects. The preceding section highlighted that proletarianization intensifies in areas where capital is concentrated and a surplus of available labor, known as a 'reserve army of labor', is present, all within the context of the general rule of capital accumulation. Within this particular context, the construction industry, which has expanded based on neoliberal policies, has had an adverse effect on the labor practices of architects. It has led to a widespread increase in precariousness by intensifying the commodification of labor within the architectural profession, consequently resulting in a greater number of unemployed architects.

Nevertheless, the formation of the reserve army of architects and the specific mechanisms involved have not yet been examined. Furthermore, it is necessary to address the institutions that are involved in this process. The construction industry has experienced a surge in demand for architects throughout the AKP era. Similarly, during periods of economic crises and financial fluctuations, the construction sector experienced a slowdown, leading to an increase in the number of architects who were unable to find full-time employment or had to settle for temporary part-time jobs. The construction industry, in which the AKP government and the private sector participate, has been implemented through the collaboration between the state and the market, which is an essential characteristic of the neoliberal age. Due to the strong performance of the building and real estate sectors under the AKP

government, Turkey clearly had a significant construction boom. The AKP government's regulations on construction and real estate issues after 2002 indicate that the construction boom was not a result of market forces, but a deliberate and planned decision by the AKP government (Yeşilbağ, 2016). Thus, in the Turkish context, the process of urban accumulation, where the principles of capital are combined with the dominant aim of the AKP government, has been achieved through an intentional collaboration between the state and various capital factions, each fulfilling a complementary role.

In this context, it is important to note that the establishment of the 'reserve army of architects' should not be seen as a random or unplanned occurrence. It would be false to believe that a portion of the younger generation in Turkey simply choose to become architects without considering the underlying process and factors contributing to the increasing number of architects. Thus, within the framework of this thesis, it will be argued that the AKP administration and the urban accumulation strategy of the capitalist class have resulted in the creation of a 'reserve army of architects'. The concept of the 'university' will be examined as a crucial instrument in elucidating the historical phenomenon of urbanization and the work of architects.

The process of neoliberal transformation of the university is a significant subject in the context of the 'global reserve labor army'. Conversely, in the context of Turkey, the concept of 'university' is an important topic of discussion that prominently influences the economic, political, and ideological tendencies of the AKP administration. This section of the thesis will study the impact of the university's development at both global and national levels on the architectural profession.

3.1 Neoliberalization of Educational Institutions

The formation of education and universities throughout history has been closely linked to the use of power and societal transformations. Thus, the university, being an institutional framework, is inherently tied with the economic and non-economic connections that exist within capitalist society, and cannot be separated from them.

The connection between the production of knowledge and authority provides the university and educational institutions a significant instrument within the capitalist framework. The university, being a crucial institution for the perpetuation and validation of the system, also generates individuals essential for the operation of the system.

The rise of the contemporary university is historically connected to the ideas of the Enlightenment. However, it is strongly linked to the process of establishing a nation-state (Kwiek, 2000). The primary objective of universities in modern society is to generate ideas that will support the activities of the welfare state and promote social progress in accordance with the principles of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, the contemporary university has assumed the responsibility of instructing the individuals required by the nation-state and generating the information necessary for a political and cultural endeavor, and then distributing it to the wider population. Thus, as per Kwiek (2000), the contemporary university played a crucial and essential role in advancing society. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that the nation-state and universities are institutions that originated at the same time and have maintained a strong connection until recently.

Discussions on the function of the education system and the university have been the subject of extensive discourse throughout history. The university's social function has been criticized for its deterioration within the capitalist state, particularly in relation to economic, political, and ideological processes, as well as its integration with the market. During a time when the nation-state model became less significant in a globalizing world and the concept of national development lost its appeal, the university started to transform into an institution that prioritizes the personal growth of people while diminishing its role in social development. Einstein, a very influential scientist in the tales of human history, with the ability to discern the contradictions of the educational system throughout the initial part of the 20th century. Einstein (1949) stated that the progress made during the civilized era of human history has been significantly shaped and constrained by both non-economic and economic factors. For instance, the majority of significant governments

throughout history may attribute their establishment to the act of conquest. The ruling classes establish their legal and economic superiority as the privileged elite of the enslaved nation. After establishing exclusive control over land ownership, they selected individuals from their own tribe to form a priestly class. The priests established a lasting social hierarchy and imposed a set of ideals through their control over education, which would subsequently influence people's social conduct, often without their full awareness.

According to Einstein, the capitalist society has seen a differentiation in its system of values, with a decline in the dominance of religious knowledge and a replacement by scientific information. The dissemination of these principles across the institution has resulted in a destructive situation where capitalism severely limits individuals. Individuals who get education inside the capitalist system are indoctrinated with an intensified competitive mindset and are taught to admire achieved accomplishment as a means of preparing for their future professions. Einstein believed that the education of an individual should not only focus on developing their natural skills, but also on establishing in them a feeling of duty towards others, rather than promoting the pursuit of power and success that is prevalent in contemporary culture (Einstein, 1949). However, capitalism, as illustrated by Einstein, is an economic system where production is primarily driven by the pursuit of profit rather than meeting the needs of society.

Consequently, a significant portion of the population is disadvantaged and lacks access to essential resources and services. The system relies on an enormous number of unemployed people to create an endless fear among workers of being returned to the reservoir of available labor. Advancements in technology frequently lead to employee displacement, hence increasing the ranks of the jobless and strengthening the relative influence of their employers. The pursuit of profit, in combination with unrestricted competition, is accountable for significant economic crises, extensive labor inefficiency, and the erosion of individuals' social awareness. The latter refers to the "most evil aspect of capitalism" since it enables society to become hostile towards the masses (Einstein, 1949).

Einstein's insightful examination of the capitalist education system during the early 1900s has been further emphasized in the neoliberal age. The pursuit of profit has become increasingly ruthless, capital's involvement in the education sector has expanded, and the number of unemployed individuals has risen. Taner Timur reported at the World Conference on Higher Education in Paris in October 1988 that the global student population in higher education had surged from 13 million in 1970 to more than 80 million in 1988. At this meeting, almost a hundred education ministers and several university executives and scientists gathered to examine the various challenges faced by higher education (Timur, 2000). Indeed, this rapid expansion alone was sufficient for the emergence of new issues or the transformation of existing issues. Nevertheless, throughout the expansion of international capitalism known as 'globalization', certain issues have arisen that cannot be solely attributed to economic progress.

The primary consequence of globalization, which coincided with the implementation of neoliberal economic policy, on higher education has shown in states actively seeking new collaborators to boost their education budgets. Timur argues that the increasing competition in capitalism and rapid advancements in technology have led to the emergence of a new type of student. Additionally, these factors have also placed financial strain on students. Furthermore, it motivates colleges to actively pursue new relationships and partnerships in order to align themselves with capitalist principles. Universities are progressively managed as private enterprises, emphasizing financial profitability and even transferring their resources to the stock market (Timur, 2000).

Universities, like other institutions, are influenced by the macroeconomic policies of the day. In parallel with the economic downturn of capitalism in the 1970s, the field of science also experienced a crisis. The implementation of neoliberal policies in response to the crisis resulted in the reorganization of the institution and its alignment with neoliberal strategies (Kwiek, 2000). Consequently, the pursuit of stability following the crisis within a specific era of capitalism resulted in the establishment of a novel social culture, necessitating the creation of a new university and an entirely

new type of science. Following this shift, the concept of the 'political economy of higher education' arose as educational institutions started operating in a manner similar to businesses, and education became a sector of strategic importance.

In addition to this, the process of turning all social interactions into commodities in the neoliberal age has led to the transformation of higher education into a commodity. Noble (2002). defines the commodification of education as the disruption of the fundamental educational process, resulting in the division and simplification of the educational experience into separate, specific, and ultimately marketable entities or packages. The initial stage of commodification is a shift in focus from the individuals' educational experiences to the creation and inventory of fragmented "course materials".

These inventories consist of curriculum, lectures, and tests that are presented as course content. These teaching instruments, commonly used in higher education, inadequately represent the real essence of the educational experience and, at most, provide the perception of structure and predictability to a fundamentally spontaneous and uncertain process. Furthermore, these pieces are detached or "separated" from their original context, the real educational process, and from their authors, the instructors. They are then gathered as "lessons" that exist independently and separately from individuals who developed and expanded upon them.

As Noble explains, as the last link in the commodification process, courses that have been severed from their integrity are reassembled and exchanged for a profit in the market that determines their value by their "owners" who may or may not have any relationship with the original creators and participants of the educational process. Consequently, when higher education is commodified, courses are converted into marketable goods, shifting the focus of education from self-discovery to financial gain (Noble, 2002). After this change, teachers assume the role of producers and distributors of goods, operating under the same system of producing goods as in other businesses, while students take on the role of consumers of these goods.

Also, educators face the realities of commodity production under this new regime familiar to skilled workers in every sector as we move from the dawn of industrial capitalism to the neoliberal era. Noble describes the effects of the capitalist system on labor processes, including increased speed, standardization of work, stricter work rules, greater control by managers, decreased independence, job insecurity, employers taking the benefits of labor, and constant pressure from managers to cut labor costs for profit (Noble, 2002). Therefore, the commercialization of education also results in the "proletarianization" of the professoriate. Quality education requires a substantial amount of effort and resources, including a small number of students per instructor and meaningful engagement between them. Hence, in order to provide high-quality education, it is essential to make a substantial and continuous investment in educational personnel, independent of the mode of teaching. Nevertheless, the demands of producing goods in large quantities weaken the labor-intensive foundation of providing high-quality education.

Thus, the university has undergone a commodification process, where it has been integrated into the market through neoliberal policies, and its primary purpose has shifted to the production of workers. As a result, this transition has also impacted the culture of the academic institution. Within the context of a transformation process, students are transformed into consumers of commodities while instructors transition into workers who manufacture and distribute these commodities. Simultaneously, teachers also gradually assume the role of workers. Hence, critiques of the academy have arisen from inside the academy itself. The expansion of capital relations into the university, which shapes university culture and generates academic life, has also intensified the examination within the academic community. Nalbantoğlu identifies the emergence of a new social category during this period: the 'Ersatz-yuppie' professor. Nalbantoğlu characterizes this particular academic as 'egocentric', 'possessing a shared aspiration to advance regardless of social class distinctions', 'disregarding anything other than this aspiration', 'conforming to every prevailing notion by producing relevant projects and articles', 'converting collaborations and friendships into opportunities' (Nalbantoğlu, 2009). Furthermore, it is a category that

operates in its own self-interest, utilizing things that can be readily converted into capital, and aims to gain the benefits of this system while appearing to critique the current system. The narrative of individual salvation promoted by neoliberalism also impacts relationships within the institution, fostering a culture where academics are compelled to consistently prioritize their own advancement in a highly competitive setting. In the context of the neoliberal university, academic success is primarily measured by the quantity of publications and conference presentations, rather than the quality of scientific knowledge. Consequently, the significance of the substance of scientific knowledge has been reduced, and those who generate a greater quantity of work have been considered more successful.

Erbaş states that national publications diminished in significance during that period, while articles in other languages and those included in international indexes gained acceptance. During this shift, the significance of authoring a book was considered insignificant, while the assessment of the number of articles was dependent on the journal's index rather than the quality of the articles (Erbaş, 2009). Due to many processes, universities have now become active participants in the market. However, in the pursuit of financial stability, the critical perspective, which has significant importance in the 'modern university', has been compromised. As a result, the university undergoes a significant change, shifting from an academic entity characterized by equal relationships and a somewhat democratic approach to producing knowledge, to a financial bureaucratic institution that is primarily driven by monetary considerations and hierarchical control.

The framework that Erbaş proposes for the university, academia, and knowledge production is founded on the dichotomy between modernity and post-modernity. While the modern university is a part of the capitalist system, it also possesses certain characteristics that emancipate it from capitalist influences, making it an autonomous entity. Naturally, this does not imply that it is entirely detached from capitalist connections, but it does not possess an absolute equivalence to the capitalist system. The post-modern university, however, manifests itself in direct contradiction to all the characteristics embodied by the modern university (Erbaş, 2016). Viewing the

crisis of capitalism as synonymous with the crisis of modernism justifies the rise of post-modern philosophy, which seeks to undermine and replace modernism, and consequently capitalism. However, postmodern philosophy, which emerged during the neoliberal era, has evolved in parallel with neoliberalism, a more ruthless manifestation of capitalism, rather than as an ideology that surpasses capitalism.

Erbaş outlines the distinctions between the modern university and the anti-modern (post-modern) university in this particular setting. While not synonymous, the modern/anti-modern dichotomy may also be seen as the differentiation between the pre-neoliberal university and the neoliberal university, which is relevant for the context of this thesis. Indeed, the attributes that Erbaş describes as the core values of the anti-modern university also align with the features of the neoliberal university model.

The transformation process occurs with varying intensity across different universities. University management and academic personnel may present various viewpoints regarding educational content. Nonetheless, several values have undergone partial or complete transformation during the neoliberal era. Key issues include: 'The conversion of social ideals into private/civil ideals', 'The prioritization of private sector interests over public interests', 'The shift from a University-Society relationship to a University-Industry relationship', 'The substitution of academic criteria with financial criteria', and 'The reduction of diversity coupled with an increase in standardization' (Erbaş, 2016).

Within this particular framework, the process of implementing neoliberal policies at the university has resulted in significant changes in the production of knowledge and the administrative structure of the institution. The production of knowledge has grown increasingly reliant on the market, resulting in a diminishing social function for universities and a greater emphasis on the interaction between universities and the industry they serve. Universities that have transitioned into for-profit businesses are increasingly prioritizing financial considerations over scholarly considerations. The pursuit of exploration and innovation has been supplanted by the cultivation of

technical and practical expertise, leading to the substitution of vocational education with the training of technicians. Furthermore, the independent structure of the university, which fosters an environment of emancipation, has been constrained by a system in which capital dictates the regulations, and the information generated has been homogenized to align with the requirements of the industry.

So due to neoliberalization of universities, knowledge and course contents have been transformed into marketable commodities that align with the demands of capitalism. As a result, the university system has undergone restructuring. This circumstance has not only transformed the production of knowledge, but also the academic institutions and the individuals they educate, resulting in a competitive environment among students and also professors. The substitution of vocational education with technical training returns us to the notion that the reserve army of labor. The massification of higher education, which will be further elaborated in the next section, is one of the significant factor that contributed to the transformation of labor into deskilled work and the expansion of the reserve labor force during the neoliberal era.

3.2 Architecture Education in the Neoliberal Era

In the past, the practice of architecture was predominantly executed within the ateliers of artisans. Consequently, architectural education evolved through a master-apprentice interaction. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, a structured architectural education developed with the Académie d'Architecture and its successor, the École des Beaux-Arts, continuing into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Griffin, A. 2022). This educational system prioritized composition, historical knowledge, the synthesis of theory and practice, embellishment, and analysis of physical and social situations.

All these themes failed to highlight the distinctiveness of architecture; rather than educating architecture students with design abilities, the focus was on presenting architecture in a more comprehensive manner. The studio's dense environment facilitated collaborative learning, critical dialogue, and communal brainstorming,

while also promoting individual growth (cited by Day, and Deamer, and others. 2024)

Significant changes occurred in the architectural education at the *École des Beaux-Arts* throughout the Napoleonic Empire. The field of architecture was centralized to benefit the empire, and the labor division necessitated by capitalism significantly influenced architectural education. The study of architecture, increasingly detached from social and cultural advancements, became progressively aligned with capitalist dynamics. The evolution of architectural education has significantly impacted studio culture, a crucial differentiating characteristic of the field today. In the neoliberal era, the growing dominance of money over architectural education diminishes the diverse talents and abilities that students from all backgrounds provide (Day, Deamer, et al. 2024). Consequently, throughout the neoliberal era, the architecture studio evolves into an environment that celebrates entrepreneurship and individual creative proficiency in a rapid and competitive atmosphere.

In addition, negative patterns are accepted due to the heightened demands placed on students and academics in this rapid-paced environment. This condition compels students and academics to adopt similarly detrimental routines that are rapidly normalized in both educational and professional settings. In this educational culture, where pedagogy is marginalized, academics persist in perpetuating the same educational system to which they are accustomed (Day, Deamer, et al. 2024). In this context, studio culture during the neoliberal era complicates collaborative engagement in the design of the built environment among academics and their students. Instead, it transforms into a setting where learners' design competencies are elevated, and dominant design ideas between academics and students are fostered through assessment. The intergenerational transfer of knowledge is impeded by the hierarchical dynamics between students and academia, resulting in diminished co-learning and collaboration.

Nonetheless, the university, increasingly shaped by neoliberal ideology, is implementing market-oriented reforms that commodify education and information.

It highlights competition, the efficient achievement of educational outcomes, entrepreneurship, and innovation, while stressing making money as the university's principal objective. It is essential to produce quantitative outcomes for architecture education by implementing metrics and accountability measures to assess efficiency and outputs.

3.3 Higher Education Massification in Turkey

Since the year 2000, there has been a substantial rise in both the quantity of universities and the enrollment of students in Turkish institutions. Based on the statistics provided by the Turkish Higher Education Council (YÖK) for the academic year 2023-2024, there are a total of 204 universities in Turkey. Out of them, 129 are state universities and 75 are foundation institutions. There are almost 8 million students now enrolled in institutions, with 4 million of them being undergraduate students and the rest pursuing associate, master's, and doctorate degrees (Figure 1).

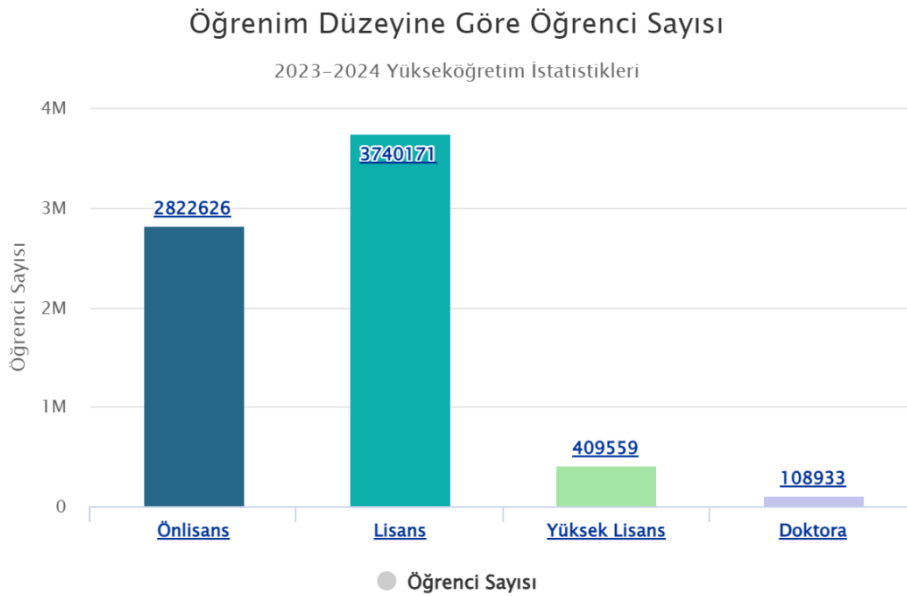


Figure 1 Number of students by education level (YÖK, 2024).

Due to the growing number of institutions and the implementation of quotas, there has been a substantial rise in the number of architectural departments. The first

architectural faculty in Turkey was established in 1882, and the number of such faculties began to grow during the 1940s and 1950s. However, since 2000, there has been an enormous rise in the establishment of architectural departments. The number of architecture faculties has already reached 119, with both state and foundation universities opening in the past decade. The information is shown in Table 4. Based on the statistics for the academic year 2023-2024, Turkey has a total of 131 architecture departments spread among 119 institutions. Out of the total of 119 institutions, 61 are classified as state universities, 45 as foundation universities, 11 as universities in KKTC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus), and 2 as universities located abroad.

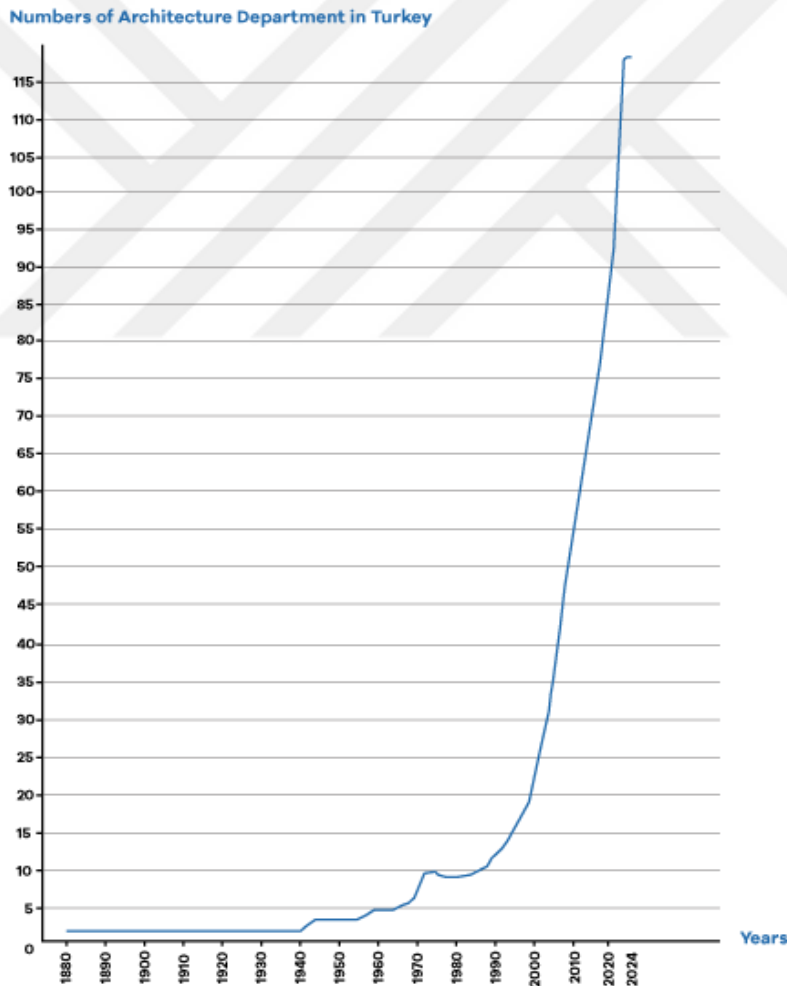


Figure 2 Numbers of Architecture Department in Turkey (Created by the author by compiling YÖK data).

The process of neoliberal transformation in Turkey, which started primarily after the 1980 coup, initiated changes in the higher education system. During the 1960s and 1970s, the government faced opposition from student movements that had gained momentum inside universities. However, these movements were forcefully destroyed by the 1980 coup d'état. As a result, the autonomous structures of universities collapsed, making them more susceptible to state and capitalist influences (Önal, 2012). YÖK was established in 1981, which centralized the higher education system in Turkey. In 1984, a changes to the Constitution allowed the ability to establish foundation universities, which was previously held only by the state (Birler, 2012). Birler's research attributes the necessity to establish foundation institutions to two causes. During the neoliberal period, universities worldwide saw a significant transition and were actively engaged in global competitiveness. Nevertheless, according to YÖK (Higher Education Council), public universities in Turkey were considered insufficiently efficient for success in this competition. The second reason was that, in accordance with the growing need for higher education, the resources and standards of state institutions were insufficient to fulfill this need (YÖK, 2007; Birler, 2012). Consequently, the state implemented regulations after 1980 that turned knowledge creation into a capital-driven process. As a result, the public nature of the education sector changed to facilitate privatization and align with global competitiveness.

Turkey's embrace of global neoliberal principles increased force in 2002 when the Justice and Development Party (AKP). assumed exclusive authority. The diplomatic relations with the major capitalist nations strengthened, the suggested measures from the IMF and the World Bank started to be put into action, and the possibility of Turkey joining the European Union was raised. These developments allowed more profound changes in higher education throughout the era after 2002. Under the AKP's governance, there was a growing focus on the market and its impact on society's development, which led to the rising influence of market processes in universities. Additionally, the adoption of market-oriented ideas and actions began affecting the nature of public education (Yücesan-Özdemir, and Özdemir, 2012).

Therefore, during the AKP era, there has been a noticeable growth in education markets and a strong emphasis on implementing market-oriented concepts into the educational system, particularly in higher education. The reorganization of the state and the reinterpretation of labor-capital relations in Turkey during the AKP era have aligned with the global neoliberal order. As a result, noticeable changes in the educational system have occurred in response to these changes in Turkey (Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2012). Since 2002, there has been a significant growth in the process of transforming educational institutions into commodities, subjecting them to market forces, and transferring ownership to private entities.

In this context, as table 4 illustrate that the number of institutions offering architectural education has increased by more than three times over a span of around 20 years. In addition, there has been a rise in both the quantity of architectural departments and the number of open quotas throughout this time period. In 2019, the overall allocation of spots for architectural departments rose to around 8,700, but by 2023, the number of spots declined significantly to roughly 6,500 (YÖK, 2024). As to the data shared by Bülend Tuna during the 4th panel of the recent Architecture and Education Congress in November 2023, the estimated count of architecture students in 2023 is around 40,000. Each year, some 6,000 architecture students successfully complete their studies and get the required credentials to practice architecture (MEK XII, 2023). Therefore, there is a significant annual growth in the quantity of architects in Turkey. Nevertheless, despite the rise in the quantity of architects, there is a decline in the number of registered offices. Based on the statistics presented during the same panel, the number of registered offices declined from 14,490 in 2022 to 13,507 in 2023 (MEK XII, 2023). So, although the overall number of architects is growing annually, the decline in the number of on their own architects who are officially registered (assuming that public sector employment remains stagnant). leads to a rise in the number of architects who are jobless, working for low pay, working without official registration, and drifting away from the field. The rapid expansion of higher education, along with the lack of proportional growth in work opportunities, suggests that the increasing number of architects in Turkey

(resulting from the reserve army). leads to a precarious labor situation in the architectural profession.

3.4 Discussions on Architecture Education in Turkey

Discussions on architectural education in Turkey have been of interest to architects both from within and outside the academy. Furthermore, assessments of the challenges and requirements of architectural education have extended beyond personal viewpoints or the topics deliberated inside the educational establishment. Since the year 2000, there has been a growing discussion about architectural education in Turkey, driven by the increasing challenges encountered by the architectural profession and the evolving requirements of the field.

3.4.1 Architecture and Education Congresses

The 'Architecture and Education Congress' is a significant organization that gathers every two years, starting from 2001. It serves as a platform for representatives from many sectors of the architectural profession to collaborate and deliver presentations on the topics of architectural profession and architectural education. Organized by TMMOB Chamber of Architects, these conventions are among the foremost meetings on architectural education in Turkey, attracting a large number of participants including academic professionals, architects from various sectors, and students. The congresses have been characterized by their high level of content intensity and their extensive accumulation of information since 2001.

Consequently, it is challenging to present a complete retrospective of all the congresses within the confines of this thesis. Nevertheless, this thesis will be enriched by the fact that the phenomena highlighted in this thesis, such as the neoliberal transformation of architectural education, the precariousness experienced by architects in their working conditions, and the reserve army of architect labor force, are also traced in the Architecture and Education Congresses.

The Architecture and Education Congresses give various viewpoints on progress of the architectural profession and architectural education in Turkey. One of the often mentioned problems was the growing prevalence of architectural education institutes that fail to offer adequate qualitative standards. It is evident that the subject we have examined within the framework of this thesis was a prominent topic in the discussions on architecture education in 2001. In his opening remarks at the congress, Oktay Ekinçi, the former President of the Chamber of Architects, described the state of architectural education in the following manner:

“Regarded professionals, our colleges of architecture are led by deans who are landscape architects or graduates of agriculture or forest engineering institutions. We possess universities devoid of teaching and academic personnel, lacking in facilities, and without the accumulated expertise in architectural and art education. These institutions are increasingly gaining prominence in terms of the quantity of graduates... This condition has an adverse effect not only on architectural education, but also on the living environment and architectural landscape of Turkey...” (MEK I, 2001, pp:3)

The situation is occurring due to the diminishing connection between architectural education and art, which is considered the fundamental essence, mission, and identity of architecture throughout history. Architectural education, which is gradually moving away from its creative aspects, likewise reduces the architectural profession to a mere technical service. Consequently, it has become more convenient for non-architectural disciplines to participate in the oversight organizations of architectural education. Furthermore, the evolution of architectural education in Turkey extends beyond decisions made at a national level. The impact of the global neoliberal agenda is a significant subject in the trajectory of the architectural profession and education in Turkey, a nation categorized as 'developing'.

“...developed countries are carrying out their own programs in less developed nations. The 1978 study commissioned by the World Bank outlines measures for reducing the size of the public sector, ensuring that industrial capacity is adequate, and addressing trade issues. Turkey was subjected to these practices through the ‘January 24th Order’ and the ‘September 12th’

Coup' regime. When fundamental policies are established in this manner, both strategic planning and the welfare of the general public are eliminated from the realm of education; notions such as long-term planning are abolished and replaced with the financial calculations driven by market dynamics... Foundation universities operating in such a setting utilize public resources. The resources provided to public universities are redirected to foundation institutions, resulting in a higher education paradigm that prioritizes short-term business interests...The commercialization trends in higher education produce similar adverse outcomes as privatization.” (MEK I, 2001, pp: 11-13)

Over the past years, Turkey's efforts to join the EU, the integration of professions into the service sector through the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), discussions on adopting a 5-year architectural education model in Turkey inspired by European architectural education, the Bologna process, and the standardization of architectural education have been key topics discussed at the Architecture and Education Congresses. There appears to be a lack of a thorough analysis of the political economics that led to the reorganization of education and the architectural profession in the context of globalization. Neoliberal policies are often presented as a solution, particularly in certain presentation titles. The following is a summary of the contents of a few presentations.

“The Economist magazine published a remarkable series of stories on September 10, 2005, focusing on universities, particularly those in Europe. ‘Competition’ is one of the factors that compels institutions to make changes. Development cannot occur in the absence of competition... Consequently, Turkey has to implement significant reforms in this domain.” (MEK III, 2005, pp: 29)

These phrases highlight the university's shift towards a competitive system and the regulation of the production of knowledge in architecture education based on market principles. It is strongly highlighted that competition is the sole answer for the advancement of architecture education. These perspectives believe that architectural education will adjust to this phenomenon, in contrast to critical viewpoints that argue that the neoliberal period has fostered competition in all domains and that capital

relationships determine the framework of all institutions, including universities. Below is a sample from another presentation:

"... In public universities, the markers of institutional identity are not found in programs, but in other fields; a process of standardization and similarity has commenced. The prevention of this issue may be achieved by the implementation of creative and identity-seeking competitive structures in foundation universities, which I perceive as an inherent barrier. Currently, public institutions are required to engage in competition with emerging endeavors and develop their own distinct motivations. Regarding this matter, we will carefully consider this aspect in developing undergraduate and graduate programs." (MEK III, 2005, pp: 76)

These phrases imply that the lack of a competitive atmosphere is the reason for the standardization of universities. They suggest that foundation universities can provide a new and refreshing change to overcome this monotonous scenario. During eras when public resources were directed towards state universities, the production of knowledge did not rely on competition, and the government had less control over universities. As a result, universities were allowed to establish their own educational institutions. In contrast, throughout the neoliberal era, the growing influence of capital in universities and the structuring of producing knowledge in a manner reliant on market circumstances have facilitated standardization. The transition of university and faculty administration from a focus on long-term, quality-driven planning to short-term, quantity-focused

commercial planning poses challenges for universities in establishing a distinct school and identity. Therefore, if higher education just focuses on producing marketable knowledge and technicians, it diminishes the intellectual growth of the institution by giving less importance to unproductive theoretical discussions.

In this context, by 2015, the number of architecture schools has steadily risen, the efficacy of foundation schools in architectural education has grown stronger, and there has been a corresponding increase in competitiveness. Nevertheless, this 'competition' has failed to effectively enhance the previously mentioned variety, both

globally and nationally. The 8th Architecture and Education Congress highlighted similarities across architecture departments, which were structured in accordance with neoliberal perspectives.

“Market relationships have standardized architectural education. In reality, a brief summary of the development of architectural education in the UK, continental Europe, and Turkey over the past decade, and how it has been shaped by comparable neoliberal policies, would provide a clear understanding of the inherent yet conflicting challenges within higher education in the field of architecture. Furthermore, it would be wise to proceed with the understanding that these issues have evolved into systemic difficulties... In essence, we are currently facing a situation where architectural schools and their educational approaches are undergoing rapid changes, leading to the emergence of a homogeneous group of schools. Each school attempts to mimic the others, resulting in a "mirror effect" that is prevalent across the board. The level of resemblance is so advanced that it is widely acknowledged that the terminology, claims, curriculum, and structures of each school, which are believed to be distinct, do not accurately represent what is truly distinctive, exceptional, and one-of-a-kind.” (MEK VIII, 2015)

In 2017, significant progress was made in implementing measures to create a 'Architecture Education Policy' and a national 'Architecture Policy' as part of the congress's agenda. Additionally, there was a strong emphasis on the necessity of fostering a shared approach to addressing the challenges and finding answers in architectural education. The primary topics that shaped the theme of the congress were the transition to the second century of the Republic in 2023 and the architectural profession's difficult encounter with the effects of the February 6 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes (MEK XII, 2023). A retrospective on the architectural profession and architectural education in Turkey was necessary in order to assess the accomplishments and weaknesses of the profession over the first century of the Republic. Furthermore, the latest Architecture and Education Congress in 2023 addressed several key topics, including 'quotas in architecture schools', 'increase of architecture departments', 'precarization of architect labor conditions', and 'growth in the number of architects in paid employment'.

In brief, the Architecture and Education Congresses have made a significant contribution to documenting the progression of architectural education in Turkey. The talks showcased several perspectives on architectural education, highlighting the development of alternative approaches. During the congresses, it was commonly said that architectural departments were being established without adequately meeting the required qualifications and demands. Furthermore, architectural education was facing specific challenges due to globalization and the rapid advancement of technology. Due to the challenges faced by the architectural profession and education, other solution remedies were also put up. One of the prevailing viewpoints among these approaches is that the concept of 'competition' will hinder standardization in architectural education, leading to a diversification of architectural education due to the fresh perspective introduced by newly established foundation universities. An alternative method is to critically investigate the changes in the architectural field and education resulting from the political economy influenced by neoliberal policies, both globally and in Turkey.

3.4.2 MOBBİG

The first meeting of the Communication Group of Heads of Departments of Schools of Architecture (MOBBİG) took place in 1996. “During the years 1994-1996, architectural schools in Turkey were actively involved in a comprehensive attempt to make necessary preparations for the Bologna process. Prior to any other academic issues, the METU Faculty of Architecture presented a request to the university senate to expand the duration of the undergraduate architecture study from 4 to 5 years, which was later given. Subsequently, this matter was transferred to other architecture departments, leading to a significant increase in communication between these departments.” (Önür, cited in MEK XI, 2017: pp: 164)

MOBBİG, an initiative established to address concerns over the length of undergraduate education and doubts about the capability and experience of recently established architectural departments, has consistently held annual meetings up to

the present day. These discussions, which were focused on reviewing the challenges faced by architecture departments, have resulted in an important archive of information on architectural education. Frequently, MOBBİG addresses concerns such as the duration of architectural education, accreditation studies, minimum qualifications for architecture undergraduate education programs, surplus quotas, and insufficient academic staff (MOBBİG, 2024).

The MOBBİG-38 meeting, which took place in 2014 and was arranged by the METU Department of Architecture, holds profound significance within the framework of this thesis. The meeting centered around the theme of 101+. The architecture academy engaged in a detailed discussion due to the qualitative concerns faced, with the number of architectural departments exceeding 100. The final declaration underlined the necessity for a thorough assessment of the impact of neoliberal policies and globalization on the quality of architecture education. Although higher education has experienced a quantitative expansion, it is important to acknowledge that some of its qualitative shortcomings are a consequence of a worldwide trend. It can be argued that the new policies driven by global capital, particularly in applied sciences, have led to a pervasive but never-ending higher education model.

However, it is important to note that the implementation of neoliberal tackles in restructuring universities has led to a decrease in variety within higher education and the emergence of redundant institutions and curricula. “Architectural education is characterized by a lack of diversity in the curriculum, with higher education institutions considering this uniformity as a legal requirement.

The concept of "equivalence" is used interchangeably with "identical" in this context... this is particularly evident in the undergraduate curricula of recently established schools, where the course names, codes, and credits are replicated without considering the distinctive characteristics of the institution, region, and academic staff. The design of the educational process is based on quantitative evaluations and a process of copying.” (MOBBİG, 2014).

The last presentation of MOBBİG-38 focused on the education of architects. During architectural education, students obtain skills, knowledge, and competency through design-focused courses. The emphasis is placed on the individual evolution of the student as a creative subject. Currently, it is important to examine the educational advancement of the architect as a creative individual in connection with two essential procedures. The initial aspect to consider is the degree to which the architect's creative abilities are utilized in architectural practice due to the labor processes influenced by the neoliberal era's policies. The second aspect to consider is the manner in which the abilities acquired by an individual studying creative architecture may have a transformative impact on society. During the neoliberal period, the shift towards widespread higher education has resulted in a transformation of the 'modern' role of universities in promoting social development and providing public services. This transformation has led to the emergence of mass higher education. "It is widely acknowledged that the ongoing conflict between the creative individual and the social subject is a key focus of architectural education. Specifically, the question of what type of architectural education we desire is closely tied to the question of what type of society we imagine." (MOBBİG, 2014). Thus, the field of architecture is not only concerned with design and construction, but also with the impact it has on society. Therefore, the goal of architectural education should be to encourage a social perspective in its graduates.

While considering the debate topics of MOBBİG, it becomes evident that the architectural profession and architectural education are encountering significant challenges. The crisis in architectural education in Turkey arises from the inherent conflicts within the field of architectural education itself, as well as the external conflicts resulting from the political economic, ideological, and cultural norms of both the country and the global context. Additionally, the MOBBİG conversations produced some recommendations for overcoming this 'crisis'. Sargın (2014). highlights the need to eliminate the societal restrictions on 'competition' and 'individualism' imposed by the neoliberal culture in order to address the challenges in architecture education. Architectural education "requires a shared conversation

and framework established by institutions and individuals who are united by a similar concern, in essence, resistance. One possible solution to address these challenges is to establish a shared understanding among institutions and work towards a single objective when needed. However, it is important to note that this collective mindset can only be achieved through a critical attitude.” Hence, it is necessary for all workers and students engaged in architectural education to unite on a shared basis.

Also, Tekeli (2014) emphasizes the responsibility of those engaged in architectural education and proposes the possibility of envisioning and implementing a distinct university, architectural education, and architectural practice. Within this framework, the primary objective of the architectural academy is to construct a conceptual representation of a university that aligns with individuals' entitlement to a life of respect and honor. The entities that will satisfy this responsibility are neither the ‘government’, nor ‘foundation universities’, nor ‘congregation universities’. The handling of the crisis in architectural education will need the use of a rigorous and focused approach, which will be facilitated by the development of analytical and independent thinking within self-governing and inclusive architecture institutions.

In this context, the MOBBİG, established in 1996 by the heads of architecture departments, serves as a significant platform for debating crucial subjects related to architectural education. During the post-2000 era, forums was established to address the issues that arose from neoliberal policies and attempt to propose potential answers. The architectural academy, which gathers on many subjects and topics related to MOBBİG, also serves as an important archive for the research topics addressed in this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

LOSS OF ARCHITECTURAL SUBJECT

4.1 Case on the Transformation of Architectural Education: Architecture Departments in Ankara

This part of the thesis will evaluate the neoliberal transformation of architectural education in Turkey by examining the architecture departments in Ankara. Ankara, a province characterized by the implementation of neoliberal urbanization practices intertwined with the Islamist ideology of the AKP era, and where architecture departments in local universities have proliferated in recent years, has been considered appropriate for the analysis of the propositions presented in this thesis.

The 2023 YÖK catalog indicates that Ankara has 9 architectural departments, with 3 associated with state universities and 6 with foundation universities. Established in 1956, the METU architectural Department was the initial architectural department in the city. The Gazi University Department of Architecture was founded in 1982. The department's history originates from Zafer Engineering and Architecture Private College, established in 1966, and Yükseliş College Private Architecture Schools, formed in 1967. Until the 2010s, two architectural departments were associated with state colleges in the city. In 2009, Atılım University established an architectural department, followed by TOBB and Çankaya Universities in 2011, Başkent, Bilkent, and TED Universities in 2012, and Yıldırım Beyazıt University in 2013, bringing the total to nine architecture departments.

In 2023, a total of 271 quotas were allocated for public universities, accommodating 271 students, while 287 quotas were set aside for foundation institutions, serving 287 students, resulting in an overall amount of 558 quotas. The Gazi Department of

Architecture has the largest student enrollment with 117 quotas, whilst the Bilkent Department of Architecture offers the biggest number of architecture students among foundation universities with 66 quotas. METU 72, Yıldırım Beyazıt 82, TOBB 55, Başkent 54, TED 47, Çankaya 37. The Atılım Department of Architecture has the fewest quotas among all departments, at 37. The entire enrollment of students in undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral architecture programs in Ankara is 2,927, with 1,712 attending public universities. (YÖK Atlas, 2023).

This information indicates a significant increase in the number of architectural departments in Ankara post-2010. All architecture departments, with the exception of Yıldırım Beyazıt University, were established inside foundation universities. Chapter 3 of this thesis discusses the significant influence of foundation universities on the neoliberal remodeling of higher education, a critical problem leading to attention. On the other hand, it can be asserted that the autonomous-democratic frameworks of state universities have declined, and their connections with the market have intensified due to governmental actions. This section of the thesis will pick and comparatively analyze two institutions to illustrate the impact of neoliberal transition on architecture education.

The Architecture Departments of METU and TOBB ETU were chosen for comprehensive analysis in the thesis. The former is a respectable state institution, whereas the latter is a newly founded foundation university. It is important to recognize that not all public and foundation universities will be exemplified by these two institutions. Each university undeniably cultivates a distinct educational model characterized by its specific ways of academic organization. Nevertheless, an exhaustive examination of the architecture departments across all universities exceeds the parameters of this thesis. Consequently, the Middle East Technical University (METU), which has played a significant role in the nation's social development for nearly 70 years, and the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey University of Economics and Technology (TOBB ETÜ), recently founded by a prominent private sector entity, are considered adequate to elucidate the issues addressed in this thesis.

The comparative discourse analysis of the two departments will utilize data from the universities' and departments' websites, social media accounts, and the detailed self-evaluation reports provided for the Architectural Accreditation Board. This review of architectural education is organized into six topics: 'Founding purpose of the affiliated university', 'Mission, vision, and strategic plans', 'Current status of teaching staff', 'Internship practices', 'Spatial adequacy', and 'Financial resources'.

4.1.1 Founding Purpose of the Affiliated University

Throughout the neoliberal era, the responsibilities of the university in knowledge production and dissemination were redefined. The founding objectives of the universities and architectural departments formed during this period were likely aligned with a strategy consistent with neoliberal ideology. Consequently, the foundational objective of the university framework, encompassing architectural education, offers insight into the nature and organization of the university.

The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey serves as the overarching entity for private groups engaged in finance and commerce within Turkey. The university, founded by a choice from the industrial sector, serves as an investment instrument. The organization of producing knowledge emphasizes rapid and lucrative research due to the close relationship between academia and industry. The explicit founding objective of TOBB is articulated as follows: “The proposal to establish TOBB ETÜ, regarded as the most significant of these investments, was introduced in 2001 to cultivate skilled labor required by the business sector and to enhance university-industry collaboration.” (TOBB MiAk, pp: 10).

This notion constrains the university to 'training the workforce required by the business sector' and 'enhancing university-industry collaboration'. The fields encompassed in the university's founding principle, today regarded as the market's 'most significant investment', are oriented towards the production of knowledge for this aim.

On the contrary, Middle East Technical University was founded on November 15, 1956, as the Middle East Institute of Technology (METU). to foster the advancement of Turkey and Middle Eastern nations and to educate professionals in the disciplines of science, architecture and design, and social sciences. Moreover, METU was founded in 1954-55 following discussions between United Nations experts and Turkish officials to offer education in architecture and urbanism, focusing on settlement issues and challenges stemming from urbanization in Turkey and the Middle East (ODTÜ MiAk, p. 8). Given the prioritization of social development and the objective of addressing urbanization issues both domestically and globally, the university's architecture department emerged as one of its most significant faculties.

Examining the university's foundational purpose reveals a broader context for the discipline of architecture. This definition indicates that architectural education is designed not merely to cultivate skilled technical workers, but also to produce architects who comprehend the challenges inherent to their geographical context and are responsible for devising solutions. This viewpoint, which extends beyond the narrow interaction between academia and industry as articulated in TOBB's founding mission, embraces an objective that aligns with a more extensive societal framework. Accordingly, the production of knowledge is intended to address the actual issues impacting social life.

Following the university's inception, the Department of Architecture has established a teaching model that aligns with its foundational objectives. The Department of Architecture has enhanced the national architectural landscape by fostering international architectural links and critically examining prevailing trends in Turkey within a theoretical context. The METU Architecture program's instructional method has been shaped by critical thinking grounded in research and theoretical evaluation since its inception (ODTÜ MiAk, p. 12). This methodology, which transcends the mere acquisition of technical abilities in architectural education, underscores the need of fostering a connection with critical thinking and the theoretical basis of design. In this perspective, it may be stated that the production of architectural

knowledge aims to be executed in a more democratic and comprehensive manner, free from market influences.

The university's initial objective, to which the architecture department is linked, can be seen as a determinant of architectural education content. There are notable conceptual distinctions between the foundational objectives of TOBB and METU. While the former establishes a purpose to address the demands of the business environment within robust market dynamics, the latter develops a more critical thinking approach to the production of knowledge and a purpose oriented towards social relations.

4.1.2 Mission, Vision, and Strategic Plans

The university's mission, vision, and strategic plans are critical variables that inform the objectives faculties pursue through their educational offerings. The strategic plans established from the university's decisions dictate its future objectives and the methodologies devised to attain these objectives. Consequently, within the framework of the neoliberal restructuring of the institution, mission, vision, and strategic plans may be regarded as containing significant insights. Furthermore, the involvement of faculties in the development of the strategic plan and the degree of democratic engagement within the university's organizational structure are crucial at this juncture.

In accordance with its strategy plans, TOBB ETÜ's key objectives for this thesis include: “Enhancing Intellectual and Industrial Property Rights assets, Delivering training programs focused on entrepreneurship, Enhancing fundamental research that produces new knowledge to promote R&D and entrepreneurship, improving applied research to address social issues and foster university-industry collaboration, and establishing brand and market-focused entrepreneurial ventures while cultivating an encouraging investment environment for them (TOBB MiAk, pp. 11). These objectives represent significant information regarding the university's aims and educational policies.

The primary aims of TOBB ETÜ appear to focus on the faster production of knowledge and its conversion into economic investment. The emphasis of educational programs on entrepreneurship and research that underpins it serves as an indication that knowledge is designed to be produced in accordance with neoliberal policies. The significance of university-industry partnerships in addressing social issues reinforces the assertion that social problems without financial potential are often disregarded. Social issues are diminished to the pursuit of commercial prosperity. Unprofitable initiatives may be marginalized notwithstanding their association with significant societal issues. This facilitates the monetization of the produced knowledge. From this viewpoint, the institution must efficiently create this commodity, be structured to maximize added value, and ensure that decisions made by the university's governing body align with a profit-driven strategy.

Furthermore, the university's objective of promoting an attractive investment environment for brand and market-driven entrepreneurial enterprises suggests that the institution has evolved into a commercial entity. The necessity to establish brand value, transcending just being acknowledged in academic circles through producing of outstanding knowledge, serves as compelling evidence that the university has evolved into a profit-driven enterprise in the neoliberal era.

The management, education, and research policies established by the institution align with the specified objectives. The education and training policy articulates a goal to cultivate individuals who contribute to scientific advancements and transform these advancements into individuals and economic value through an interdisciplinary approach, as well as to develop innovation-oriented entrepreneurs connected to the demands of globalization and who have embraced the R&D guidelines (TOBB MiAk, pp: 11). This suggests that the university aims to produce individuals reflective of the neoliberal ethos.

Furthermore, the university's research policies are structured to facilitate profit-driven research. The research policies of TOBB ETÜ highlight the commercialization of scientific inquiry: “To conduct studies that will contribute to

the development of our country in collaboration with the Turkish business sector and to commercialize these studies, ensuring that research outputs are transformed into entrepreneurial ideas” (TOBB MiAk, pp: 12). In addition, the following statement is incorporated into the management policy established by the university: “To enhance TOBB ETÜ's student-centered management strategy that fosters dynamic communication with the business sector.” (TOBB MiAk, pp: 12). The argument reveals that the evolving connections among students, academic personnel, and administrative staff with the business sector are highlighted, and the relationships formed within the university's academic setting have been replaced by those of the business realm.

The core mission of Middle East Technical University, as articulated in the Strategic Plan 2005-2010, is to access, produce, apply, and disseminate knowledge for the social, cultural, economic, scientific, and technological advancement of society and humanity through teaching, research, and community service activities conducted to universal standards, thereby cultivating people proficient in this knowledge. METU envisions itself as an internationally esteemed, research-centric institution that cultivates future leaders, fosters interdisciplinary collaboration, promotes creative and innovative thinking, takes an important part in social development, and guarantees employee satisfaction (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 10).

On the other hand, the mission (core mission). of Middle East Technical University is stated in the Strategic Plan 2005-2010 as follows: “Middle East Technical University aims to access, produce, apply and disseminate knowledge for the social, cultural, economic, scientific and technological development of our society and humanity by conducting teaching, research and community service activities at universal standards and to raise people equipped with this knowledge.” METU's vision is defined as “METU's stakeholders want to see METU as an internationally recognized, research-oriented institution that educates the leaders of the future, creates interdisciplinary synergy, is innovative and creative, assumes a leading role in the process of social development, and ensures the satisfaction of its employees.” (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 10).

Upon considering these remarks, we may conclude that METU perceives knowledge production not as a profit-driven endeavor, but as a vehicle for human and social advancement. METU adopts a more equitable stance, prioritizing social, cultural, and scientific advancement alongside economic success. Furthermore, the remarks regarding the individuals METU seeks to cultivate indicate a focus on producing inventive, creative, and leadership-oriented professionals for society through education, rather than solely 'entrepreneurial' individuals. METU's vision prominently emphasizes the aspiration to be a pioneer on the global stage and to accomplish change through its established ideals. The ambition of METU to positively transform the world, as opposed to establishing 'brand value' like TOBB ETÜ, illustrates an important distinction in perspective, even at a discursive level.

In 2012, the METU Applied Ethics Research Center conducted a survey as part of the "METU Spirit" study to identify the key values which make up METU. This outcome highlights the fundamental principles embraced by METU: "Reliability, respect for people, merit, inquisitiveness, social responsibility, development and pioneering, commitment to campus heritage, and high academic quality." (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 11). These ideals have arisen from the scientific and democratic milieu fostered by the university's stakeholders on campus over many years. In the neoliberal era, the competitive atmosphere fostered by rapid, profit-driven knowledge production contrasts with the ideals of merit and respect for humanity upheld by METU constituents, providing an alternative viewpoint on the characteristics of a competent academic environment.

Following the university's strategic plan, mission, and vision, the METU Department of Architecture has established its own program. The architecture program's mission is articulated as follows: "To educate architects who are researchers, possess an effective theoretical basis, exhibit critical thinking, demonstrate inventiveness and originality, have a sensitivity to the natural environment and cultural heritage, possess social awareness, can manage information, have sufficient technological knowledge to effectively utilize advanced design, production, and application tools,

exhibit strong leadership and communication skills, have internalized ethical values, and can understand architecture in its various disciplinary contexts beyond mere professional practice (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 13). This statement underscores the objective of cultivating architects who prioritize theoretical understanding and possess critical thinking skills aligned with ethical principles, alongside professional competence. The expression 'understanding architecture along with its several disciplinary extensions beyond mere profession' addresses a significant challenge at this juncture. During this era, as architects become mere technical personnel in large architectural firms, maintaining a commitment to exploring architecture from diverse perspectives may facilitate the development of a strong critique regarding the challenges architects face in their professional endeavors.

The METU Department of Architecture envisions itself as a leading program, internationally acknowledged for its innovative education, providing environments and discourses that influence architectural education and practice; it aims to cultivate architects capable of devising solutions to environmental and social challenges on both global and local levels (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 13). The vision part underscores the importance of shaping the architectural profession and devising answers to societal issues through architectural education. The strategic plan, mission, and vision consistently emphasize: 'to assess the discipline of architecture alongside its theoretical extensions beyond mere profession, to enhance the architect's capacity for critical thinking in alignment with ethical principles, and to prioritize addressing social issues within architectural practice.'

The values of the Department of Architecture were established along with those of METU. The METU Department of Architecture embraces the values of METU, which include “scientific freedom,” “conscious self-confidence,” “solidaristic individualism,” “sensitivity to the natural environment,” “reliability,” “respect for people,” “merit,” “inquisitive mindset,” “social responsibility,” “innovation and pioneering,” “dedication to campus heritage,” and “high academic quality.” This framework underscores the ideas of "commitment to universal academic and

professional ethics" and "responsibility towards the natural, built, and cultural environment" as fundamental values inherent to the subject in question (pp: 14). Values such as scientific independence and solidaristic individualism emerge as contrasting issues to TOBB ETÜ. According to these statements, it can be understood that in the process of architectural education and the production of architectural knowledge, a democratic, scientific, independent academic environment that respects the differences of individuals and emphasizes solidarity as opposed to competition is pursued.

In this context, the strategic plans, vision, and mission of universities offer significant insights into their objectives for architectural education. An examination of the objectives of TOBB ETÜ and METU reveals substantial disparities. The former prioritizes entrepreneurship and the conversion of rapidly produced knowledge into financial instruments, whereas the latter underscores reliability, ethics, merit, quality education, critical thinking, and addressing of social issues.

These decisions, which influence the educational outlook of architecture departments, directly impact the perspective on architectural theory and the standards of courses taught to architects. The production of qualified academic knowledge and the concept of solidaristic individualism present two distinct perspectives, in contrast to the neoliberal era's emphasis on quick knowledge production and profit-driven competition.

4.1.3 Current Status of Teaching Staff

The current teaching staff is a crucial component of architectural education. Besides the quality of the teaching faculty, the ratio of lecturers to students and the workload managed by the academic staff are other significant factors in this context. In the neoliberal university, the accelerated production of knowledge and enhancement of the institution's brand value through entrepreneurial initiatives result in a heightened burden for academia.

The teaching staff of TOBB ETÜ's Architecture Undergraduate Program comprises 10 faculty members, 3 lecturers—one of whom holds a doctorate—and 1 research assistant. The remaining faculty is supplemented by part-time lecturers who are currently engaged in architectural practice. There is 1 research assistant in the department and he continues his doctoral education. Students offered full scholarships in the master's degree at TOBB ETÜ contribute to the program's research and educational endeavors. (TOBB MiAk, pp: 59).

The restricted number of full-time faculty and the involvement of current academic staff in administrative responsibilities contribute to an increased heavy loads. Moreover, the absence of definite positions for research assistants, with the exception of one, may reflect the inadequate support for academic personnel.

In addition, the academic staff's performance at TOBB ETÜ is assessed annually via the Academic Performance Evaluation System, and the results are documented. This application requires the academic to outline their objectives in the domains of research, teaching, and service for the current academic year, while also detailing their academic activity from the preceding year (TOBB MiAk, pp: 66). The educational paradigm implemented at TOBB ETÜ, structured into three semesters annually, constrains opportunities for sufficient research, rest, and learning. The academic staff has articulated the adverse implications of this model for the architecture department. The accelerated pace of the three-semester academic year model may adversely impact the academic activities and productivity of the faculty (TOBB MiAk, pp: 31). The accelerated work pace resulting from the faster production of information may adversely impact academic quality and simultaneously restrict the interactions between academic personnel and students.

A parallel process is occurring in the METU Department of Architecture. METU faculty members identify the insufficient quantity of teaching staff relative to the student population as a significant shortcoming of the department (ODTÜ MiAk, p. 29). The Department of Architecture comprises 37 academic members (15 professors, 9 associate professors, 4 doctorate faculty, 5 lecturers with doctoral

degrees, 2 lecturers, and 2 lecturers with specialist rank). and 45 research assistants. On the other hand, the recruitment of new academic personnel in the Department of Architecture is notably restricted. This indicates that the academic staff is progressively transitioning to an inverted pyramid structure, highlighting the necessity for growth and renewal within the department's personnel (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 53).

Nonetheless, the quantity of quotas at METU has progressively risen throughout the years. Given that over 120 students are enrolled in the first year of the METU Department of Architecture undergraduate program, it is challenging for the current faculty to uphold undergraduate and graduate education in the department according to these criteria. Consequently, part-time lecturers are employed to reduce the workload of full-time academics. The Department of Architecture reported that 28 part-time academics represented 43% of all lecturers in the autumn semester of 2018-2019, while 25 part-time lecturers accounted for 41.7% of all lecturers in the spring semester (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 53). The findings indicate that the METU Department of Architecture must employ half of its teaching personnel on a part-time basis through outsourcing, owing to a quantitatively constrained academic workforce. The state's approach to the expansion of higher education leads to a gradual growth in quotas, while insufficient investment in public universities results in an inadequate quantity of academic personnel.

In addition to this, the perspective cultivated by the METU Department of Architecture regarding the theoretical dimension of architecture fosters rigorous research and academic output. The Department of Architecture comprises four independent graduate programs, each led by an elected program chair: Architecture, Building Science, Cultural Heritage Conservation, and Architectural History. Data from 2018-2019 indicates that there are 259 master's students and 154 doctoral students. The overall enrollment of graduate students in the METU Department of Architecture is 413. This number represents 47%, roughly half of the total population of undergraduate and graduate students (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 58). This circumstance

significantly affects the workload of the current academic personnel. The involvement of academic staff in undergraduate courses with numerous quotas, coupled with their responsibilities in intensive master's and doctoral programs, significantly impacts the quality of architectural education.

In that context, this situation presents significant difficulties to the sustainability of educational quality and thesis research within undergraduate and graduate architectural programs. The academic staff's workload and the rise in quota numbers significantly impact the viability of architecture education. Moreover, as evidenced by the instance of TOBB ETÜ, academic performance standards, particularly in foundation institutions, exert pressure on faculty to perpetually engage in producing knowledge. Establishing explicit criteria for knowledge production is crucial for specific matters; however, the relentless and accelerated demand for knowledge production to enhance the university's brand value may compromise quality, despite an increase in the volume of architectural academic publications. Moreover, the prevalence of insecure working circumstances in foundation universities compared to public universities may suggest an increase of competition among the instructors.

4.1.4 Internship Practices

Internship education, a crucial component of architectural education, allows architecture students to acquire practical experience in applying their theoretical knowledge. Architectural internships serve as an interface between the architectural industry and educational institutions, familiarizing architecture students with construction sites and architectural office settings. Nevertheless, internship procedures are structured to align with the objectives of architecture departments. Consequently, differences in the strategic plans of the university and the architectural department may lead to variations in internship practices.

At TOBB ETÜ's Department of Architecture, students who finish their 5th semester engage in the Joint Education practice, a distinctive initiative exclusive to TOBB ETÜ and unique in Turkey. In this simulation, students engage in real life within an

office, construction site, or other architectural settings selected from the shared educational resources. The department has co-education partnerships with 162 diverse firms across many sectors, enabling the students to engage in co-educational practice. The Joint Education Program aims to enhance students' professional development by requiring them to work full-time in a relevant field for 3.5 months and complete three joint education semesters, thereby acquiring work experience and understanding the institutional work discipline. During the internship process, an information system compiles feedback from students and companies regarding the system or the organization. The system also incorporates screens for recording student visits and taking notes. New corporate agreements or terminations may be executed based on the critiques and recommendations from departments and students, while enhancements to course programs can be implemented in accordance with the feedback received from firms. (TOBB MiAk, pp: 28).

This method demonstrates that internship procedures align with the university's strategic objectives. The partnerships established with an increasing number of companies enhance university-industry collaboration. Furthermore, obtaining input from firms on architectural education may indicate that such education tends towards providing architects with the competencies demanded by architectural firms.

The internship practices at METU exhibits a comparable trait. The semester-based internship curriculum comprises three courses: ARCH 190 Introduction to Surveying and Building and Construction Techniques in the first year, ARCH 290 Building and Construction Site Internship in the second year, and ARCH 390 Professional Practice Internship in the third year. The objectives of the Department of Architecture regarding student internships are articulated as follows: “During the internships, students are anticipated to critically assess the work and present it from the standpoint of workmanship, design quality, environmental impact, material quality, project labor division, collaboration with engineering disciplines, various modeling construction and drawing tools/methods, the content of information in these documents, legal procedures, etc.” (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 82).

The most notable aspect of internship practices is the longstanding internship program implemented by the METU Department of Architecture. The METU Department of Architecture aims to train specialists in settlement planning for the Middle East and Turkey and to deliver proficient architectural services, necessitating that internship practices align with this objective. The summer internship program established in the Architecture Undergraduate Program since the 1960s, aligned with METU's founding objectives, sought to familiarize students with the country's geography and social issues through direct experience, while also addressing educational and social needs in rural Turkish communities by constructing necessary buildings. Subsequent to 1980, the Summer Internship program was conducted in Ankara; however, post-1997, it commenced in many rural areas of Turkey (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 42).

These internships, which offer vital direct involvement of social phenomena and the social dimensions of the architectural profession, enhance architectural students' perspectives on their field. Nevertheless, as indicated by the department, despite the concerted efforts of the academic staff since 2006, the METU Department of Architecture has been unable to implement the summer internship program in a manner that reinforces the architect's connection to the past social ties due to multiple obstacles.

In this context, while the internship programs of architecture departments are crucial for students to engage with office and construction site environments, the connection to social phenomena has diminished when examining the internship practices of the METU Department of Architecture previously. Rather than serving as an experience that illustrates the social dimension of design to students, it has evolved into a practice that simulates the life of an architect as a temporary paid job. The transformative impact of architecture education on the sector, characterized by its critical thinking framework, has progressively diminished due to the partnerships established by foundation institutions with several corporations during the neoliberal era. Architectural firms incorporate essential qualities for architects into architectural education, resulting in a transformation of the educational sector.

4.1.5 Spatial Adequacy

The quality of the current educational framework is a significant factor in the architectural education process, which relates to spatial organization. Consequently, the educational framework is anticipated to fulfill the quality standards necessary for architectural education, while also serving as a model of architectural excellence for architecture students.

The TOBB ETÜ Department of Architecture is currently confronting challenges in achieving adequate spatial capacity for its faculty. The structure intended for the Department of Architecture has lately been repurposed to fulfill other university requirements. The accrediting report contains the subsequent statements regarding the needs that must be addressed: The Architecture Department studios were situated on the third floor of the Technology Center until 2020. Nonetheless, the floor and areas of the Technology Center were allocated for the utilization of the R&D units of Turkey's Automobile Initiative Group (TOGG), of which the university is a part, resulting in the relocation of all studios to a temporary prefabricated structure (TOBB MiAk, pp: 31). Consequently, the department's instructional areas were relocated on campus when the studios were allocated for the utilization of TOGG R&D units. Likewise, the faculty and departmental lecturers' offices are situated in two distinct sites and are segregated. There is a necessity to enhance, improve, and standardize the quality and quantity of instructional areas and faculty offices.

Therefore, there is an immediate want for enhancement regarding both the quantity and quality of the educational environment inside the TOBB Department of Architecture. The studio area must be a minimum of 20 m² per student, corresponding to the student population. Additionally, the quantity of lecturers' offices and department head offices should be enhanced. Wi-Fi access must be available in container offices, and air conditioning units should effectively regulate temperature due to insufficient insulation. Furthermore, spatial provisions should be made to ensure that academic staff in lecturer and senior lecturer positions can operate in individual offices (TOBB MiAk, pp: 87).

The METU Faculty of Architecture building exemplifies a highly qualified architectural structure for architectural education. The faculty building is acknowledged as an outstanding example of Modernist architecture in Turkey. Furthermore, in 2017, the application submitted to the Getty Foundation's "Keeping It Modern" program for the development of a conservation plan for the building was approved, and the Faculty of Architecture was recognized alongside globally significant Modernist structures, including the Bauhaus Building in Dessau. Therefore, the department building, built by Behruz and Altuğ Çinici and holding an important place in Turkey's architectural history, possesses a very exciting aspect that will enhance architecture students' perspectives on the discipline.

On the other hand, it was emphasized that the existing structure of the METU Department of Architecture is experiencing space deficiencies. The proliferation of students has resulted in insufficient classrooms, ongoing teaching in oppressive circumstances, and deficiencies in the technical infrastructure of classrooms and studios, all of which diminish the quality of education at the METU Department of Architecture (ODTÜ MiAk, p. 29). The unanticipated quota rise and insufficient state funding for building maintaining limit the aged structure's ability to satisfy contemporary requirements.

Furthermore, as scholars indicate, the university confronts several risks. The primary concern is the urban expansion adjacent to the METU campus and the development of new roadways, which jeopardize the institution's integrity (ODTÜ MiAk, pp: 64). Unplanned, rent-driven urbanization during the neoliberal era has also impacted educational campuses. These risks to campus integrity jeopardize the university's autonomous and democratic framework and may also undermine the architectural and cultural ideals established by the faculty of architecture and other departments over time.

In this context, architecture departments in both private and public universities are facing various spatial challenges and deficiencies. A primary cause for this is the unanticipated quota increase resulting from the state-driven massification of higher

education in Turkey, coupled with inadequate support for the spatial organization necessary to sustain educational quality in the current setting. On the other hand, as demonstrated by the case of TOBB ETU, the standards of architectural education may be compromised when the architecture department loses existing educational spaces, as the university administration prioritizes a more profitable initiative. This circumstance indicates that under the hierarchical framework of foundation universities during the neoliberal era, the faculties' influence is limited and the democratic organizational structure is underdeveloped.

4.1.6 Financial Resources

A significant distinction between foundation institutions and public universities refers to financial resources. During the neoliberal era, characterized by reduced spending on the public and extensive privatization in education, it may be asserted that foundation universities, driven by economic motives, have considerably surpassed public universities in financial strength. Nonetheless, given that foundation universities obtain a portion of their funding from students and that their full-time staff experience more labor precarity compared to academics in state universities, it may be possible to draw different conclusions in terms of the quality of education.

Table 2 TOBB Faculty of Architecture Summary of Revenues for 2023

Income Item	Fiscal Year	
	2021 – 2022	2022 – 2023
Revolving Fund Income	-	-
Share of Student Fees	26.017.523 TL	49.947.609 TL
Others	-	-
Total Number	26.017.523 TL	49.947.609 TL

In the fiscal year 2023-2024, TOBB ETÜ acquired financial resources amounting to 89,905,696.29 TL (TOBB MiAk, p. 82). This entire amount was derived from

student tuition fees. An absence of budget allocation for the architectural department from revolving fund income and other revenues was noted. Consequently, the university fees of architecture students fulfill all the requirements of the architectural department.

Table 3 METU Faculty of Architecture Summary of Revenues for 2023

Type of Allowance	2022 Allowance	2023 Allowance	Description
03.3	45.000 TL	93.000 TL	Travel Expenses (Special Budget)
03.7	9.000 TL	19.000 TL	Service Purchases Maintenance, Repair and Equipment Purchases
03.2	100.000 TL	206.000 TL	Consumption Goods and Materials Purchases
DSİM	421.014 TL	115.916 TL	DSİM Total (Department Share, Faculty Share, Experiment, Consultancy, Project)
BAP	176.123 TL	632.007 TL	Scientific Research Projects (BAP)
TÜBİTAK	2.154.846 TL	3.170.744 TL	Research Projects
International Research Projects	2.219.981 TL	18.112.723 TL	
Faculty of Architecture Total	5.125.966 TL	22.301.391 TL	Total Budget

The total income received by METU Department of Architecture from appropriations in 2023 is stated as 22,301,391.55 TL (ODTÜ MiAk, 2023). 98% of the total budget consists of appropriations from scientific research projects (632,007 TL), research projects (3,170,744 TL) and international research projects (18,112,723 TL). Apart from research projects, the faculty's appropriations for maintenance and repair, service procurement and material purchases are very low.

Considering the spatial inadequacy and the deficiencies of the faculty building over the years, it can be said that the budget allocated to the department by the university is quite low. In addition to this, it can be thought that the lack of budget allocation for activities such as field trips and summer internship practices in the past years, which are very important for architectural education, directly affects the quality of education.

In this context, the financial resources of the METU Department of Architecture are significantly lesser to those of TOBB ETÜ. Consequently, the fundamental requirements of architectural education cannot be sufficiently fulfilled in public universities. This circumstance engenders significant financial disparity between public and private universities. The financial resources of the TOBB ETÜ Department of Architecture are entirely financed by the students. The privatization and commercialization of education in the neoliberal age facilitates the commodification of architectural education.

4.2 Universities in the Context of the Architectural Profession, Architectural Education and the Architectural Subject

Contemporary cities are regarded as significant hubs for knowledge production, knowledge utilization, and innovation. In the framework of the knowledge economy during the neoliberal period, the elements that have significantly contributed to the establishment of strong global and local economic conditions are the accessibility and cost of risk capital, unrestricted markets, and effective governmental economic policies. During the neoliberal era, economic growth was intricately associated with the production and transfer of knowledge, leading to the fast advancement of knowledge-based services, particularly in education. Moreover, research and development efforts have emerged as substantial investment prospects, drawing both public and private funding (Fard, 2018). In this setting, universities have evolved by adopting new missions aligned with neoliberal policies that promote globalization and the commodification of information inside the higher education system. The

impact of higher education institutions on the marketization of urban space has intensified under shifting global geography and knowledge economy incentives.

Fard asserts that in a progressively competitive and globalized economy, urban regions endeavor to cultivate knowledge industries to enhance research, education, technology, intellectual property, and urban services. This has heightened the significance of universities as crucial contributors to regional competitiveness through the provision of people and intellectual resources. Universities play a crucial role in fostering enterprises and industries by supplying human and intellectual resources and facilitating technological transfer (Fard, 2018).

The significant rise in foundation universities in the city in recent years suggests that Ankara, as a prominent metropolis, asserts its status as a significant hub within the knowledge economy. The preceding analysis indicates that TOBB ETÜ's strategic plan, mission, and vision exemplify a neoliberal university perspective. It is a university situated in a strategic location in the capital city, emphasizing the objective of fostering solid relationships with commercial centers. The strategies employed by the board of trustees and university management to cultivate 'entrepreneurial' students and increase the quantity of projects that yield rapid profits may be perceived as a transformation of architectural education content.

Curriculum regulation necessitates comprehension of the historical context and effects of university dependencies that shape curriculum components. It is essential to examine how hierarchical power dynamics influence the ideology of a curriculum. Comprehending a school's funding mechanisms and the subsequent allocation of resources, along with awareness of a university's financial sources and its administrative and governing structures, directly impacts the curriculum of an architecture school and informs the direction for potential changes. (Day, Deamer et al., 2024, p. 54). The objectives of establishing the university as a viable center for brand and market-focused entrepreneurial endeavors and delivering entrepreneur-centric education arise from collaboration with a specific section of capital by the university's senior administration.

Within the scope of the UGI 315 - Entrepreneurship and Leadership course, a mandatory component of the TOBB ETÜ common curriculum for all undergraduate programs, is delivered by faculty from the Department of International Entrepreneurship. The course aims to equip students with foundational knowledge in entrepreneurship, mastery of concepts such as innovation, R&D, commercialization processes, and lean start-ups, as well as the skills necessary to develop a business plan and model, enabling them to effectively project their business ideas. As part of this course, students must develop a project or start-up firm proposal as their final assignment to understand employer expectations and engage in teamwork (TOBB MiAk, p. 53). This program, which includes architecture students, equips all participants for future roles as entrepreneurs and start-up founders. The university's close association with capital significantly influences the development of this program. In accordance with the university's objective of establishing a renowned brand, students and academic personnel evolve into entrepreneurial individuals who will enhance the university's brand identity.

In addition to the neoliberal transformation, some of the cultural codes of architecture are also important in shaping architectural education and the architectural profession around entrepreneurial individuals who increase the competitive environment. There is a relationship of complicity between architectural education and the architectural discipline (Day, Deamer and others, 2024. pp: 2). In this framework, the architectural discipline, encompassing professional practice, adopts an individualistic stance. This is rooted in the myths of independence, genius, and rivalry that have evolved since architecture became a discipline, fostering a belief in an aesthetic vocation. Architectural education frequently functions as an instrument that validates these myths and sustains practices that foster the profession. The evolution of the architectural profession concurrently influences education, determining both content and pedagogical methods. This interconnectedness necessitates a thorough analysis of the academic framework and architectural theory that influence the issues encountered by contemporary architectural practitioners in their professional endeavors. The discipline of architecture, which purports to

address social issues, may possess limited capacity to resolve existing contradictions by educating entrepreneurial architects of the neoliberal age, who focus solely on profit-generating projects.

The link between architectural practice and education has grown increasingly complex since the 1970s, influenced by rapid technology advancements and neoliberalism. Speed technological advancements and equipment have significantly transformed the material circumstances of architecture, architectural labor, and construction work, as well as the social, cultural, economic, and political frameworks globally. The ascendant hegemony of neoliberalism has significantly transformed the conceptual framework of architecture, characterized by the surge of commercialized and luxury developments, the emphasis on profit over social necessities, and the diminishment of architecture's social and cultural functions. This shift has also redefined the prevailing ideology influencing our daily comprehension of social organization, favoring privatization, individualism, deregulation, and economic efficiency (Day, Deamer et al., 2024, p. 3). Consequently, it can be asserted that this transformation in architectural practice has impacted the curriculum of architectural education by heightening the demand for architects who fulfill the requirements of capital.

According to Deamer, architecture, both as a discipline and as a practice, has a cultural ideology that is resistant to organization, exhibiting rigid hierarchical structures, a strong emphasis on individualism, and strategies of cutthroat competition. Architecture prides itself on exceptionalism, is disconnected from the complexity of the world it seeks to influence, and regularly serves only those with means and privilege. Its privileged nature creates barriers for those who do not have access to the necessary resources (Day, Deamer and others, 2024. pp: 10). In this context, prevalent characteristics such as the rise in income inequality during the neoliberal era, the affinity for luxury, the relegation of social needs and assistance, and the perpetuation of the illusion that anyone can attain wealth through desire might stimulate the architect's motivation to emphasize his privileged status within a competitive and spectacle-driven environment.

At this point, it is important to ponder on the summer internship program, a notable experience from METU's history. Transcending the conventional role of architecture that serves to the elite and addressing the tangible issues faced by the impoverished in rural regions can facilitate a reexamination of architectural practice from an alternative viewpoint. Instances in which individualism and rivalry vanish, leading to a collaborative production framework that transforms architectural practice, can rethink the function of architecture and the architect in the neoliberal era.

The relationship between the architect's working environment, architectural education, and the architectural profession is a significant aspect. The profession deliberately overlooks the working realities of its employees, dismissing architectural work as a creative pursuit rather than labor, while upholding an image of stated self-fulfillment and status. Accomplished architects frequently underestimate the value of architecture, often depending on their prior independent riches to engage in their profession and/or benefiting from the exploitation of architectural laborers. The ideology of architecture promotes the rhetoric of autonomy prevalent in the profession, and although the term 'architectural worker' is gaining popularity, it remains limited to academic contexts (Day, Deamer et al., 2024, p. 10). Therefore, it is essential to contemplate the labor capacity that the architect generates inside the discipline of architecture. As stated in the second chapter of this thesis, architects currently face increasingly precarious working conditions. The unplanned massification of higher education is annually increasing the number of architects in the country, while the presence of a surplus of young architects seeking employment is more apparent. In addition, architectural education, which is increasingly intertwined with neoliberal ideology today, is moving away from an architectural practice that can connect with collective and social relations and is developing goals to train architects who are individualistic/entrepreneurial and suitable for the needs of capital.

In this context, the weakening relate of the architect subject to intricate social relations may obscure the contradictions associated with its social and class status.

Consequently, it may be inferred that the evolution of architectural education, practice, and the architectural profession during the neoliberal era influences the responses formulated in reaction to the increasing precarious working conditions faced by architects.

4.3 Enclosing of Subject or/and from Architect Subject to Entrepreneur Architect

Within the framework of the relationship between the architect, architectural practice, and architectural education, the significant transformational influence of capital is evident. The objectives established by architecture education on the type of architects it will cultivate are regulated by the ideological dominance of capital. At this point, it may be important to hypothesize regarding the evolution of the architectural subject. The fact that future architects are exposed to an education curriculum integrated with neoliberal ideology can be explained by the effort to create neoliberal architect individuals with the evolving demands of the architectural profession.

The link between the subject and the individual, which is a significant topic of discourse in political theory, can be pivotal in clarifying this chapter. Dean argues that bourgeois ideology treats the subject as individuals, rather than addressing the individual as a subject through ideology. Dean asserts that Althusser's claim that ideology shapes the subject and that individualization results in emancipation must be inverted, as the very concept of the individual is a contradiction (Dean, 2016). Individualism is hence a coercive and precarious outcome of the privatization of the commons, aimed at suppressing, denying, and prohibiting collective political identity. The individual is hence a manifestation of capture. The individual form restricts collective bodies, thoughts, emotions, wants, and impulses into a solitary and limited being, rather than being inherent or essential. The connection between subjectivity and individuality is not inherent; it results from a sequence of processes that result in bourgeois modernity. In bourgeois ideology, collectivity is linked to a

limitation that suppresses rather than fosters creativity and initiative. Liberal political theorists view political agency as a distinct individual capability, but others assume the individuality of the political subject as a fundamental premise. Dean contends that the issue of the subject relates to the persistent individual form, which restricts collective political subjectivity to the unique entity of the individual (Dean, 2016).

Dean's defending of the subject against the individual seeks to eliminate the individualistic assumptions that limit an understanding of the political subject as a collective entity. The individual form restricts collective entities, concepts, emotions, and feelings to a unique, bounded entity. Similar to how a commodity represents value, an individual embodies subjectivity. It is a mechanism that suppresses collective political identity by fragmenting and isolating it into individual bodies and souls. The core of seventeenth-century liberal ideology is the "possessive individual," who "owns their personality or abilities and owes nothing to society for them." (Dean, 2016). Liberal ideology posits that a person can attain emancipation alone by liberating themselves from social ties and progressing towards their intrinsic existential nature. Nonetheless, human beings are fundamentally social and communal entities, necessitating these relationships for self-actualization. Appropriative individualism is a means of avoiding one's responsibilities to society.

According to Dean's theoretical terms, possession is established and generated through a sequence of distinctions and enclosures. Capacities exist independently from others and from a self that limits them within its own identity. Education, whether ethical or technical, constitutes an endeavor focused on individual development rather than necessitating communal reproduction for the collective benefit. Capabilities severed from the settings that produce and encourage them, and contained within the individual, become subjects to individual concerns. In this perspective, Dean examines the historical basis of individual formation, giving slavery as an example. "Individuals sold in slave markets were converted into representations of the category to which they were assigned." Once the categories of comparison were defined and solidified, slaves had to reappear as distinct persons.

Slaves must be similar to prove their value. To be marketable, they needed to be sufficiently uncommon and unique to differentiate themselves from the competition. The uniqueness of the commodified slave was created for purchase. The differentiation between the commodity and the human in the slave trade indicates that there is nothing essentially freeing in the concept of the individual (Dean, 2016).

Therefore, a historical ideological process for the de-subjectification of collectives arises. The individual represents a mode of appropriation, extending beyond its liberal and possessive forms. During the transition from slavery to capitalist relations, the processes of classification followed by individualization were applied to the subjectified working class. The initial chapter discusses that many manifestations of precarious employment persist in classifying wage workers. Consequently, architects, as white-collar, middle-class, or intellectual laborers, are encompassed within this categorization process. As individualization progresses, architects are anticipated to surpass their colleagues in performance as well as individual progress.

The outcomes of architectural education demonstrate that the process of individualization occurs at the very beginning of education. In an educational framework characterized by entrepreneurship, individual achievement, and rapid production of knowledge with profit potential, aspiring architects are placed in a competitive setting that necessitates continual self-advancement above colleagues. The architect's creativity, as a collective force for societal advancement, transforms into a personal pursuit through the narrative of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, as previously noted, there is a pronounced emphasis on individualism within the distinct framework of the architectural discipline. Consequently, it may be asserted that the dominance of neoliberal individualism has led to the stagnation of collaborative architectural practices, while individual creativity has gained prominence in architectural practice and education. It can be concluded that the architect subject evolves into an entrepreneurial architect, as evidenced by the pronounced focus on entrepreneurship and individualism within the architectural education curriculum of foundation universities in Turkey, aligned with the university's objectives.

In the neoliberal era, the subject is equated with success and performance, symbolizing a depressed and anxious character. The neoliberal regime removes the essence of everything related to the subject and the social, revealing a society without society and a new typology of subject without subjectivity. While the enclosure of the subject renders solidarity and struggle for common goals meaningless, it glorifies individualism (Dean, 2023). The diminishing significance of the architectural profession, the incorporation of qualified architects into the potential reserve labor force, and the heightened competition within the field due to the dominance of large firms undermine collaborative practices in the architectural field. The architectural discipline experiences a transformation in which every professional becomes as an entrepreneur within a competitive landscape.

When the subject is perceived as an individual, the strengths of the collective transform into the illusory attributes of the singular individual. The individual manifests as the center of a potential for innovation and disruption that solely arises from collectives. The collaborative productive practices of individuals are devoid of shared sensibility and diminished to the actions of isolated self. The process of architectural production is now characterized by individual creativity rather than collective intellect. This condition results in the dissolution of a collective architectural identity, leading to an architectural culture comprised of isolated individual architects.

Deamer, Day and others' advice to architects in this context is noteworthy. Architects must come together to break free from the false image of individual creativity and gain a place in social relations. If architects want to fight for environmental justice, affordable housing, and labor exploitation in construction and design, they must organize as a whole. Organizing transforms not only the material conditions of architects, but also their commitment to the broader public interest and workers' rights (Day, Deamer et al., 2024, pp:11). Architects suffering from precarious working conditions today need to come together to reconstruct the architect subject in order to resolve their contradictions.

4.4 Epilogue: Can the Architect Subject Be Resurrected?

The current chapter of the thesis analyzes the correlation between the precarization of architectural work and the neoliberal change in architectural education, focusing on two selected architecture departments in Ankara. This study examines the impact of neoliberal shift on architecture education by comparing data from a newly founded foundation university and a long-standing state university.

The discursive data from the two chosen universities, categorized under the headings 'Founding purpose of the affiliated university', 'Mission, vision, and strategic plans', 'Current status of teaching staff', 'Internship practices', 'Spatial adequacy', and 'Financial resources', were analyzed to comparatively illustrate the perspective of architectural education regarding the architect and architectural practice. The findings indicate significant disparities in the architect's function within social life and the execution of architectural practice.

At the chosen foundational university, the educational curriculum exhibited characteristics peculiar to the neoliberal age, consistent with the approaches defined according to the university administration's hierarchical structure. Discursive findings include the university's evolution into an investment instrument, strong relationships with capital, the commodification of education due to the focus on the economic value of educational outcomes, and the preparation of students as potential entrepreneurs. In addition, the excessive workload of the restricted academic staff was identified as a factor influencing the quality of education. Within the university framework, functioning similarly to a corporation, students and academics are subjected to an accelerated and competitive production of knowledge process aimed at enhancing the institution's brand value.

On the other hand, the possibilities for establishing an appropriate environment for architectural education at the chosen public university are significantly constrained due to a reduction in governmental support. The neoliberal era has led to reduced public expenditures and the commercialization of higher education, significantly

impacting the quality of architectural education in public universities. The lack of enough funding for field trips, the deficiency of physical and technical resources in the educational environment, and the heightened workload of academic staff adversely impact the quality of academic output. Furthermore, the unanticipated massification of higher education in Turkey, which expands the number of available quotas, adversely impacts the quality of education due to the failure to provide an appropriate educational environment for these quotas.

Entrepreneurship and profit-driven innovation initiatives are emphasized within the foundation university's common educational framework, whereas the public university's approach for its students seems to focus on leadership and the development of solutions to societal issues. Despite METU's summer internship program, designed to provide architectural services to rural regions of Turkey and exemplifying a significant collective architectural practice, it is no longer feasible due to inadequate governmental backing.

In this context, in the neoliberal era, thinking about the social and cultural aspects of architecture and conducting research on the formation of a critical architectural theory has narrowed down to a limited circle. It can be seen that the effects of the marginalization of a social architectural practice by looking at the individual, entrepreneurship, and profit-oriented projects limited by commercial relations in the educational curriculum. In addition, the diminishing influence of the social role of architecture transforms the architect subject into a singular individual. The main reason for the inability to address objections regarding architects' working conditions today, within the growing precariousness of their labor, is the architects' transformation into isolated individuals within a competitive landscape, hindering their capacity to unite under a shared agenda.

At this point, the consequences of the neoliberal era, wherein the 'subject' is enclosed within the construct of the 'individual', necessitate examination. The impact of architectural education significantly contributes to the transformation of the architect subject into individual architects. Therefore, The educating of future architects as

entrepreneurial individuals reflects the individualism prevalent in neoliberal ideology within the restructuring of the educational environment. This thesis aims to elucidate the precarious state of architectural labor by examining the transformation of architectural education throughout the neoliberal age, which fosters the emergence of entrepreneurial architects.

Is it possible to bring back the architect subject? There is an increasing scrutiny of architectural labor and the societal value placed on architects, worldwide. The efforts of ABC School about architects' challenges and the potential for an alternative architectural practice warrant investigation. Furthermore, the initiatives of a collective of architects in Turkey to pose 'uncomfortable questions'¹ about architecture during the 2024-2025 academic year demonstrate that there are people that perceive current architects and architecture from an alternative viewpoint. This situation of 'unrest', typically arising inside the academic sphere, may also include broader implications. Consequently, the approach to recreating the architectural subject involves uniting more architects and enhancing organizational methods through the establishment of a collective mindset.

¹ The course code is ARCH 571, which is offered at METU Department of Architecture in the fall semester of 2024-2025 and is directed by Güven Arif Sargin, is a course in which participants from various schools collectively discuss the uncomfortable questions of architecture (<https://www.instagram.com/uncomfortablequestions.arch/>)



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The capitalist system has embraced a neoliberal strategy since the 1970s to eliminate barriers to capital accumulation and overcome the significant crisis it has encountered. This strategy has involved the financialization of various aspects of life and the restructuring of the state to align with this approach. This process, which works in favor of capital, together with globalization and rapid technological developments, has caused the working conditions of laborers on a planetary scale to become increasingly precarious, and increasing competition between individuals.

While the concept of precarious employment as a requirement for the capitalist labor process has been discussed since early Marxist literature, the notion of precarity has now expanded to include a larger group of workers throughout the neoliberal era. Unemployment, lack of qualifications for job, and precariousness have grown prevalent in white-collar occupations that require significant cognitive effort. Consequently, the field of architecture has experienced a decline in its previous significance and has adopted a role similar to that of a technician functioning as a salaried worker.

Urban policy, land speculation, rent-driven building, mega projects, and other investments in construction and real estate, which have played a crucial role in capital accumulation throughout the neoliberal era, have significantly influenced the evolution of architectural practice. In Turkey, the construction sector, which was used by the AKP government as a tool to both create capital accumulation and spread its political Islamist ideology, has seriously affected the working conditions of architects. Also, subcontracting has experienced a surge at this time, leading to architects facing harsh working conditions, precarity, and low wages.

As capital accumulation intensified in the construction sector, there has been a growing need for architects throughout the years. Architects began participating in the 'reserve labor army' to such a degree that they became fully integrated into the labor market. The primary determinant for the necessity of accepting low salaries, unstable employment, and unfavorable working conditions is the presence of a surplus labor force. Today, architects working in unqualified jobs are forced to endure all the bad working conditions, knowing that they can easily be replaced by another architect.

In sum, this chapter aims to explain the working circumstances of architect-workers in Turkey during the post-2002 period by employing the notion of the reserve army to illustrate the precarization of their labor. This part of thesis examines the changes in the work of architects in Turkey, specifically focusing on the impact of the AKP government's urban plans and construction projects during the neoliberal period.

Over the span of 900 years, the university evolved from its origins as a religious institution to a structured organization focused on producing information for the nation state. This knowledge was then applied to promote social progress, giving rise to what is today known as the 'modern university'. Currently, the university is emphasizing social development above individual personal growth. While universities did adopt certain aspects of the capitalist system, their relative autonomy and democratic organizational structure allowed the creation of knowledge in a more unrestrained atmosphere.

Throughout the neoliberal era, the government's process of financializing public services, such as education, has led to a greater influence of capital in higher education. The quantity of private schools has progressively risen, and the organization of the university has begun to be shaped by financial relationships. The initially democratic organizational structure of universities, which gradually adopted a corporate approach, transformed into a hierarchical structure. The knowledge produced during this era became a marketable product, and the substance of its production was adapted to align with the demands of capital. In academic evaluation

approaches, the emphasis has shifted from examining quality to relying on quantitative statistics, particularly the quantity of publications. The level of competition inside the academy has intensified, leading to a disruption in the collective solidarity atmosphere and a greater emphasis on individual achievements.

In the neoliberal age, the conventional nation-state university has been replaced by institutions that formulate plans aligned with financial stakeholders. The proliferation of higher education has occurred in the context of the 'knowledge society'. While there has been an increase in the number of students with the opportunity to pursue higher education, the educational experience at universities, particularly at the undergraduate level, has become more uniform and standardized. The university that formerly produced information for the benefit of the public has been overtaken by a university that produces knowledge for commercial purposes. The university functioned as a means to fulfill capitalism's need for cost-effective innovation. The rise in the quantity of individuals obtaining university degrees has correspondingly increased the proportion of the 'reserve labor army' inside the 'white-collar producing class' or 'intellectual labor class', hence facilitating labor exploitation.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, a comprehensive architectural education developed that encompassed the multifaceted aspects of architecture. The influence of centralization and capitalist labor division caused a shift in architectural education, particularly within studio culture. During the neoliberal era, the competitive atmosphere within the studio intensified, highlighting the individual design abilities of students rather than a collaborative approach to architectural knowledge production.

The loss of autonomy and the process of massification at Turkish universities occurred as part of the establishment of the Higher Education Council (YÖK) following the 1980 coup d'état. When the country's political economy started to align with neoliberal policies, universities too experienced a neoliberal change, leading to the establishing of foundation universities. institutions became instrumental in the

state's hegemonic ambition when the decision-making processes of institutions were connected to a centralized entity known as YÖK. Since the year 2000, there has been a notable surge in the number of both public and private institutions.

The architectural academy has also included the change in universities on its agenda. Discussions on architectural education have focused on various issues including the increase in the number of architecture schools, the lack of quality in education, the standardization of architectural curriculum, and a decreasing connection between architects and social ideals. The Architecture and Education Congress and the Communication Group of Heads of Departments of Architecture Schools (MOBBİG). have regularly convened the architecture academy and other entities associated with architecture, resulting in an important archive of knowledge regarding the resolution of issues in architectural education.

The final part is a discursive review of the reports issued by the two chosen architectural departments in Ankara. The first university is a newly founded foundation institution, whereas the second is a long-standing public university.

Six headings were utilized to compare the characteristics of the analyzed universities: 'Founding purpose of the affiliated university', 'Mission, vision, and strategic plans', 'Current status of teaching staff', 'Internship practices', 'Spatial adequacy', and 'Financial resources'. At the conclusion of this inquiry, considerable discursive disparities between the two universities were identified. These distinctions provide insights into the architect's role and architectural practice within architecture education throughout the neoliberal era.

The curriculum of architectural education at the foundation university is significantly influenced by both corporate entities and university administration. The argument that capital's power within the institution has intensified during the neoliberal era appears to possess some validity. A definitive evidence of this circumstance is the prominent inclusion of entrepreneurship and an individualistic pedagogy in the educational curriculum. On the other hand, significant concerns to the viability of

education exist at the chosen public university. Due to limits on public spending and the ideological nature of governmental policies, the architectural department is facing challenges in fulfilling fundamental abilities. Furthermore, the unplanned massification of higher education in Turkey, while increasing the number of available quotas, adversely impacts the quality of education due to the failure to provide an appropriate educational environment for these quotas. Consequently, the quality and quantity of architectural education have undergone transformations over the neoliberal era.

In this context, the relationship among the architect, architectural education, and architectural practice provides a significant unity. Alongside the marginalization of architecture's social purpose, the architect transforms into an entrepreneur. The presence of such an ideology is evident in architecture education content. This condition diminishes the shared professional foundations among architects, resulting in a failure to establish a unifying discourse among the prevailing precariousness of architectural work.

Thus, architecture education offers significant insights into the neoliberal environment that encloses the architect 'subject' and reorganizes it as a 'individual'. Curricula that prioritize entrepreneurship and individualism significantly contribute to the emergence of the architect 'subject' into architect 'individuals'. At this point, it is important to consider the subject of architecture. Sargin's diligent meta-perspective on the limitations and possibilities of the architect subject serves as an essential framework for contemplating this issue. Sargin highlights the connection between architecture and class, attempting to demonstrate the architect's capacity to evolve into a political subject within the conflicts of the capitalist system (Sargin, 2024). Consequently, formulating a viewpoint on establishing an alternative architectural practice that transcends individualism and commercial motives necessitates architects uniting on commune values.

This thesis attempts to clarify the precarization of architects' labor within the framework of the neoliberal university that encompasses architectural education. As

a result, an attempt has been made to present a perspective on the re-establishment of the relation of the architect subject with its class affiliation within the current architectural practice that forces architects to work under increasingly worse conditions.



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