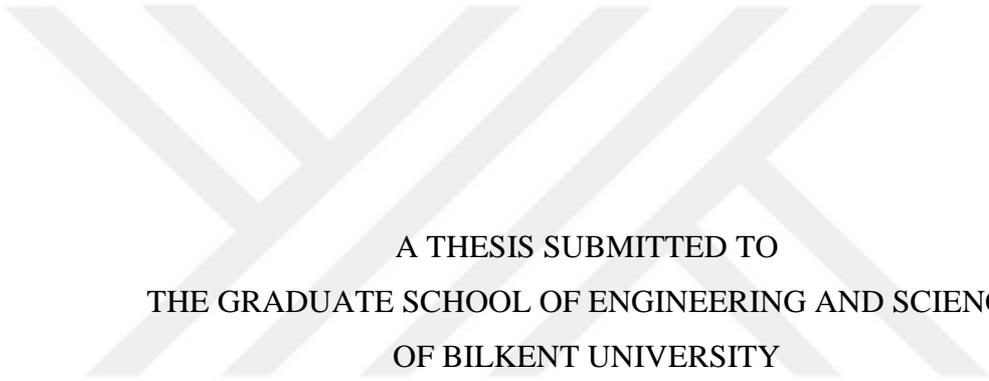


**TRACING CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY  
BETWEEN 2010-2020: SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN  
ISTANBUL'S HISTORICAL PENINSULA**



A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
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By  
Nilgün Lale  
January 2021

TRACING CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY BETWEEN  
2010-2020: SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN ISTANBUL'S HISTORICAL  
PENINSULA

By Nilgün Lale  
January 2021

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.



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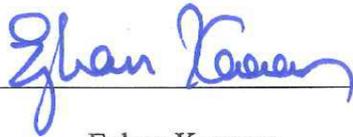


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# ABSTRACT

## TRACING CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY BETWEEN 2010-2020: SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN ISTANBUL'S HISTORICAL PENINSULA

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M.S. in Architecture

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Modernization in all fields, including architecture, is on Turkey's ideological agenda since the late Ottoman period. From that time, different understandings of modernization have been attempted, and reaching the last one in the first 20 years of the XXI century, with conservative power in politics. Considering modernity's contemporary interpretation and the attempts towards making new national architecture, this thesis relates conservative modernization to school architecture. Apart from being a significant medium in describing the periods' understanding of modernization, new national architecture was introduced in 2005 with new prototype projects for public schools. Since then, this new architectural style is under process and characterized no longer by a specific individual style but much more by an ambiguous set of characters which imply continuing negotiation. To trace these characters over the latest samples, the portfolio of reconstructed school projects in the scope of the Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparation Project (ISMEP) represents a wide diversity of architectural languages with all kinds of global, national, and local dynamics. Contrary to the regular practice in building schools in Turkey, ISMEP has also abandoned prototype projects and adopted special projects in 2010. In the light of contemporary attempts to refashion bounds with tradition, this thesis took 12 reconstructed public schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula as microcosms that epitomized conservative modernization. By reading educational spaces as the reflection of ideological discourse and architectural space, the restoration ideology of conservative modernization was revealed as the (re-)invention and promotion of architectural spaces and elements. In this way, the global reconstruction of the locality was exemplified with ISMEP's public schools.

*Key words:* Conservative Modernization, School Architecture, Changing Dynamics on Education, New National Architecture, Local Architecture.

## ÖZET

### TÜRKİYE'DE MUHAFAZAKAR MODERNLEŞMENİN İZİNİ SÜRMEK (2010-2020): İSTANBUL TARİHİ YARIMADA'DA OKUL MİMARİSİ

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Modernleşme, Osmanlı'nın son döneminden itibaren mimarlık dahil her alanda Türkiye'nin ideolojik gündemindedir. O zamandan beri, farklı modernleşme anlayışları denenmiştir ve sonuncusuna 21. yüzyılın ilk 20 yılında siyasette muhafazakar bir güçle ulaşılmıştır. Modernitenin güncel yorumu ve yeni ulusal mimari yapma girişimleri göz önüne alındığında, bu tez muhafazakar modernleşmeyi okul mimarisiyle ilişkilendirir. Dönemlerin modernleşme anlayışını tanımlamada önemli bir araç olmanın ötesinde, yeni ulusal mimari 2005 yılında devlet okulları için hazırlanan tip projelerle tanıtılmıştır. 2005'ten bu yana, bu yeni mimari üslup süreç halindedir ve artık belirli bir bireysel üslupla değil, daha çok devam eden bir müzakereyi ima eden belirsiz bir nitelikler kümesi ile karakterize edilmektedir. Bu karakterlerin en son örnekler üzerinden izini sürmek için, İstanbul Sismik Riskin Azaltılması ve Acil Durum Hazırlık Projesi (ISMEP) kapsamında yeniden inşa edilen okul projeleri koleksiyonu, her türlü küresel, ulusal ve yerel dinamiklerle geniş bir mimari dil çeşitliliğini temsil etmektedir. ISMEP, Türkiye'de okul inşası konusundaki olağan uygulamaların aksine 2010 yılında tip proje uygulamasını da terk etmiş ve özel projeleri benimsemiştir. Gelenekle sınırları yeniden şekillendirmeye yönelik güncel girişimler ışığında, bu tez İstanbul'un Tarihi Yarımadası'nda 12 devlet okulunu muhafazakar modernleşmeyi örnekleyen mikrokozmoslar olarak almıştır. Eğitim mekânlarının ideolojik söylem yansıması ve mimari mekan olarak okumasıyla, muhafazakar modernleşmenin restorasyon ideolojisi, mimari mekanların ve öğelerin (yeniden) icat edilmesi ve tanıtılması olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu şekilde, yerelliğin küresel olarak yeniden inşası ISMEP'in devlet okulları ile örneklendirilmiştir.

*Anahtar sözcükler:* Muhafazakar Modernizasyon, Okul Mimarisi, Eğitimde Değişen Dinamikler, Yeni Milli Mimari, Yerel Mimari.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ANAP:</b>	Motherland Party
<b>AKP:</b>	Justice and Development Party
<b>DP:</b>	Democrat Party
<b>EFIKAP:</b>	Physical Contribution to National Education Project
<b>IPCU:</b>	Istanbul Project Coordination Unit
<b>ISMEP:</b>	Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparation Project
<b>MEB:</b>	Ministry of National Education
<b>RP:</b>	Welfare Party
<b>YIKOB:</b>	Ankara Governorship Investment Monitoring and Coordination

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

There is no better example of architecture seen as largely a question of exteriors than schools. Their internal arrangement has always been the same: classrooms as opaque boxes of long straight corridors purely for circulation and for hanging coats. And through new ideas on education emerged, unrelievedly calling for greater independence among pupils and expressing increasing doubt about traditional teacher-fronted lessons, these never resulted in breaking down the classroom as a self-contained bastion. It would seem that the inexorable spatial consequence of more independence among pupils, of opening up the classroom, never really got as far as the architecture (Hertzberger, 2008: 13).

In the XX century, many schools what Hertzberger pointed out with the same internal arrangements, have been built in most countries. Because these countries were trying to adjust their 'traditional' education with the modern standards of Western countries. Although the canon of these standards has changed over time, i.e., with the American image in the 1950s and with the global image in the 1980s, schools' internal arrangement has almost remained unchanged despite the emergence of new ideas on education. When considering the early Republic of Turkey, it has adopted modern education with its facilities and attempted to remove the remaining traditional education of the Ottoman. Since then, 'traditional teacher-fronted lessons' dominates the Turkish education system and also shapes school architecture. On the other hand, schools' exterior has reflected architectural trends of the period without

any concern on the renewal in learning and teaching (Ibid). According to Balamir's interpretation, school buildings in Turkey describe the periods' profile in a shortcut (*TSMD Educational Buildings Series 1*, 2016). While she describes school buildings of both the late Ottoman and early Republican periods as qualified, she relates the application of prototype projects with public works' style after the 1970s with the decline of Turkey's architectural culture (Ibid).

At the peak of the XXI century, an unprecedented level of investment has been made in school buildings throughout the world (Chiles, 2015: 10). Turkey's investments have been continuing to solve the shortage of schools completely, reach the desired number of students in classes, and improve their physical environment. In the words of the Ministry of Education's Department of Construction and Real Estate<sup>1</sup>, they also aim for "modernization of all education and training facilities" (*iedb.gov.tr*, 2020). When considered the accompaniment of modern standards with modern education and its space, i.e., schools, the discussion on school architecture has strong bonds with modernization. In other words, just like Hertzberger questioned and Balamir referred with the profile, school architecture is a significant medium describing the periods' understanding of modernization.

### **1.1. Problem Statement**

A substantial and by far radical process of modernization has been on the State's agenda since the late Ottoman period<sup>2</sup> due to an aspiration to align the country with the modern standards of Western countries. This drastic, sudden, and radical set of transformations refer to what Heynen pointed out: "modernity stands for the attitude toward life that is associated with a continuous process of evolution and transformation, with an orientation toward a future that will be different from the past and from the present" (1999: 10). From that time, several attempts to adjust

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<sup>1</sup> The Ministry of National Education carries out education and training services in Turkey. Its Department of Construction and Real Estate has the main responsibility in building public schools.

<sup>2</sup> The proclamation of the Edict of *Gülhane* in 1839, known as *Tanzimat*, could be labeled as the starting point for the modern history of the context thanks to a more systematic approach for modernization instead of previous fragmentary reforms (Köker, 2003: 274).

modernity have been attempted<sup>3</sup>, and reaching the last of these attempts along the first 20 years of the XXI century, with conservative power in politics. In this thesis, the last of these attempts in education, especially school architecture, will be opened for discussion on conservative modernization. It is accepted as the contemporary interpretation of modernity aiming to accelerate modernization and trying to refashion a bound with tradition.

As a current cultural-political strategy, conservative understanding has been publicized. Ongoing policies and practices to ensure modernization, and the effects of other doctrines, i.e., nationalism, Islamism, and neo-liberalism, have formed a new hybrid understanding. Since 2005, this hybridity has been reflected in architecture as making a new national architectural style for public buildings. While “the earliest examples of this style were seen in school buildings and courthouses” (Batuman, 2018: 154), by the time it has turned to “a trend swinging between ideology and fashion” (Ayaz Çalap as cited in Batuman, 2018: 162) seen in any kinds of public and private buildings. In the 2020s, the same rhetoric continues, but this architectural style has been blended with different characters, i.e., local, traditional, modern, etc., since then. When considered the history of modernization in Turkey, the late Ottoman had its own style as eclecticism; the early Republican period had modernism; the 1950s had international style and regionalism; 1970s had brutalism; 1980s-2000s had the effect of commodity aesthetics with the continuing architectural pluralism. Therefore, the appearance of a new national style in 2005 and the beginning of modernization indicate a continuing negotiation in architectural styles. Here, this process’s last period will be read as the reflection of conservative modernization on architecture. It is essential to emphasize that in contemporary agenda, it is under process and characterized no longer by a specific individual style but much more by an ambiguous set of characters that are again implying a negotiation process. Therefore, it is possible to state that the exteriors of school buildings in Turkey have not been open to such controversy till the edge of the XXI century.

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<sup>3</sup> Selected attempts related to education: Acceptance of Latin alphabet and co-education in the early Republic period; increased diversity of school types and 8-year mandatory education in the 1950s-2000s; quantitative-structural development in education and Fatih project in education since 2000s.

## 1.2. Aim and Scope

The architecture of educational buildings is the privileged context to explore both the ideological agenda of state programs and the architectural discourse that embodies these programs. In particular, there are three main reasons where the specific selected context offers the opportunity to elaborate them: (1) remarkable effects of modernity on education and its facilities since its introduction in the late Ottoman period; (2) the most discussed field of different ideologies over educational institutions and policies throughout the history of modernization (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 396); and (3) the first attempts of new national architecture experienced in public schools.

Reading space of education as the medium of ideological and architectural discourses also implies two main education politics which shape the practices of conservative power: (1) quantitative and structural development in education, and (2) the reforms in the Turkish education system which will meet the expectations of the conservative people thus the voters of the party (Alpaydın, 2018: 6). While the increase in schooling and Fatih Project in Education could be shown as particular projects towards the first one, the change in the education system in 2012, from 8-year mandatory education to 4+4+4 education, could be given towards the second one since it enabled to reopen secondary school departments of Imam-hatips<sup>4</sup>.

The selection of case studies in Istanbul derives from the Istanbul-centered imagination of modernization since the late Ottoman period (Tanyeli, 2004: 35) and the most availability of modernization's main features as the contemporary metropolis of Turkey. It is also important to note that most school investments are made in the East and South-east parts of the county during the early years of the XXI century. However, they present less global dynamics than the cases in Istanbul, especially those reconstructed in charge of *Istanbul Project Coordination Unit (IPCU)* within the scope of Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparation Project (ISMEP). *IPCU* is an institution established in 2006 under the

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<sup>4</sup> Imam-Hatip is an educational model special to Turkey. In the first place, they were opened after the proclamation of the Republic, to serve instead of madrasahs and to raise enlightened religious leaders (Başgöz & Wilson as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 39; Çelikdönmez, 2013). Afterward, these institutions encountered several closures, reopening, and also changes in their curriculum. At present, they serve religion, science, and foreign language lessons altogether in the forms of secondary and high schools.

Governorship of Istanbul to form a basis for a safe and secure tomorrow. It is started its studies on what to do before, during, and after a potential earthquake in Istanbul under ISMEP (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2019). The preparation of public buildings against earthquakes with retrofitting or reconstruction forms one of the components of ISMEP, and most of the budget is canalized for it (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). There are three main reasons behind the selection of ISMEP and relatively *IPCU*: (1) the global-local betweenness of ISMEP, where its locality comes from its establishment under the Governorship of Istanbul while its global character derives from fund resources provided by international banks; (2) the abandonment of prototype projects, which is longstanding in building public schools in Turkey; and (3) a wide diversity of architectural languages in the portfolio of reconstructed school projects included in the program.

A context-based analysis was made with public schools in the Historical Peninsula to elaborate the discussion within more than 300 reconstructed public schools in 39 different districts in Istanbul. While the reason behind the context-based analysis derives from the desire to read architects' interpretations with considerable same or similar parameters, there are three main reasons for the selection of the Historical Peninsula: (1) the district which is prominent with the Ottoman heritage despite multi-layered historical context, therefore very suitable to read historicism and traditionalism; (2) ongoing politics and practices on the district by the conservative powers, deriving from their reference to the Ottoman ideal; and (3) the plan notes of Fatih asking for traditional and contemporary altogether in the designs of new buildings (2016: 35), therefore providing the opportunity to discuss their togetherness. In this way, 12 public schools reconstructed since 2010 in the particular district will be analyzed as the reflection of ideological discourse and architectural discourse. In other words, I take these 12 public schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula as microcosms that epitomized conservative modernization of Turkey between 2010 and 2020. Moreover, this thesis provides a unique opportunity to elaborate the tradition(-al) because it is involved in conservative modernization as refashioning a bound with tradition and appears as the request (for traditional) in the plan notes of Istanbul's Historical Peninsula.

This thesis discusses the contemporary understanding in the name of conservative modernization and traces its reflection on school architecture with global and local dynamics behind it. This thesis will give a comprehensive answer to the major question, “How does conservative power reflect its understanding of modernity to the medium of architecture, particularly public schools in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula, i.e., the old city of the contemporary metropolis?” It also leads the answer to the minor questions below:

- What kind of a cultural-political background paves the way for conservative modernization? How do the fields of education and school architecture evolve since the introduction of modernity?
- What kind of global and local dynamics lead to conservative modernization in the XXI century? How do they affect education and reflect on school architecture?
- How do dynamics in the metropolis Istanbul affect school building? What are the limitations and the opportunities shaping public school architecture in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula?
- Why different architectural style attitudes are on the agenda at the same time? Does it derive from the dynamics of conservative modernization? Is it possible to mention hybridity or multiplicity of language in public school designs?

To conclude, in *All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity* (1982), Berman defines his aim to explore and chart the ways developed in which most people have experienced modernity as a threat to their history and traditions (1983: 16). Similarly, this thesis also aims to trace the ways developed in the early years of the XXI century in Turkey, with the concept of conservative modernization, via the architecture of 12 public schools reconstructed since 2010 in a context questioning and reproducing the traditional most, Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula.

### 1.3. Methodology and Sources

This research examines contemporary school architecture, which is decided in the first place with the enthusiasm to read educational spaces. In particular, public schools reconstructed in the scope of ISMEP have been promoted as case studies for the analysis from the beginning. Because abandonment of the prototype project in ISMEP was interpreted as a turning point for school buildings in Turkey. Balamir pointed out a longstanding policy of prototype projects in building public schools (*TSMD Educational Buildings Series 1*, 2016). While they provide aesthetic uniformity, special projects designed by Turkish and foreign architects for ISMEP have presented enriched material and paved the way for the research.

Considering the cultural-political context, which is very influential in the architectural environment, educational spaces are read not only as architectural spaces but also as a tool of ideological discourse. To understand contemporary understanding with its background, the context was read starting with introducing modernity in the late Ottoman period till the present. As important sources for reading the history of thought in Turkey, encyclopedia-like *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*<sup>5</sup> was examined with its four volumes on *Modernization and Westernism* (2002), *Conservatism* (2003), *Islamism* (2004) and *Liberalism* (2005), which were formed with the contribution of various writers. *Cereyanlar Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*<sup>6</sup> (2018) by Tanıl Bora as a more contemporary study discussing similar themes deserves to be mentioned. Together with the essential sources on modernity, which are *All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity* (1983) by Marshall Berman, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (1999) by Hilde Heynen and *Liquid Modernity* (2001) by Zygmunt Bauman, they enable the formation of a theoretical framework.

To address modernization on the school architecture, the works of Herman Herzberger, who is not only the architect of several schools but also the writer, were examined with his three books named *Lessons for students in architecture* (1998), *Space and the Architect Lessons in Architecture 2* (2000), and *Space and Learning:*

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<sup>5</sup> In English, Political Thought in Modern Turkey.

<sup>6</sup> In English, Tendencies Political Ideologies in Turkey.

*Lessons in Architecture 3* (2008). *Architecture of schools: the new learning environments* (2000) and *Schools and Kindergartens: A Design Manual* (2015) by Mark Dudek enabled both historical and contemporary information on school architecture. As essential sources on contemporary understandings of modernization in school architecture, *Building Schools: Key Issues for Contemporary Design*, edited by Chiles and formed with the contribution of various writers, deserves to be mentioned. There are more valuable sources that contributed to the parts of the literature review and the main discussion. However, the materials below constitute the main sources of the study by providing information on contemporary school architecture in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula:

- Architectural drawings (site plans, floor plans, sections, elevations) and 3D views, retrieved from the consultancy and architectural firms, which are *Uygur Architecture, Prokon, Studio Alteri, Cumhuriyet Architecture, Koltek, Optimal Project*, mostly through the medium of *IPCU*
- Photos taken by the author on the site visit of August 2020
- Interviews made with the architects involved in the design of public schools, who are (1) Semra Uygur from *Uygur Architects*, (2) Tuba Yücel from *Prokon Engineering*, (3) Cumhuriyet Gürel from *Cumhuriyet Architecture*, (4) Baran Gökğöz from *Vista Project*, and (5) Gökhan Elgin as the director of *IPCU*, the responsible institution from the reconstruction of public schools
- Digital publications on ISMEP

The methodology is based on a literature review on education and school architecture in global, national, and local debates, where national and local ones are also expanded with cultural-political aspects. They will pave the way for the main discussion over comparative analysis of reconstructed public schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula. In the analysis, spaces of education are read in two ways: as the reflection of ideological discourse and as architectural space.

#### **1.4. Theoretical Framework**

Depending on modernity's contemporary interpretation and the attempts towards making new national architecture, this thesis relates school architecture to

conservative modernization. Despite its universal character, the concept, especially its conservative side, will be elaborated considering its relation to selected context. Afterward, modernization in education and school architecture will be concerned to address conservative modernization in education and school architecture and trace its different architectural characteristics.

#### **1.4.1. Conservative Modernization**

This thesis's main discussion is structured around conservative modernization, which is accepted as a contemporary interpretation of modernity, articulated with conservative power in politics since 2002 in Turkey. Although modernity's discussion seems to be disfavored for the globalized world, it is somehow altered with new doctrines, i.e., conservatism and neoliberalism. It is possible to ask the question of "was not modernity a process of liquefaction from the start" (Bauman, 2001: 2) in a constantly changing world in which all solids melt into air and replaced by more solid orders (Berman, 1983: 6; Bauman, 2001: 4). Without any concern of that liquefaction or melt of modernity is in which stage, the process of modernization continues with its dynamic hybrid form where this hybridity on both ideology and architecture will be elaborated.

Starting with the term of modernization, it is one of many terms derived from the modern, and they are interpreted in different ways. In this thesis, modernity is accepted as an unfinished or incomplete project (Berman, 1983: 6; Habermas as cited in Heynen, 1999: 11), while modernism is "the generic term for theoretical and artistic ideas about modernity" (Heynen, 1999: 10). The selection of modernization derives from its definition, the process of social development that evokes transformation, change, and dynamism and could proceed along with many different ways (Ibid; Berman, 1983: 16-124). Therefore, it is possible to introduce the fact that "the society which enters the 21<sup>st</sup> century is no less modern than the society which entered the 20<sup>th</sup>; the most one can say is that it is modern in a different way" (Bauman, 2001: 28). In Turkey's experience, its interpretation has appeared with the reforms towards modernization for the restoration of state in the late Ottoman period and then strengthened with radical reforms with the vision of building a modern nation-state in the early Republic period. Although its existence has been continued

with different interpretations, both modernist and conservative interpretations in Turkey demonstrate the implementer-utilitarian understanding of modernization (Bora, 2018: 83).

When considered Marx's idea on everything's pregnancy with its contrary, the modernity itself leads the emergence of conservatism, which is a reaction to modernity, to the threat of loss of past values (Scruton & Nisbet as cited in Altınyıldız, 2003: 179). Considering different ideologies on conservatism in respect to the context, conservatism is elaborated over the case of Turkey: a restoration ideology, which is not anti-modernist but aims to discipline the modernity with the tradition, where the raw material of this tradition is the religion itself (Bora, 2018: 341-342). Being more than a current of thought, conservatism is also the essence of Turkish-right, nationalism, and Islamism (Ibid). Deriving from different interpretations in itself of conservatism, its use in this thesis requires specification. There are mainly two different understandings of conservatism. The first one could be labeled as cultural conservatism because it has a more cultural emphasis on continuing the tradition. The second one could be labeled as techno-conservatism (Mollaer as cited in Bora, 2018: 408) because the emphasis is also on nationalist values, still aiming for the continuation of the tradition with not only the tradition itself but also its invented forms, as Hobsbawm and Ranger suggest with the invention of the tradition (As cited in Atay, 2003: 158). In this thesis, the second understanding will be elaborated since it is publicized at the peak of the XXI century Turkey when its undercurrent character with both cultural and political aspects has turned into a populist one.

Conservative modernization differentiates from modernization with the attempts to refashion a bound with tradition. Although it still aims to accelerate the process of modernization also tries to make a negotiation on what Heynen pointed out: "modernity is constantly in conflict with tradition, elevating the struggle for change to the status of purveyor of meaning par excellence" (1999: 9). While Japanese and American national narratives could be shown as relevant interpretations to this negotiation, they also refer to conservative modernization's universal character. Moreover, its increasing effect in many nations refers to its populist currency in the globalized world (Apple, 2009:87). Turkey's experience dates back to the early

Republican period, where the one-dimensionality of the conflict between the state and the society on radical reforms towards modernization has led to the search for it (Çiğdem, 2002: 71). It also reminds the fact that “modernization theory has characterized Islamism as a conservative phenomenon” (Güenalp, 1997: 52), so to say, in reference to Berman and Bauman, modernity melts the religion (Islamism) and turns into (Islamic) conservatism. Despite its earlier emergence, the early years of the XXI century represents the most enriched material towards conservative modernization since it has accumulated in an uninterrupted period of about 20-years.

To conclude, conservative modernization is accepted as a continuing process of social development with its simultaneous attempts: (1) to accelerate the process of modernization and (2) to refashion bounds with the tradition. Conservative democracy manifesto presented in 2004 indicates the same point: “a modernity that does not exclude tradition, a universality that accepts locality, a rationality that does not deny meaning, a non-fundamentalist change” (Bora, 2018: 406). Considering the more authoritarian period of the same power since 2010 with the increased nationalist-conservative populism (Ibid: 499), the aim to discipline modernity with the tradition could be referred to as another interpretation on conservative modernization (Ibid: 341). In both cases, a hybrid ideology appears, which is aimed to be homogenized with the formula of “one nation, one flag, one motherland, one state” (*tcdd.gov.tr*, 2017). While this hybridity and its continuing evolution indicate continuing negotiation, it is hard to draw the frames of this social process, but it is reasonable to seek the ambiguities. The medium of architecture reflecting these ambiguities provides an opportunity to trace them in the domain of images. It also enables to elaborate what Heynen pointed out (1999: 223):

The mimetic gesture of “enclosing oneself” is parallel to the quest for identity and self-realization that forms a basic characteristic of modernity. Modernity has to be continually redefined and rewritten in the light of the contradictions and dissonances that are inherent to it.

Despite its existence dating back much earlier, conservatism in Turkey has just provided the most proper environment for the representation. While it has exposed its undercurrent ambiguities with ‘the quest for identity’, its self-realization continues. In this respect, conservative modernization reflects the attempts towards finding a balance between modernity and tradition.

### **1.4.2. Modernization in Education and School Architecture**

To address conservative modernization in school architecture and understand how it differentiates, it is essential to elaborate on the initial question: ‘What does modernization in school architecture mean in contemporary agenda?’ For the answer, considering the modernization originated from Europe, the history of modern education with school architecture will be examined at first. Then, contemporary understandings of modernization in school architecture with case studies will be concentrated. Moreover, this elaboration will detect what kind of global dynamics are available in the contemporary agenda and the extent to which they are materialized on school architecture in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula.

The intellectual basis for the emergence of new educational views called reform movements on pedagogy in the XX century was prepared by developments and changes in the industrial age (Aytaç, 2019: 251). Although previous periods starting with the Renaissance had a place in the discussion on modern education, just after the Enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, traditional values were rejected with the acceptance of unlimited power of the mind (Ibid: 161). The origin of the school movement also dates back to the time of revolutions from 1750 to 1850, originated from the appearance of the machine, where it led to redefining most themes shaping the society such as class, childhood, family, discipline, and religion (Markus, 1993: 41). When considered the traditional way of education in the Middle Ages’ cathedral schools, religious-oriented education has shifted to a “mercantile-utilitarian mindset” (Raab as cited in Schalz, 2015: 51). Since the production was essential, it was linked with education in factory-like schools characterized by coercion and harsh discipline (Markus, 1993: 43).

The first new schools were appeared in Britain, the first county experiencing industrialization, as a response to the rise in urban proletariat (Ibid: 41). It was followed by the expert of Britain’s same method to Europe, colonies, and America (Ibid). However, despite different cultural-political contexts, the building types showed similarity thanks to ideological unity in the model (Ibid: 42). It aimed to create the type of person who “could be transformed by a system within the regulatory power of a machine” (Ibid). Infant schools where “infant poor to be

educated in habits of industry, religion, and honesty” (Ibid: 43), Parish working schools, charity schools working like a miniature factory, orphan institutions, and schools where agriculture and education were linked for the pastoral colonies (Ibid: 46) could be given as precursors of these institutions.

Deriving from their deterministic program, these schools’ architecture was mono-functional (Dudek, 2000: 1). For the instruction at one time, the buildings consisted of single-volume classrooms assembling hundreds of children (Ibid: 12). Thanks to its resemblance to the prison, Bentham’s monitorial school reminds Foucault’s Panopticon (Markus, 1993: 67). Similarly, this school’s architecture induces a sense of permanent visibility, ensuring the functioning of power. In other words, their common understanding of discipline is based on observation and examination. The parochial institution could be given as another but more religious-oriented school, where it “appears with a church at the center and three school rooms in the arms of ‘T’” (Ibid: 81). The madrasahs, as the Islamic versions of these religious schools, present similar orientations as adjacent or close to the mosques (Akyüz, 2019: 215).

In industrialism, particular educators have appeared as contrary to these production-related schools and traditional education. Pestalozzi (1746 –1827) could be given as a strong social educator whose views significantly impact social education and whose model is still-continuing. According to him, the main purpose of education and training is not the only perfection in terms of mentality, as accepted in the era of Enlightenment, but rather the liberation of people from material misery and independence from the spiritual-human aspect (Aytaç, 2019: 256). Also, by recognizing the basic principle of education as freedom, Tolstoy (1828-1910) tried to develop a new education model via Yasnaya Polyana School, but it stayed short-lived (Ibid: 278). Socialist education by Marx (1818-1883) and Engels (1820-1895) could be shown as another essential view considering their demand in the Communist Manifesto: “An official and free education for all children. Removal of children working in the factory as they are today. Combining education with material production” (Ibid: 286). Contrary to autocratic principles, Dewey (1859-1952) also formulated democratic principles through an experimental school (Dudek, 2000: 18). While his ideas affected the schools designed by Frank Lloyd Wright between the years 1900-1908, they were “revolutionized educational practice in the USA,

Europe, and Asia for the next 30 or so years” (Ibid), including the Republic of Turkey. He became the first reporter invited to the country in 1924 to create national and modern education. Bergson, Freud, Jung, and Adler have also emphasized freedom in their educational theory (Ibid: 21).

With the change in the perspective on children’s education, alternative methods were developed as a response to traditional education in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Dalton Method by (American) Parkhurst (1886-1973) to achieve a balance between a child’s talent and the needs of the community; Waldorf (Steiner) Method by (Austrian) Steiner (1861-1925) where the cultivation of pupils’ imagination and creativity is a central focus; Jena Plan by (German) Petersen (1884-1952) where independent learning by doing, shared responsibility, cooperation, and communal life is essential; Reggio Emilia Method by (Italian) Malaguzzi (1920-1994) as student-centered and constructivist; and lastly Montessori Method by (Italian) Montessori (1870-1896) where children and developing adults engage in psychological self-construction by interaction with the environment could be given as outstanding examples emerged in this period (Özdağ, 2014: 35-83). While they are continued to be implemented in different parts of the world, Reggio Emilia, Waldorf, and Montessori are implemented as pre-school education in contemporary Turkey, where the most common one is Montessori (Samnezhadi, 2018: 33). In brief, these reform educators’ main concern was the human being, and their educational material is derived from real-life (Walden, 2015: 6). Another wave of reform has appeared between the world wars, where the education is oriented more scientifically rather than religiously (Ibid). Despite the decrease in autocratic principles, the fact could be generalized that pedagogy and building schools have been continuing with a conservative formula between the wars (Dudek, 2000: 25).

The concept of open-air school generated by Duiker with the main principle of health emerged in 1920-30 could be given as an example from another wave of reform (Herzberger, 2008: 19). For the healthy child, new transparent schools were designed by the architects of the modern movement “as a testimony to a better world, established a new image of hygiene, health, more space, openness, light, air and views” (Ibid). Although they didn’t affect the authoritarian orthodox education, several schools were built following Duiker’s open-air school in Amsterdam of 1930

(Ibid: 13). School in Suresnes, Paris of 1935 could be given as an example of not just getting the idea of open-air school but also taking it further by conceiving classrooms as separate pavilions with their large glass folding walls (Hertzberger, 2000: 35-37). Inspired from the same concept, School in Athens Takis Zenetos of 1969, where classes were oriented as semicircle around an open courtyard, and Hallfield Primary School in London of 1952, which inspired from the idea of where each class with its own sheltered courtyard in Hans Scharoun's famous but unrealized Darmstadt School of 1951 could be given as examples (Ibid: 59; Evans, 2015: 158) (Figure 1.1).

In the history of modern architecture, there are particular architects and iconic schools having significance, in which a few ones are essential to mention. According to Dudek, Hans Scharoun as anti-modern, Aldo van Eyck with the concept of spaces in between, and Herman Hertzberger representing new ways of social relationships could be shown from key architects in the school building (2000: 35). From the schools, Tehtaanmaki Elementary School in Finland, designed by Alvar Aalto in 1938, could be given as an essential example of school design in the early modernist style (Ibid: 2). Hunstanton School in Norfolk (1949-54), designed by Alison and Peter Smithson, who are in association with Team X, is also important. Because it is considered a manifestation of the New Brutalist movement thanks to the emphasis on stark presentation of structure and materials: steel, brickwork, and electrical conduits in their exposed form (Britannica, 2003). With the motto of "streets in the sky", the assembly hall is realized as the building's core leading courts and playgrounds (Smithson & Caroline, 1997: 38). From the use of these materials, it is also possible to read the shortage after the war over the use of industrially produced materials (Hertzberger, 2008: 20).

Three schools in Nagele (1954-55), designed by Aldo van Eyck and H.P.D. Van Ginkel representing the Dutch wing of CIAM, stand out with the implementation of the class change principle (Ibid: 166). Therefore, it provides each class to have a porch-like entrance and bay window-like view (Ibid). According to Hertzberger, these schools became a model for his Montessori School in Delft: "regard the Delft Montessori school as a practical actualization of the equal and the complementary use of the corridor space touted in Nagele... as the first step in the evolution from corridor to school hall" (Ibid). The orphanage (1955-1960) designed by Aldo van

Eyck is worth mentioning although it is not a school building, it is related to children. Despite his opposite intention, the building now used as an office building represents a very determinist approach to modernist style (Dudek, 2000: 35) (Figure 1.2).

Montessori School in Delft (1960-66) comes to the forefront with its modern pedagogy and school building. As the architect of this building and has a Montessori background, Herman Hertzberger has started to relate his architecture to education. Then, he has become the architect of many school buildings and developed a new pedagogical program serving a humanistic approach (Moniz, 2013). At that time, many Montessori Schools were built in Amsterdam by Public Works, where the general school type prevails as rectangular and unarticulated classrooms with exceptions (Hertzberger, 2008: 19). Therefore, as an exception, this building has been accepted as a new type with articulating classrooms in three zones (Ibid; Dyer, 2016). Many details deriving from the Montessori idea, such as a ledge above the door to place objects, threshold, i.e., a cloakroom for each class to give the sense of home, and exterior of class functioning as a shop window for display, and the principle of shifting classrooms inherited from Aldo van Eyck lead to evolving the hall as “the communal living room” of the school” (Hertzberger, 2008: 25-30; Hertzberger, 1998: 62). The brick podium-block also placed in this hall leads to many interpretations for different activities (Ibid: 153).

To evaluate the architecture of public schools till the 1970s, there were “two opposite styles continued to be used side-by-side in the design of new school buildings” (Dudek, 2000: xiii): (1) “traditionalist inventions in a reduced neoclassical style,” (2) “the modernist inventions of the Bauhaus pioneers” and (3) hybrid ones as a combination of both traditional and alternative ideas, which could be named as conservative modernist examples of their own period. Afterward, starting with the 1970s, the faith in technology has increased and led to leave particular ideals of the postwar years (Schalz, 2015: 67). Therefore, multifunctionality and economy have become two essential characteristics expected from school buildings (Engel & Dahmann cited in Schalz, 2015: 67). In this way, schools having big size and compactness were built where “windowless schools were characteristic for this period” (Ibid).



Figure 1. 1. Open Air Schools<sup>7</sup>. Top-down: (1) Open Air School, in Amsterdam, 1930, (2) Open Air School, in Suresnes, Paris, 1935 and (3) Hallfield Primary School in London of 1952.

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<sup>7</sup> Source: (1) (<http://hiddenarchitecture.net/open-air-school/>)  
(2) (<https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/321866704589850479/>)  
(3) (<https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/174936766748040030/>)

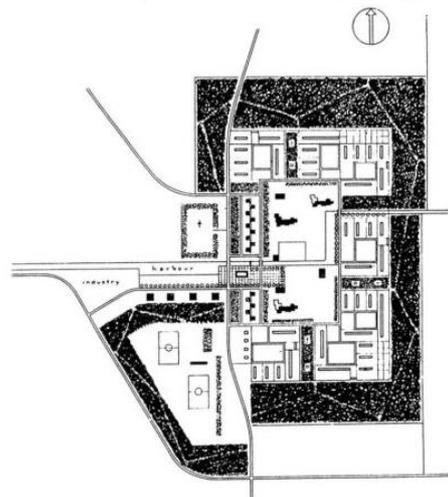
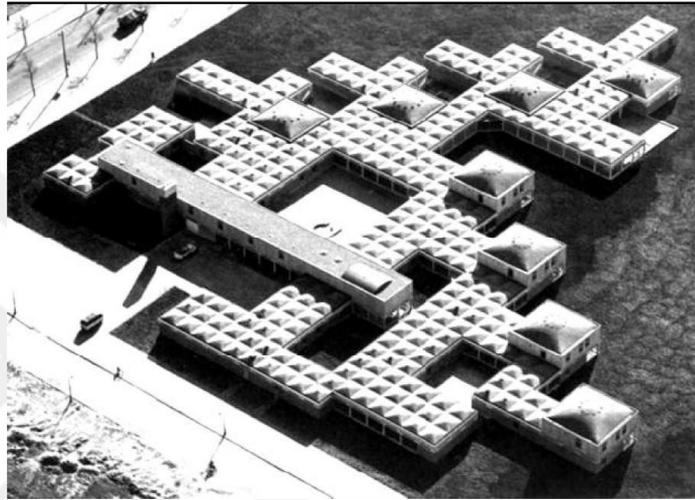


Figure 1. 2. Iconic Schools<sup>8</sup>. Top-down: (1) Hunstanton School, in Norfolk, 1949-54, (2) Orphanage, in Amsterdam, 1955-60 and (3) Schools in Nagele, 1954-56.

<sup>8</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.archdaily.com/519027/what-can-be-learnt-from-the-smithsons-new-brutalism-in-2014>)  
(2) (<https://www.archdaily.com/151566/ad-classics-amsterdam-orphanage-aldo-van-eyck>)  
(3) (<http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/2018/11/23/three-primary-schools-at-nagele-noordoostpolder-1954-6-with-h-p-d-van-ginkel/>)



Figure 1. 3. Schools of Herman Hertzberger<sup>9</sup>. Top-down: (1) Montessori School, in Delft, 1960-66, (2) Apollo Schools, in Amsterdam, 1980-83 and (3) Montessori Collage, in Oost, Amsterdam, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/9-onderwijs/114-montessori-school-delft>)  
(2) (<https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/9-onderwijs/113-apollo-schools>)  
(3) (<https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/9-onderwijs/55-montessori-college-oost-amsterdam>)

Following Montessori School in Delft, Hertzberger has designed many educational buildings. To read the progress in his designs and thoughts, a few ones will be mentioned. Apollo Schools in Amsterdam (1980-83) is the first one where many ideas already seen in Delft's example are implemented, such as the display space and porch-like areas for each class (Hertzberger, 1998: 31). In two of these schools, the split-level design of school halls with balconies has combined with amphitheater-like stairs, thus functioning not only like a big communal class, but also offer much more for any individual activity like turning into long tables to work on (Ibid: 213; Hertzberger, 2000: 260). While classrooms of both Montessori School in Delft and Apollo Schools in Amsterdam have oriented around a round main hall, in the example of De Polygoon primary school in Almere (1990-92), classes are placed along with an extended street-like space but still providing enhanced architectural quality (Ibid: 62). In Oost, Amsterdam (1999), Montessori College also has a street-like social space with study balconies (Ibid: 170). Since this school's size is almost 7 times as big as its Amsterdam forerunners, the principle about the amphitheater has interpreted as 7 suspended balconies at different heights (Ibid). In all these examples, deriving from his idea of the school as a micro-city, round halls of the first two and the central street space of the last two serve as the main square of a small town (Ibid: 58) (Figure 1.3).

In the international debate, several trends are discussing in contemporary school architecture. While some are longstanding, some are new and related to the innovative school designs. According to Dudek, four main trends are affecting spatial relationships (2015: 22): (1) ubiquitous technology, (2) integrated break-out spaces and project rooms, (3) specialized learning environments, and (4) multi-functional spaces that support schools as centers of the community. Together with Dudek, different titles appeared with different interpretations. Still, their general frame has shaped by the same elements where different educational methods and possible scenarios for the future are considered: (1) the space of learning, (2) the idea of sustainable design, (3) the idea of flexibility, and (4) the impact of technology.

The space of learning is a longstanding discussion beginning with the appearance of the school building. Considering current global concern to enhance the physical

environment, the investments in school building since the beginning of the XXI century have reached unprecedented levels by the governments throughout the world (Chiles, 2015: 10). Without any concern, whether they become successful or not, these efforts lead to an increase in the material for discussion on learning space. According to Chiles, “the agenda is broadly the same as in the 1960s: to enhance the learning experience with the use of new technologies and allow children to roam further from the traditional classroom” (Ibid: 28). The idea of sustainable design in terms of environmental and social dimensions seems to be the biggest change in the agenda (Ibid).

The introduction of related ideas in pedagogy leads to evolving learning experience and appearing new themes (Ibid). “The school as workplace” is one of them where the school runs like an office to train children about working (Ibid). “Subject-specific learning bases” is similar to the university model where the staff is fixed in the building, and students are in motion (Ibid: 33). “A school within school” is a new pedagogical program where the unit could be seen as the one but organized separately (Ibid: 38). The concept of “open studio learning” is also new, offering various learning spaces to children, with different types and sizes (Ibid: 40).

The idea of learning outside the classroom, “space for personalized learning” like threshold space of each class, and Herzberger’s “learning street,” could be considered with the discussion on the space of learning (Ibid: 132-133; Dylar, 2016). New educational views encourage the idea of personalized space for learning, which is not only taking place in classrooms but also outside. Therefore, the whole school serves as a learning environment for any time where the central atrium, wide staircases, and corridors as learning streets are conceived as integral parts (Chiles, 2015: 155). Hertzberger goes further with this idea and conceives the school as a small city. Therefore, children who couldn’t explore the city alone because of not yet of that age could explore the school like exploring the city in an environment offering a variety of social behaviors (Dylar, 2016; Hertzberger, 2008: 133).

The idea of sustainable or environmental design has an increasing place on the international agenda, where new buildings are designed to meet the requirements of LEED, Passivhaus, Zero Carbon, etc. (Care, 2015: 49). Considering both

environmental and socio-cultural dimensions of sustainability, the longstanding idea of *genius loci* or the spirit of the place could also be covered in this title. Because the school building could “remind young people of where their roots are, reinforces a sense of belonging” (Ibid: 55). In architectural practice, the use of regional materials, local vernacular, and local technologies by reinterpretation could enable it (Ibid).

The idea of flexibility is gaining importance day by day, considering the world’s constant transformation and its effect on education and school building. From curriculum to student numbers, many factors will possibly change in the long term, in which estimation and analyses are unpredictable to some extent (Kemp, 2015: 71). From different scenarios, the most radical view is about the disappearance of standard classrooms and replacement with learning centers and specialized labs (Lackney as cited in Sanoff, 2015: vi). According to this scenario, multipurpose classrooms and schools as community centers should be designed (Ibid). There are different solutions to provide the required flexibility where Kemp categorizes them under five main titles (2015: 72-87): (1) moving parts by reconfiguring learning space via screens, curtains, etc. and by dividing large spaces; (2) large multipurpose spaces with the design of central atrium and the multifunctional staircase; (3) temporary school buildings with modular solutions or mobile lessons; (4) moving the whole school and lastly (5) adaptable space design for long term flexibility by manipulating the internal space or creating cluster organization for learning.

The idea of manipulation in internal space could be observed in Hertzberger’s structuralism or polyvalency as his last developed educational perspective (Wood, 2017). With the open structure, the building provides possibilities for reprogramming, extension, and change (Moniz, 2013). To remind, structuralism’s movement dates back to post-war Dutch architecture where there is the use of materials as they are with their visible structure (Voordt and Wegen, 2005: 33). Orphanage in Amsterdam designed by Aldo van Eyck could be given as an example of the movement (Ibid). According to Till’s interpretation, structuralism is not related to the statics, “it’s all about movement, the dynamics, the possibilities”, while Hertzberger renders it as spaces of suggestion (Wood, 2018). The interior design, as unfinished, is also one of the characteristics of Hertzberger’s designs to lead users to appropriate the space with their identity (Voordt & Wegen, 2005: 33).

The impact of technology could be given as the last theme affecting education and school architecture increasingly. Even just the involvement of computers has affected education and relatively its spatial conditions, where learning is spreading outside the classroom inevitably (Hertzberger, 2008: 69). Hence, it leads to the idea of learning outside the classroom. The extreme scenario is the disappearance of physical school and its replacement by virtual schools, where the interaction between teacher and student is electronic (Sanoff, 2015: vi-viii). Considering the increasing spirit of innovation and the introduction of information technology in education, new methods like self-learning lead to increase virtual learning environments in the form of home-school, satellite school, etc. (Yanagisawa, 2015: 173).

In brief, modernization in education and school architecture offers alternative ways and spaces to the traditional ways of education and architecture. They basically aim to replace its determinate characteristics, i.e., authority, control, discipline, with indeterminate characteristics, i.e., freedom, out of control, and flexibility. Since “no mode of modernism can ever be definitive” (Berman, 1983: 6), modernization itself could be both revolutionary and conservative (Ibid: 13), but for sure, it is “a condition that differs fundamentally from tradition” (Heynen, 1999: 5). Considering its continual redefinition and rewritten condition, “contradictions and dissonances that are inherent to it” (Ibid: 223) will be a focus in the search over the medium of school architecture.

### **1.5. Chapter Outline**

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the problem, aim and scope, methodology, and theoretical framework. In theoretical framework, at first, conservative modernization as the main phrase formed the main discussion was elaborated. Then, modernization in education and school architecture was examined with literature reviews and case studies to address conservative modernization in school architecture and understand how it differentiates. While this subchapter informs about the history of modern education and international debate on the school building, it also demonstrates available global dynamics, which are essential for discussing 12 reconstructed schools in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula.

The second chapter, named “Reading the History of Modernization in Turkey: National Debate on Education and School Building”, provides a chronological literature review about the understanding of modernization since its introduction, and its interpretation in education and school architecture. For recognition, each subtitle was named considering the prominent trends of related periods. Since the period of 2000s-2020 is the selection for the main discussion, it was examined in a more detailed way under the titles of “Effects on Changing Dynamics on Education”, “Politics and Practices on School Building”, and “Board Policies of Ministry of Education and Department of Construction and Real Estate”.

The third chapter, named “Contemporary School Architecture in Istanbul” gives background information about the site, the selected project of ISMEP, and its reconstructed schools. While the city of Istanbul means a lot in both global and local sense, the Historical Peninsula as the old city is facing both opportunities and limitations deriving from the importance given to it. Thanks to these dynamics, ISMEP, as the first risk mitigation project of Turkey, has been implemented to eliminate these problems and turn them into opportunities. Besides, examining reconstructed educational buildings and the analysis of the ISMEP School Catalog provide a general understanding of school architecture before the main discussion.

The fourth chapter, named “Discussion on Contemporary School Architecture in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula” constitutes the main part of the study, where all information examined insofar was revealed over 12 reconstructed school buildings. In the light of conservative modernization and modernization in education and school architecture in Chapter 1, literature review in Chapter 2, and background information in Chapter 3, they were compared in themselves with the main sources from architectural drawings to photos. In this way, conservative modernization was traced over the architectural characteristics of public schools.

## **CHAPTER 2.**

### **READING THE HISTORY OF MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY: NATIONAL DEBATE ON EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BUILDING**

Uninterrupted modernization process that spanned a period of two centuries starting at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century with the reform programs of the Ottoman rulers, culminating in the formation of a nation-state in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and continuing to this day, as Turkish modernization is under negotiation more than ever with the country's pending membership in the European Union (Çınar, 2005: 15).

The beginning of the modernization aiming to reconfigure the relationship between state and society, in Turkey's specific case, dates back to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Starting with the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new and radical modernization wave initiated to build a modern nation-state, the Republic of Turkey. Since then, different understandings and interpretations of modernization with their different objectives have also evolved. While this evolution refers to continuing negotiation on the modernization from the very beginning, considering the cultural-political context of the specific case, they could be classified as (1) the late period of Ottoman Empire or the centuries of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> with the introduction of modernization; (2) the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with building a modern nation-state; (3) the years between the 1950s-1980s with the experience of democracy; (4) the years between 1980s-2000s with the perfection of liberalism and the rise of globalization; and lastly (5) the continuing 21<sup>st</sup> century articulated with neoliberalism and conservatism.

As Çınar pointed out, “Turkish experience of modernization as a state- and nation-building practice” (Ibid) has never reached such a peak until the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the same time, the conservative forces have gradually promoted at different levels a strong agenda of policies and practices to redefine the national identity. The same idea of having the country’s identity centered on ancient Turkish origins, has progressed through continuous negotiation from the early Republic’s attempt to encapsulate it within the idea of a national identity, to the more recent stance that heralds it a force for conservatism. In other words, nationalism, a driving force for modernization in the early Republican period, was repositioned as the driving force for conservatism (Black, 1966: 27). For this reason, it is possible to speak about conservative modernization as an alternative model where the modernity doesn’t exclude tradition (Erdogan as cited in Bora, 2018: 406).

In this chapter, the history of modernization will be reviewed not only with these ideological discourses but also entered the domain of images. Considering educational institutions and policies as the most discussed field of different ideologies, educational policies and practices on school building will be the focus (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 396). In other words, the national debate on school building will be examined, deriving from the remarkable effect of modernity on education and its facilities since the very beginning. This chapter will open room to analyze the relationship between architectural space and ideological discourse for the present.

Considering the 2000s-2020, the state project to shape a new national architecture has produced a quite ambiguous architectural landscape. With the initial reference of Ottoman Revivalist architecture, a new architectural understanding has been formed and continued its formation as the revival of “the ancient architectural style of our history and our culture in a new synthesis, a new interpretation” (*tccb.gov.tr*, 2015). For the narrative of the inevitable development of the only true form of architecture (Tanju, 2009: 220), the past and the religion are instrumentalized, and conservatism could be defined as the outcome of this instrumentalization in the continuing negotiation.



Figure 2. 1. Educational buildings in Istanbul from the Late Ottoman Period<sup>10</sup>. Top-down: (1) Harbiye Mektebi, (2) Darüşşafaka, and (3) Aşiret Mektebi.

<sup>10</sup> Source: (1) (<http://www.kho.edu.tr/hakkinda/tarihce.html>)

(2) (<https://www.darussafaka.org/hakimizda/cemiyet/tarihce>)

(3) ([http://kabataserkeklisesi.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/tarihce\\_1784484.html](http://kabataserkeklisesi.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/tarihce_1784484.html))

## 2.1. Introduction of Modernization, the late Ottoman Period

In the transition from the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, modernity's introduction reflected the period of stagnation and regression of the Ottoman Empire with the reforms towards modernization. The call for modernity was caused by the period's stagnation and regression, not by the intent to be involved in the philosophy of Enlightenment. For this reason, modernization was interpreted as a way to re-achieve the old power of the empire, and most reforms tried to be integrated into the existing traditional system. This also explains why this period is generally marked as unsuccessful compared with the modernization of the Republican period. However, when the subject is examined from education, its structural aspect represents continuity, while the significant change derives from the ideological aspect (Alkan, 2010: 299).

Although the proclamation of the Edict of *Gülhane* in 1839, known as *Tanzimat*, could be labeled as the starting point in the modern history of the specific context or the formation process of a modern state, the institutionalization of modern understanding and techniques were earlier (Köker, 2003: 274). After military and education were selected as the first fields, military officers' education reformed with the establishment of new schools (Kaliber, 2002: 107). As significant examples, while the Imperial School of Naval Engineering was established in 1773 as the first academy to train qualified labor with the knowledge of geography and shipbuilding, Land and Marine Engineering Schools were established as the first modern schools with their teaching staff, syllabus and buildings, differentiated then madrasahs (Tekeli as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 27; Şengül as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 27).

After *Tanzimat*, the Ministry of Public Education was established in 1857 as the central and provincial organization for educational infrastructure. Thus, the institution, “which would be handed over to the Republic with some changes, were established in this period” (Alkan, 2010: 302). Afterward, in 1869 with a more systematic approach instead of fragmentary reforms, the schools under this ministry were organized into three levels: the primary level as *Mekteb-i İbtidaiye* and *Mekteb-i Rüştiye*, the secondary level as *Mekteb-i İdadiye* and *Mekteb-i Sultaniye*, and higher education level as *Daru'l-fünun* (Cicioğlu as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 30). After establishing the first Ottoman junior high school for girls, *Rüştiye*, in 1858, the first

schools of art for girls in 1864 and teacher's training school for girls in 1870 were opened (Ibid). Hence, "with modernization, the organization of education by the state and the spreading compulsory education -partly free education- the number of schools, the number of students registered in schools and the literacy is all increased" (Alkan, 2010: 299).

In the period of Abdulhamid II, together with the continuation of the same efforts, especially in schooling, the first level of education was made compulsory for all Ottoman citizens with *Kanun-i Esasi* (Kodaman as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 31). Other essential changes in the same period were the establishment of private schools and the expansion of reforms nationwide (Ibid). Following the reactivation of *Kanun-i Esasi* with the efforts of Young Turks in 1908, together with free and compulsory education, the education of women attached importance, so high schools for girls were opened, and the right to continue university education was given in 1913-14 (Tekeli; Ibid: 33). Besides, the publication of the first studies in education during this era indicates the given importance to education by Abdulhamid II (Alkan, 2010: 302). Therefore, the era of Abdulhamid II could be described as the most successful period in terms of modernization throughout the Ottoman period, since the most effective long-term investment was made during this period as dissemination of education (Belge, 2003: 98). Besides, from an ideological point of view, the period of Abdulhamid II could be labeled as a conservative modernist considering the educational reforms in the lesson program, curriculum, and books (Alkan, 2010: 308). According to Alkan, contrary to what is generally believed, Abdulhamid II was aware of the importance of education as the medium to transmit ideology, and he tried to open the way for scientific development (2010, 315-316).

There were different levels of interpretation for the architecture of schools from the increase in building schools in different contexts and their different types of education. As an example, *Harbiye Mektebi* started its education in 1835 to raise military officers could be given as the earliest one among others (*kho.edu.tr*, 2020). Its unpretentious building shows the reinterpretation of Neo-classical tradition in using historical forms on façades with Ottoman-Islamic elements (Tekeli, 2005: 17). In the example of *Dariüşşafaka*, which started its education in 1873 as the first free-private school, its building was designed by the Italian architect Barironi and

reflected more of European but less of Ottoman-Islamic (*darussafaka.org*, 2020). *Aşiret Mektebi*, started its education in 1892 to raise the children of tribal, seems between of previous two with its façade (*Kabataş Erkek Lisesi*, 2020). *Mekteb-i Tıbbiyeyi Şahane* as the first modern medicine school started its education in 1903 in the building designed by Vallauray, represents oriental eclecticism with “variously shaped arches, minaret-like clock towers and wide, undulating eaves, all juxtaposed against a huge, neo-renaissance mass” (Yavuz & Özkan, 2005: 44) (Figure 2.1)

Consequently, the period’s architectural understanding could be labeled as Ottoman Revivalism, representing both the empire’s traditional power and new modern identity. The use of details in any context varies from Orientalist, Baroque and local architecture, and highly simplified interpretation of classical architecture with the symbols representing the empire could be labeled as architectural reflections (Aydın, 2012). Because,

... the Ottomans were aware of the fact that “there were some essential differences that distinguished them from the West.” (Makdisi as cited in Özlü, 2008: 380) ... While emphasizing the fundamental differences between themselves and the West, the Ottomans also resisted the Orientalist discourse of Western superiority by presenting the glorious history of the Ottoman Empire, its rich history, rooted traditions, elegant art and architecture (Ibid).

## **2.2. Building a Modern Nation State, the early Republic Period**

With the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, a radical process of modernization was initiated with the program to build a modern nation-state. This drastic, sudden, and radical set of transformations led to the formation of both creative and destructive dynamics (Kezer as cited in Batuman, 2017: 154). Although these dynamics brought forward particular discontinuities in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic, the Republic’s proclamation doesn’t signify a significant break with the Ottoman modernization and doesn’t mean its completion (Çiğdem, 2003: 14).

In comparison with the Ottoman modernization, the most significant difference is that the Republican doesn’t merely try to establish a new one but also makes it an important part of the program to eliminate what they consider to be old and useless

(Belge, 2003: 98). This approach was also valid for the idea of secularism since secularism of the Republic meant religion under state control, not the separation of state from religion as in the West (Ibid: 99). Thus, with the accumulation of formal and semi-formal prohibitions, a kind of conservatism was prohibited in society (Ibid: 98). It also explains conservatism's undercurrent character in the early Republican period and the avoidance from the conservative adjective until the mid-1940s (Bora, 2018: 348).

In every field, the most radical modernization process was experienced to build a modern nation-state. Among all, education was seen as the most important medium and the shortcut to reach a level of contemporary civilization (Bozaslan, 2013: 5). To raise "a new type of human being, worthy and committed to" the principles of the Republic, national and secular, modern and democratic education for all citizens was aimed (Akyüz as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 36; Ibid: 39). According to Ziya Gökalp, the theorist of Turkish nationalism, "the aim of education is to train national individuals" (Gökalp as cited in Deren, 2003: 604). When considered his desire to create national, it is also essential to note that conservative modernism as an alternative design has developed according to the polemics against him (Bora, 2018: 71). Although Gökalp "defined Turkishness as independence from any and all religious domains" (Basa, 2015: 714), afterward, nationalism has "become a force for conservatism" (Black, 1966: 27).

For the education structure, the Ottoman education system offered a multi-part structure, including neighborhood schools and madrasahs, *Tanzimat* and foreign language schools (Dönmez as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 38). To prevent the dilemma between madrasahs and modern institutions, the law on the unification of education, *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, was accepted on the same day of the abolition of the caliphate on March 3rd, 1924. Therefore, all those schools were gathered in charge of Board of Education, *Maarif Vekaleti* (Ibid). Therefore, the unity in education was achieved not by the synthesis of traditional and secular education but by eliminating traditional one (Rahman as cited in Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 399).

Although there is no explicit provision regarding the closure of madrasahs, theology faculties and Imam-hatip schools, which offer 4-year secondary education, were

opened to serve as madrasahs (Başgöz & Wilson as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 39). Since the aim was to raise enlightened religious leaders for the Republic, religion lessons remained in the background compared to science and foreign language courses (Çelikhönmez, 2013). Due to the decrease in the number of these schools in 1929 and the lack of students, they were closed in 1930, where the main reason for the closure was that graduates of these schools could not become civil servants (Ibid). Between 1930 and 1948, religious education was given with the Koran courses opened under the Directorate of Religious Affairs, and then in 1949, it was transformed into Imam-Hatip courses affiliated with the Ministry of National Education (MEB) (Ibid).

To determine the quality of education, particular reforms were realized. Co-education, redefining the content of school programs and textbooks, and accepting the Latin alphabet are the essential ones. Co-education was important to get the dynamics of modern education and enhance women's participation in education (Bozaslan, 2013: 49). The content of school programs and textbooks have been revised in time with the removal of particular courses and the addition of new ones which are more appropriate to the mission and vision of the new Republic (Başgöz & Wilson as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 52). As one of the most revolutionary reforms of the period, acceptance of the Latin alphabet is important not only for education but also for social, political, and cultural aspects. Because it has got a great response from both the parliament and society. Together intending to increase literacy, the new alphabet has also aimed sort of cultural exchange, providing rapprochement with Western civilization and rupture with Arabic culture (Sayarı as cited in Bozaslan, 2013: 55).

In the same period, foreign experts were invited to the country to direct national and modern education with their reports. As the educational reformer, John Dewey was the first reporter invited to the country in 1924, in which he identified the failures in the education system and offered the reforms accordingly (Ibid: 63). In 1925, Alfred Kühne prepared his report about the steps to be taken towards the improvement of vocational education, while in 1927, Omer Buyse reported his views on technical education (Ibid). In 1932, Albert Malche prepared a report about Istanbul University in which he mentioned the structural transformation necessary for *Darülfünun* to be

able to carry out education in an appropriate manner (Ibid). Later on, Beryl Parker expressed his ideas after examining the structure of primary education and studied how primary education's functioning mechanism should develop (Ibid). In 1933 and 1934, Edwin Walter Kemerrer and a group of US scientists submitted a report to the MEB on the economic analysis, in which they tried to establish a direct link between education and economy (Ibid: 65). All these foreigner consultants and their reports indicate the Republic's decision to assign foreigner consultants to address and supervise the modernization process.

For both educational and ideological purposes like to increase literacy in a short time and to educate individuals who would adopt the Republic and the creation of nation-state consciousness, construction of schools was attached importance with the goal of “a school for each quarter and village” (Kul, 2011). In other words, the increase in schooling initiated in the period of Abdulhamid II but interrupted with the war has proceeded. In 1926, prototype projects for schools were prepared and sent by the Board of Education. For the village schools, the mechanism was different: they design and build their village school considering the example given by the Board of Education, and the budget and labor force comes from villagers (Ibid).

Since the aim was to find a national idiom for the Turkish Republic's construction, local architectural elements such as arched windows and large eaves, also implying Ottoman Revivalism, were applied in schools' design (Ibid). Besides, these unpretentious school buildings are mostly single or two-story with their symmetrical organization, while at the end of the 1920s, school façades were modernized by the refinement from decorations considering architectural developments of the period (Ibid).

At the beginning of the 1930s, there was an increase in village schools' construction because of internalizing the regime that has been going on since the establishment of the Republic and the majority of the population living in villages (Ibid). It also led to the establishment of village institutes in the 1940s to raise teachers for village schools. They aimed to “educate and train youths from the villages, not in the cities where they were likely to be corrupted, but in the local setting... such men and women would then return to their villages, bringing with them modern ways...”

(Ahmad, 2000: 83). These coeducational schools provided both lessons according to the curriculum, and practical training such as building schools and cultivating their own food (Karamustafa, n.d.). Although they had a short lifespan with their closure in 1954, this training project led to a significant increase in schools' number across the country with approximately 25 thousand graduates (Ibid).

The Girls' Institutes "spurred by a desire to educate the enlightened 'mothers of the nation'" (Kezer, 2015: 211) were also important to mention as vocational schools with modern education. Although being vocational school didn't take the lead through professional employment, but to modern homemakers, they were seen as a medium for cultural transformation in which both Turkish, alaturka and Western, alafanga skills were given (Ibid: 213-218). Ismet Paşa Institute for Girls could be a significant example to the girls' institutes with its building. The building designed by Ernst Egli reflects a typical interpretation of European modernism with its asymmetrical organization, minimalist façade, long-spanned windows, and flat roof (Basa, 2015: 728).

For the architectural understanding of the period, Ottoman Revivalism continued until the 1930s, but the reason for using this style later changed with the search for national architecture. Paradoxically, the city of Ankara "conceived as the symbolic locus of Turkish modernization" (Batuman, 2011: 661) has started its construction with the buildings having signs of the past. Architect Kemalettin, Vedat Tek, and Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu could be shown as prominent architects producing Ottoman Revivalist architecture with their buildings (Basa, 2015: 714). From educational buildings, Gazi Teachers' Training College designed by Kemalettin Bey in Ankara could be given as an example of this style with its symmetrical organization, arched windows, high entrance emphasize by both sided towers, arches, and a dome. Although it has been involved in a retrospective category by mainstream architectural history because of historical references, Bozdoğan interprets it as "the first modern discourse in Turkish architectural culture" (Bozdoğan as cited in Basa, 2015: 714). Because "this revivalist movement was an "elite" interpretation of the stylistic features of classical Ottoman architecture, incorporating contemporary construction techniques and structural systems" (Ibid: 713).



Figure 2. 2. Educational buildings in Ankara from the early Republic period<sup>11</sup>. Top-down: (1) The Gazi Teachers' Training College by Kemalettin Bey (1926-30), (2) Music Teachers' School by Ernst Egli (1927-29), (3) İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute by Ernst Egli (1930-34).

<sup>11</sup> Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive.



Figure 2. 3. Educational buildings from the early Republic period<sup>12</sup>. Top-down: (1) Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara by Bruno Taut (1937-39), (2) Cebeci Secondary School, Ankara by Bruno Taut (1938-39), (3) Faculties of Science and Letter of Istanbul University by Emin Onat and Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1944).

<sup>12</sup> Source: (1) and (2) Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive. (3) (<https://edebiyat.istanbul.edu.tr/en/content/about/history>)

Apart from that, Tanju interprets this architectural understanding as vaporization and fragmentation of classical Ottoman architecture after the introduction of modernity (2009). While he states that this process is not particular for the Ottoman architecture but all meeting with the modernity, he describes the creation of new relations to stop the transformation but full of contradictions and conflicts (Ibid). When considered Bauman's *Liquid Modernity* (2001), it could be described as liquefaction of Ottoman architecture. Regardless of possible liquefaction came to an end or not in the 1930s, revivalist interest has vanished "when confronted by the fact that associated images and symbols of the new spaces contradicted the prevailing modernist ideology" (Ibid: 722).

With the introduction of architectural modernism for the Republic, architecture has also been incorporated into radical modernity project. Because of the single-party regime of the 1930s, there was no allowance for "heterogeneity and dynamism that might have better reflected the revolutionary character of Turkey of the 1920s" (Ibid: 723). The policy on eliminating old has corresponded to eliminating traditional architectural forms, i.e., domed and arched, resembling both Ottoman and Islamic culture instead of Turkish one. Deriving from the period's cultural-political environment, architectural modernism has generated over German interpretation (Ibid: 727). European architects such as Austrian architect Clemenz Holzmeister, Swiss architect Ernst Egli, and German architect Bruno Taut have implemented "an ornament-free German style, which was unquestionably considered a perfect match for the new interpretation of Turkish nationality" (Ibid: 737). Besides, "Hans Poelzig, Martin Wagner, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Franz Hillinger, Margarete Schütte, and Gustav Oelsner were a few of the other invited professionals" (Ibid: 728). After 1933, "Turkish architects such as Seyfettin Arkan, Şevki Balmumcu, Şekip Akalın, Recai Akçay, and Bedri Uçar" have taken a role in the production of modern architecture (Ibid). Flat roof, undecorated and minimalist façade, the symmetrical composition of cubic forms, long spanned or repeating square windows, functional and geometric approach in the interior organization could be shown to the main features of this modern and central European architectural language to promote the ideals of the Republic. As examples from educational buildings, new schools opened after the establishment of national educational policy could be shown, where their objective is that "each city or town strove to build its own Gazi School" (Batur,

2005: 76). Music Teachers' School, later became Ankara State Conservatory, designed by Ernst Egli, is another important example representing modernist style with the composition of cubic forms, long spanned windows, and flat roof (Figure 2.2). Faculty of Language, History, and Geography designed by Bruno Taut represents his emphasis on "regional identity and function" (Basa, 2015: 728). It uses stone as the façade material in the asymmetrical architectural form. His other building, Cebeci Secondary School, belongs to the same style with its minimalist façade and asymmetrical organization. His attempts to smooth the corners is a common intention seen in both examples (*Goethe-Institut*, 2010). While all these examples adopt modern architecture as the prerequisite, the symbolic value was regarded as more important than the functional one since representing the new Republic (Batur, 2005: 76-79).

After World War 2, the search for national architecture has reappeared, but this time generated over Turkish vernacular architecture with its building materials and construction techniques. In other words, "Eldem's insistence upon the reinterpretation of traditional elements gives way to modern functionalism" (Ibid: 93). While repositioning the Turkish house for a revival, he interpreted its typologies as a resource for national style (Bertnam, 2008: 202). With the statement of "Toward Local Architecture" in 1940, "he suggested how the inspiration for modern public buildings would come from Anatolian residential construction methods, materials, and styles" (Ibid). Except for Eldem as the initiator of a particular movement, there have been different interpretations, and Tekeli categorizes them under four approaches as regionalist, nostalgic, populist, and chauvinist (2005: 26,27). While he exemplifies Bruno Taut to the regionalist one, he renders Sedat Hakkı Eldem as nostalgic because of the glorification of the past in his works (Ibid). Inspiration from Anatolia and its life pattern is counted as populist like Oelsner's efforts, while monumentality in architecture is defined as chauvinist (Ibid). From educational buildings, Faculties of Science and Letter of Istanbul University designed by Emin Onat and Sedat Hakkı Eldem could be given as an example having a nostalgic and chauvinist approach. With its organization, eaves, traditional sized windows, and façade materials, this building represents how Eldem interprets residential and traditional elements in an educational building (Figure 2.3).

To conclude, there have been different styles observed in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century where “conventional Turkish architectural historiography suggests three successive periods, each with its own chronological and stylistic boundaries: The First National Style (1908–1930) with Ottoman references; The New (International) Architecture (1930–1940) as rational and functional; The Second National Style (1940–1950) with vernacular references” (Basa, 2015: 732). Except architectural modernism, the ones using historical forms are “products of times of crises” (Alsaç, 2005: 103) because there were world wars in the middle of each. Distinctively, the first one (Ottoman Revivalism) had more global dynamics than the other deriving from international eclecticism versus the use of vernacular architecture (Ibid).

### **2.3. Experience of Democracy, 1950s-1980s**

With changing global dynamics after World War II, a new conception of modernization has appeared, where the US has emerged as a new and another Western silhouette (Bora, 2018: 77). This American image has also opened a new and alternative reference for modernity and a conservative window because it has shown tolerance to the religion and interprets it as a reinforcement for national consciousness (Ibid: 79). In terms of national dynamics, Turkey has been involved in a new period. The experience of democracy has formed over the electoral victory of the Democrat Party (DP) in 1950 in Menderes' leadership. His statist economic policies, which originated from more liberal stances, prevailed and brought to an end the former early Republican period. Instead of the former understanding articulated around the Republic's founders, modernization was institutionalized as technological and economic development (Çınar, 2005: 6). With the reforms towards conservative people's expectations, "the DP created the main building blocks of ...the liberal centre-right tradition in Turkish politics" (Hale & Özburun, 2010: xviii).

The extensive urban interventions carried in Istanbul may provide a good example to analyze these new policies on architecture. While it demonstrates the transfer of symbolic power from Ankara to Istanbul (Gürel, 2018: 5), a new rhetoric of neglected city was generated with the mottos, i.e., "it is time to conquer it again" (Menderes as cited in Altınyıldız, 2003: 184) and "beautifying Istanbul and glorifying its Ottoman past" (Menderes as cited in Akpınar, 2018: 56). Due to the

new interpretation of modernization over American cities, reconstruction works were shaped around the new idea of the contemporary city, i.e., the road-square-car triangle (Kuban, 1998: 233). Afterward, Prost's master plan of 1937 was revised with Turkish architects and planners commissioned by the DP (Akpınar, 2018: 56). Thus, for modernization of the city and particularly to make the Historical Peninsula an open museum, 50-60 meters wide straight streets through old Istanbul were created. It led to the production of land around selected heritage and promoted new construction and profiteering (Öktem, 2006: 57; Akpınar, 2018: 56). In other words, instead of restoring the Ottoman heritage in the city, their surrounding was reconstructed (Altınyıldız, 2003: 185). As the result of interventions, the city's identity as imperial, traditional, etc., has been damaged due to the interpretation of global dynamics for the historical city (Akpınar, 2018: 58; Kuban, 1998: 233). It has also brought new problems with destructive-rapid features of this universal process. Moreover, after the 1960s, with the economy's changed character, the migration to the cities has given rise to rapid urbanization (Ahmad, 2000: 134). While it has led to new groups, the working-class and industrial bourgeoisie, industrialization has started to transform the country into a consumer society by changing consumption habits (Ibid: 135).

The American image as a new and alternative reference for modernity has also reflected on education. Turkish education system started to take the American education system as a model (Karakök, 2001: 93). In 1950-1960, almost all the experts invited to the country were American (Ibid: 96). Their invitation was the same: to eliminate the Turkish education system's deficiencies and make necessary regulations according to their reports (Ibid: 94). According to Akyüz, although there were similar practices in the Ottomans, systematically benefiting from foreign experts' reports to shape the Turkish education system has been used since the early Republican period (Ass cited in Karakök, 2011: 96). Despite different opinions presented for the same topic, it doesn't change the fact that foreign experts have been effective in Turkish education's modernization process (Ibid).

The opening of Imam-Hatip schools<sup>13</sup> could also be given as an essential practice, which had promised during the election campaign of the DP (Çelikdönmez, 2013). Starting with the 1950-1951 academic year, elective religious courses for the 4th and 5th-grade students of primary schools have been involved in the curriculum by rescuing the MEB (İleri, 1977: 178-179). Accordingly, when parents who do not want their children to take religious lessons informed the school administration, these children would be exempted from religious lessons and exams (Ibid). *Akşam Ortaokulları* (Evening Secondary Schools) for citizens who cannot continue their education because they have to work, was another type of school opened in 1959 (Cicioğlu as cited in Karakök, 2011: 94). Therefore, after the 1950s, there has been an increasing diversity of school types in secular and religious education (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 400). Also, in 1966 the 15<sup>th</sup> of National Education Council was met, and the 8-year mandatory education, one of the most important decisions in the history of education, was taken (Baysal & Ada, 2015: 163). However, the decision taken has been put into practice in the National Education Ministry's executive plan in 1997-2000 (Ibid).

For the architectural understanding in the 1950s, the style of new buildings around new roads turned into an international one where "geometrical plans with grid patterns and modular principles employed on the façades" (Tekeli, 2005: 29). From other important policies affecting architecture with the ongoing squatter problem, the institutionalization of build-and-sell (yapsatçılık) and flat-ownership (kat mülkiyeti) because of the shortage of housing for the middle class could be given as examples (Ibid). Afterward, the continuation of international tendencies and the quests by the increased number of Turkish architects led to the emergence of pluralism in architectural styles (Yücel, 2005: 131). The building of the Ministry of National Education in Ankara could be given as an example of irrational architecture with its "right-angular" system and the layout principle of the "articulated small blocks" (Kortan as cited in Yücel, 2005: 131).

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<sup>13</sup> However, with a regulation published on May 22, 1972, by the provisional government established after the Memorandum of March 12, the Imam-Hatip Schools were turned into a vocational school, and the right to study in all programs of higher education, granted to those who graduated from Imam-Hatip High schools was abolished (Çelikdönmez, 2013). During the reign of the CHP and Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party), which was established in 1974, the secondary school department of the Imam-Hatip High Schools was reopened. Until the 1976s, only male students were taken to IHL, and with the decision of the Council of State, girls also began to be taken (Ibid).



Figure 2. 4. Education-related buildings from the 1950s-1980s<sup>14</sup>. Top-down: (1) Faculty of Architecture, METU by Behruz and Altuğ Çinici (1963); (2) Turkish History Association by Turgut Cansever (1967); (3) Esentepe Primary School, Eskişehir with 16-classrooms by the Ministry of Public Works (1970).

<sup>14</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.arkitektuel.com/odtu-mimarlik-fakultesi/>)  
(2) (<https://www.ttk.gov.tr/tarihveegitim/fotograflarla-ttk/>)  
(3) (<https://www.pekdemirinsaat.com/tamamlanan-projeler>)

Deriving from the dualism of using volumes free articulated and like old international style, new brutalism has appeared with raw materials (Ibid: 139). The building of the Faculty of Architecture of METU<sup>15</sup> (1962-63) could be given as an example of a new brutalist style. New regionalism has also emerged with the search of history to interpret traditional architecture (Ibid: 146). Overall, Yücel presents these different architectural orientations as four alternatives (Ibid: 149-152): (1) "the acceptance of the formal elements as they are," (2) "Eldem's attitude of a rational architectonic interpretation of the traditional form," (3) "the deeper philosophical interpretation of Cansever" and (4) "the free formal interpretations of Behruz Çinici." He adds these trends two more: "complete anti-historicism and the pastiche" (Ibid: 153). Besides, Turgut Cansever and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi deserve to be mentioned as conservative architects of the period (Bora, 2018: 354). While Cansever presents a revival of the tradition with modernity criticism, Ayverdi preserves Yahya Kemal's cultural conservatism by processing his legacy (Ibid). Although the building of the Turkish History Association designed by Turgut Cansever is not an educational building, it deserves to be mentioned as an essential design of the period, which also received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

Consequently, liberalism, as a set of political and economic practices, has shown parallel development with as the coexistence of different architectural languages within the same ideology. Unfortunately, this pluralism in architectural styles couldn't reflect public school buildings because of the Ministry of Public Works' new principles in the 1970s. Accordingly, new prototype projects were designed for building suitable to the country's condition but turned to an odorless project using a tiled roof, cast-fit window, cast mosaic, etc. (Karaaslan, 1987: 32). In this way, the architect's task was also reduced to technical draftsman, so the architectural service was started to be recognized as a luxury during the construction phase (Ibid). It was also the same for village schools, which were regarded as the only type and could be built as single-story buildings with 1 to 3 classrooms (*Arkitekt*, 1978: 125).

Therefore, it could be said that the policy of the MEB "a certain degree of aesthetic

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<sup>15</sup> The foundation of METU in 1956 and several universities (Ege University and Karadeniz Technical University in 1955, and Erzurum Atatürk University in 1957) also dates back to the same period. They could be shown as a practice towards the importance given to higher education (Şahin, Güven as cited in Karakök, 2011: 95).

uniformity of public buildings in the interwar" (Bozdoğan, 2018: 15) has continued (Figure 2.4).

#### **2.4. The Perfection of Liberalism and the Rise of Globalization, 1980s-2000s**

In the 1980s, the world has been under the influence of increasing liberalization, and nationalist developmentalism has almost disappeared everywhere (Yılmaz, 2005: 14; Bozdoğan, 1997: 147). Turkey has also experienced a breaking point on the same subject with its reshuffled political scene in the 1980s, where the Motherland Party (ANAP) has come to power in Özal's leadership (Kasaba, 1997: 16). Moreover, thanks to his attempts towards it, Özal, after his death, was called the second great modernizer of the country after Atatürk (Zürcher, 2004: 294). In this way, a new interpretation of modernity has appeared as "liberal economics, consumerism and a combination of local elements with global trends" (Çınar, 2005: 6), thus changing taste and aesthetics. Also, considering "the idea of globalization as a 'consequence of modernity'" (Giddens as cited in Robertson, 2012: 193), their conjunction refers to a process, not a new condition but as a new wave of modernization involving cultural homogenization (Ibid).

In this new wave of modernization, the rural and religious conservative mass, who remained outside or on the periphery of the social-cultural power relations, had created their own bourgeoisie, educated elites, intellectuals, and struggled to share the power (Mardin as cited in Bora, 2018: 405). While it has cleared the way for a search for conservative modernization in harmony with tradition, its ideological discourse was characterized as liberal and conservative (Ibid). Therefore, the tradition of liberal center-right inherited from the DP has not only continued but also added on. Turkey as liberal in economics but stayed nationalist and conservative in cultural sense (Tezel as cited in Yılmaz, 2005: 20; Bora, 2005: 594) and it has initiated the fact that "the conflicting voices and visions that have dominated the Turkish scene since the early 1980s" (Kasaba, 1997: 31). Afterward, in the elections of 1994, the Welfare Party (RP) in the leadership of Erbakan came to power with an alternative national ideology. Since its constitutive base was Ottoman-Islamic nationalism, it has challenged the state's secularist ideology (Çınar, 2005: 9).



Figure 2. 5. Education-related buildings from the 1980s-2000s<sup>16</sup>: (1) Ankara National Library by Orhan Akyürek (1983), (2) Darüşşafaka Maslak Campus by Fatih Gorbon as the winner of project competition (1992-94, (3) Akdeniz University Social Center by Cengiz Bektaş (1999).

<sup>16</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.darussafaka.org/egitim-kurumlari>)  
(2) (<https://www.ankaramasasi.com/haber/84457/milli-kutuphane-72-yasinda>)  
(3) SALT Research, Cengiz Bektaş Archive.

Regarding the politics on education, in the late 1980s, deriving from increased activity of unofficial Islam, secularism, which already focused on both politics and everyday life, has led to the ban on wearing a headscarf in public buildings, especially in the universities (Zürcher, 2004: 289). In the 1990s, Erbakan, with a conservative perspective, has defined their aim as national education under the motto of national vision, *Milli Görüş* (Deren, 2003: 613). However, it couldn't be implemented because of the short-lived power, which was till the February 28 process in 1997. Meanwhile, there have been two implementations that adversely affected Imam-hatip schools. The first one is the closure of their secondary education departments as the result of 8-years uninterrupted education. The other one is to prevent their graduates from entering university outside of their own fields by applying coefficients in university exams (Çelikdönmez, 2013). In short, through the policies implemented between 1997-2002, the state has increased its control on the Imam-Hatip schools and prevented them from developing and growing (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 400).

As a reflection of the global economy, the idea of a global city has gained importance, where Istanbul is the only candidate. While it has put into practice through projects including real estate and tourism in the 1980s, in the 1990s, cultural strategies have been added on (Öktem, 2006: 54; Özdemir as cited in Öktem, 2006: 55). Considering the projects of all three parties that came into power between 1984-2004 for making Istanbul a global city, it is possible to state that all have accepted the dynamics of (neo-)liberal globalization, and differences have derived from their socio-cultural politics (Ibid: 57). For Istanbul, the city has continued to expand with its population growth, and the construction sector has started to be invested by organized capital (Bilgin, 2005: 166).

In the architectural understanding of the period, there was the continuation of pluralism in architectural styles. Although Ankara National Library, designed by Orhan Akyürek, is not an educational building, it shows continuing architectural pluralism as an important example of the period. Besides, the establishment of TOKI and metropolitan municipalities and the amnesty on public works and housing in 1984 could be shown as essential architecture and urban-related practices. By the 1990s, the upshift on globalization has led to the appearance of commodity

aesthetics; thus, "architecture was reduced to decoration based on the play of appearances" (Korkmaz, 2005: 4). It has reflected on new building types such as shopping malls, holiday villages, and luxury residential compounds (Ibid).

About the design of public schools, thanks to the realization of the Ministry's standards set in the 1970s and the reactions against this understanding, although a process of improvement was in question (Karaaslan, 1987: 32), public schools constructed in this period show that their way of design and construction has continued in the same way. Thanks to increasing architectural competitions, there have been exceptions, i.e., architecturally qualified education buildings. Darüşşafaka Maslak Campus, designed by Fatih Gorbon as the winner of a project competition, could be given as an example from the educational buildings. Akdeniz University Social Center, designed by Cengiz Bektaş, also deserves to be mentioned as an essential design of the period, which also received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. In this project, he blended traditional materials and construction techniques found in Antalya with contemporary design (Figure 2.5).

## **2.5. Combination of Neo-liberalism and Conservatism, 2000s-2020**

In the elections of 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), as a modified version of the Islamist line inherited from the RP, won an overwhelming majority in the parliament not only with the Islamic votes but also with the votes of secular conservatives (Çınar, 2005: 13). The differentiation in votes has derived from the identity of the AKP, which has based on three axes: (1) culturally national and spiritualist, (2) politically pluralistic democrat, and (3) liberal in the economy (Yavuz, 2004: 602). Accordingly, the party has defined itself as conservative democrat, but it was described as Muslim democrat by society (Ibid). "They explain that this conservative lineage is "characterized by a combination of Turkish nationalism, sensitivity to traditional and Islamic values, and a commitment to technological modernization while preserving conservative social values"" (Çınar, 2011: 531).

In the global dynamics of the period, the rising influence of liberalism has led to the emergence of its stronger form, i.e., neo-liberalism. Thanks to its strength, it has

almost turned to be an obligation to be adjusted for the world. Turkey has taken its economic aspect and blended it with a conservative understanding. Moreover, this combination has affected the world as an unprecedented movement under “liberal Islamism” (Ibid: 535). In the book of *Islam’s Marriage with Neoliberalism* (2009), Atasoy represents it as a unique experience, where Islamic values and norms are merged with liberal democracy, personal freedom, and culture (As cited in Çınar, 2011: 537). As a reflection of these policies and to address neo-liberal priorities, the UN integration reforms have been made till 2010 (Bora, 2018: 407). However, afterward, the route has changed to authoritarian-conservative (Ibid: 408) and was accompanied by nationalist-conservative populism.

As a reflection of the combination of neoliberalism and conservatism, a new understanding of modernization has been formed with the concepts of urbanization, technology, and human rights (Yavuz, 2004: 603). Considering the aim of refashioning bounds with the tradition, where the raw material of this tradition is the religion itself (Bora, 2018: 341-342), conservative modernization has materialized as the contemporary interpretation of modernity. Since ideological discourse is under continuous negotiation, it is hard to draw the frames of this social process, but it is reasonable to seek the ambiguities existent from the beginning.

About the effect of neo-liberalism on architecture, the construction sector has reinforced and turned to be the main carrier of the Turkish economy with the involvement of national policies. It could be called a neoliberal construction boom of Turkey, which exposes the identity crisis of conservative understanding. Although this crisis dates back to its very beginning, there have been no opportunities to face it until the long-run period of the AKP. Since conservatism was somehow prohibited in previous periods, including the first years of the AKP power, “interventions mainly seek to challenge and displace secularist constructions” (Çınar, 2005: 31). Considering the rise of conservatism in Turkey due to differences and contradictions between the Ottoman and the Republic (Oral, 2017: 240), the “glorious” Ottoman and Islamic civilization has been adopted for its reinvention. Ironically, the interpretation of “glorious” leads both to evolve a new understanding of modernization and continue to become a constant tie to change (Belge, 2003: 95). Moreover, thanks to being in power for the long run, cultural conservatism, which

stayed recessive in modern Turkey's history (Çiğdem, 2002: 19), has become visible and dominant. Therefore, they have provided new references as “breakthrough of conservative art” and “conservatizing aesthetics” (Artun as cited in Oral, 2017: 239).

In architecture, a new understanding has materialized under the name of new national architecture originated from the Seljuk-Ottoman synthesis. From one side, this synthesis looks back to the past to legitimize itself and its bound to the social context. Yet, from the other, it is promoted as modern, which proves that not the idea of modern architecture, but the modernist architecture seen as the Kemalist establishment has been rejected by liberal Muslims (Silverstein as cited in Peker, 2015: 16). Here, the reference to Seljuk-Ottoman and the reference to the modern reflects the conflicts and ambiguities of the present. In other words, considering the ideology as conservative and nationalistic, and democracy adapted as conservative, not liberal (Ibid: 14), its reflection on architecture with the names given to this style, has also become contradictory. For example, according to Birkiye, one of the architects pioneering this style and also the architect of the Presidential Complex in Ankara, contemporary architecture style inspired by the Ottoman should be defined as “contemporary Ottoman” (As cited in Artun, 2014). It also refers to how two contrary concepts, i.e., conservatism and contemporaneity, are blended (Ibid).

As a methodology for blending, i.e., to establish new references or reveal existing ones, the past and the religion are instrumentalized for a common idea of society and architecture. However, the strategy used for consensus for ages contains particular problems in itself. While the lack of strong elements in the instrumentalization of the past led to the combination of Seljuk-Ottoman, the reduction of religion into basic elements in instrumentalization of the religion led to the implementation of this style to not the whole building but remained on the façade.

As a consequence, although the rise of new architectural style could be recognized as the expression of counter-public or the result of reactional policies, pro-active liberal, conservative attitude starting in the period of ANAP has already paved its way by questioning international modernism (Peker, 2015: 16; Bora, 2018: 405). Besides, this requires to be related to rebuilding the nation because ‘building public buildings

with new national architecture' has been just defined as the duty of the state since 2005 (Batuman, 2017: 133; Çakmakçı, 2005).

### **2.5.1. Effects of Changing Dynamics on Education**

Considering efforts in the late Ottoman and Republican periods, it is possible to state that educational reforms have been continuing for two hundred years in Turkey. Meanwhile, the field of education with its institutions has been under the considerable influence by the changes in political power. Also, with the AKP power since 2002, particular changes and innovations have been experienced in politics and practices on education. Moreover, it has indicated one of four columns where the AKP will raise the country with three other columns, i.e., health, justice, and safety (*2023 eğitim vizyonu*, 2018).

According to the report prepared by Alpaydın (2018), practices have been formed to provide equal opportunities and democratization of education (2018: 8). In this direction, the girls' education campaign, named "*Haydi Kızlar Okula*" was launched in June 2003 with the collaboration between the MEB and UNICEF (*unicef.org.tr*, 2020). As a result of many barriers, including the shortage of schools and traditional gender bias, there was a gender gap in primary education with girls' non-attendance (Ibid). This campaign was realized to close this gap, enroll girls who are not attending school in primary education, and keep them there (Ibid).

To provide equal opportunities and democratization on education, there are two main education politics shaping practices of the government, where the first one is quantitative and structural development in education (Alpaydın, 2018: 6). In this direction, particular reforms have been realized and succeeded, such as the increase in schooling; development on class, teacher, and structure; realization of extensive revisions in the curriculum; renewal of examination systems; and the closure of private teaching institutions (Ibid: 8). Also, in accordance with the principles of being a social state, equity, and universality in education, free book distribution has performed (Ibid: 9).

For an increase in schooling, the government has renewed the protocol with the Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB) named 'Physical Contribution to National Education Project' (EFIKAP). Actually, the project was started in 1997 to increase schools' physical capacity for the transition to 8-years of mandatory education (Bilasa, 2012: 122). The project has reached 432 schools in 80 cities and 277 districts, serving 800,000 students in 18 years, so it has become among the most important Turkish education investments (*borsaistanbul.com*, 2020). The project aims to speed up schools' construction, especially in the East and Southeast parts of Turkey, and enhance the education system (Ibid). The project provides equal opportunity for education by constructing 53 different types of educational institutions, including social facilities, public education centers, sports, and arts centers (Ibid).

Between 2009 and 2011, arrangements were started for the Fatih project in education, and it has realized as the distribution of smart boards and tablet computers by the following minister. The project is also launched to provide equal opportunities, while it aims to improve technology use in schools (*fatihprojesi.meb.gov.tr*, 2020). In this direction, the project aims that every school has VPN – Broadband Internet Access, infrastructure, and high-speed access, while every classroom has an interactive board and wired/wireless internet access (Ibid).

The second main education politics shaping practices are the Turkish education system's reforms, which will meet the conservative people's expectations, thus the voters of the AKP (Alpaydın, 2018: 6). In this direction, critical reforms have been made to eliminate ideological barriers such as the headscarf ban and the coefficient barrier, leading up Imam-Hatip schools; putting elective religious courses in the curriculum (Ibid: 8). The major change in the education system from 8-year compulsory to 12-year compulsory in the form of 4+4+4 realized in 2013-2014 academic year was ideologically based. The main reason behind this was to reinstate middle sections of Imam-Hatips, which were closed in the February 28th process.

As mentioned in previous chapters, Imam-Hatips are always on the agenda as an educational institution since the Republic's first years. They could be labeled as the most affected educational institution from politics. Moreover, it is possible to read

the country's general context just from the condition of Imam-Hatips. They enable it to understand when conservative modernization is sound or not because they provide religious education in the secular Republic. There are quite heterogeneous ideas about Imam-hatips in the heterogeneous society of Turkey. For instance, some people in the secular section perceives Imam-Hatips as schools where anti-secular Republican militants were raised (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 394). With continuing conflict on Imam-hatips, the conservative power as the graduates from Imam-hatip have paid attention to these schools. Moreover, the discussion on Imam-hatips has been combined with the nation redefined based on religion (Çınar, 2011: 533) and emphasized frequently (Erdogan as cited in *hurriyet.com.tr*, 2019):

For many years before us, Imam-hatips were the schools of the nation. Today, besides the nation, the state also owns Imam-hatips. Because Imam-hatips are now the schools of both nation and state. We aim to turn them into schools of the future.

The discussion on Imam-hatips is also related to the cultural transformation desired by the AKP power and some segments of the society. Over Imam-hatips, President Erdogan has put a discourse "to raise religious youth" since 2012. Thereby, the ones who graduated from Imam-hatips are somehow realized as the idealized youth who could maintain their conservative lineage in the future. Erdogan's rhetoric also addresses dissatisfaction about the education system's performance in cultural transformation (Alpaydın, 2018: 6). About cultural politics, similar politics were stated in the declaration for the elections in 2018. The main purpose was to make culture alive and transfer its discourse and practices to the next generations and ages (2018: 64). Especially re-meaning all imaginations of all the civilizations which lived and existed in these lands, reproducing them with an approach that addresses the modern world, and transferring the relationship with the past to this period are stated as the basis for cultural politics (Ibid).

Despite these comprehensive changes, the education policies of the AKP power were considered by both the society and the government as an area where there isn't enough success (Alpaydın, 2018: 1). Like cultural transformation, they weren't satisfied with the education system's performance in quality (Ibid: 6). The results of students in international success comparison exams could be shown as evidence since they don't get good results (Ibid). There are several reasons behind this, but a

lack of a stable policy in education could be shown as one of the important criticisms of the education policy of the AKP. Despite a long-lasting power since 2002, six different ministers served, and it makes to have a stable education policy difficult (Ibid: 10).

### **2.5.2. Politics and Practices on School Building**

The rise of new national architecture in public buildings has initiated over public schools in 2005 by the MEB's minister. Accordingly, new school projects would show such an approach and have an identity like in the Republic's first years. In this direction, some iconic buildings from this period, including First National Assembly by Salim Bey, Sümerbank by Martin Elsaesser, Ziraat Bank by Mongeri, Old Ministry of Culture by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, and Opera House by Şevki Balmumcu and Paul Bonatz were given as the examples (Çakmakçı, 2005) (Figure 2.6). Although these referred buildings represent different architectural styles of their own time, they were recognized as national signs which form a new approach with modern architecture (Ibid). Here, the rhetoric on modern architecture refers not to a particular architectural style but contemporary needs and functions. For example, they announced that there should be not only classrooms and corridors, but there is a need to design attractive and functional spaces for the learning environment (Ibid). Also, school design for disabled people and the calculation of oxygen in the classroom have been emphasized. These efforts point to equal opportunities and democratization in education and quantitative and structural development in education.

Together with the rhetoric on national and modern, the attachment of local signs to public buildings was also aimed through the use of materials such as Kütahya tiles at Kütahya and Mardin stones at Mardin (Ibid). A new principle named the 3-E rule was also established for future school buildings where economy, aesthetics, and security were three aspects. In contrast to the 3-E rule, the most striking decision was using stone rather than reinforced concrete in the building construction (Ibid). Deriving from the long-lived characteristic of stone, the aim was to make school buildings stand 500 years, which will make them a heritage for future generations (Şenol, 2005). However, because of Turkey's construction market, the stone has

never been applied as structural material but used just as façade material for the representation. Then, the use of stone was blended with the target of enhancing school façades by dynamism, aesthetics, Ottoman, Seljuk and Hittite motifs; thus, the main concern of avoiding monotony was fulfilled (Çakmakçı, 2005). In other words, “cold, gray and monotype school building” gave its place to “aesthetic, colorful, towered Ottoman architecture” (Şenol, 2005).

Following the declaration for the new approach on the school building, new prototype projects were presented with the motto of “from the tradition to the future” in 2007 (Keskin, 2007). While the use of the future evokes an idealized future that is believed to be materialized based on tradition, the use of tradition rather than the past reminds Hobsbawn and Ranger’s concept, i.e., the invention of tradition. Accordingly, the invented tradition helps justify the power’s actions and (re-)unites the nation (As cited in Atay, 2003: 158). In Turkey’s case, new conservative power in politics has been required to justify its new or yet representable understanding with new forms to show both traditional and modernizing sides. Here, public buildings’ architecture was one of the most available mediums to materialize this new understanding, considering Turkey’s neo-liberal construction boom. Moreover, as they pointed out (Hobsbawn, 2012: 5):

There is probably no time and place with which historians are concerned which has not seen the 'invention' of tradition in this sense. However, we should expect it to occur more frequently ... when there are sufficiently large and rapid changes on the demand or the supply side. Such changes have been particularly significant in the past 200 years, and it is therefore reasonable to expect these instant formalizations of new traditions to cluster during this period. This implies, incidentally, against both nineteenth-century liberalism and more recent 'modernization' theory that such formalizations are not confined to so-called 'traditional' societies, but also have their place, in one form or another, in 'modern' ones. Broadly speaking this is so, but one must beware of making the further assumptions, firstly that older forms of community and authority structure, and consequently the traditions associated with them, were unadaptable and became rapidly unviable, and secondly that 'new' traditions simply resulted from the inability to use or adapt old ones.

Thanks to the increased global dynamics, i.e., from 19th-century liberalism to 21st-century neo-liberalism, the point in question, i.e., invented tradition, has been risen and provided further material to discuss. There is much more in Turkey's case since conservatism's undercurrent character has also turned into a populist one due to the

"changes on the demand or the supply side" (Ibid). As modernization theory wasn't accepted as a concept which is only valid for traditional societies but all kinds of societies, the relation incidentally set or not between formalizations of new traditions and the modernization theory also justifies this thesis discussion.

New prototype projects with their motto of "from the tradition to the future" have got the chance for implementation in the renewed agreement of EFIKAP. The Strategic Plan of the MEB for 2010-2014 summarizes how new national style is implemented to which part of the building, and what kind of contemporaneity is involved (n.d.: 168):

Within the scope of EFIKAP, school buildings were constructed by focusing on the formation of the façades as dynamic, aesthetical and having architectural features of the Anatolian civilizations, with the understanding of 'from the tradition to the future'; observing environmental-climatic conditions; using new construction technologies, and thanks to all, the success of students is increasing in the spaces, which are formed of not only the corridors and classrooms, and enjoyed by students to be within. In new school buildings, the 3E rule 'Economy, Safety and Aesthetics' is seen as the basic rule.

Considering the school photo shared with this strategic plan and similar designs, it is possible to generalize their design with symmetrical and U-shaped plans, façade organizations with double-height porticos, pointed arches which imitated with architraves, and stucco reliefs (Batuman, 2018: 159). While the porticos are displayed reinforced concrete columns, and false arches, the parapets of side-wings were made higher to accommodate the Turkish flag (Ibid). Together with EFIKAP, there has been the use of the same prototype projects in the schools reconstructed in the scope of ISMEP. For instance, Emine and Hasan Aytacıman Primary School in Kartal, which appeared in ISMEP publications<sup>17</sup>, has the same architectural style (Figure 2.7).

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<sup>17</sup> Referred publications: (1) The Giant Project of Istanbul: ISMEP (magazine) ([https://www.ipkb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/ISMEP\\_dergi\\_ENG\\_2208düsük.pdf](https://www.ipkb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/ISMEP_dergi_ENG_2208düsük.pdf): 21) and (2) (ISMEP Guidebooks 4: Retrofitting and Reconstruction, 2014: 58)



Figure 2. 6. Iconic buildings referred for new identity<sup>18</sup>. Top-down: (1) Old Ministry of Culture by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu (1927), (2) Ziraat Bank by Mongeri (1929), (3) Opera House by Şevki Balmumcu and Paul Bonatz (1933), (4) Sumerbank by Martin Elsaesser (1938).

<sup>18</sup> Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive.



Figure 2. 7. EFIKAP Schools<sup>19</sup>. Top-down: (1) A school photo given as an example while mentioning EFIKAP and its objectives in the MEB Strategic Plan for 2010-2014, (2) 3D view of school building designed in the scope of EFIKAP 2 by Prokon, (3) Emine and Hasan Aytaçman Primary School, Kartal, Istanbul, 2007-2008.

<sup>19</sup> Source: (1) (MEB Strategic Plan for 2010-2014, n.d.: 168)

(2) (<http://www.prokon.com.tr/tr/project/egitime-fiziksel-katki-projesi-efikap-2-4-grup-kapsamindaki-egitim-kurumlari>) (3) (ISMEP Guidebooks 4: Retrofitting and Reconstruction, 2014: 58)

Briefly, making a new national architecture starting with the exemplary school project in 2005 led to an architectural style labeled as Ottoman-Seljuk. Together with the intend over schools “to serve the indoctrination of a new form of nationalism to the youth” (Ibid: 155), this new style was also applied to courthouses, which links national identity to the state (Ibid). Although the new architectural style seems quite national scaled, deriving from historical references, there are global dimensions behind it due to the global activities of Turkish construction companies in the post-Soviet geography (Ibid). White-clad public buildings in Turkey, including the AKP headquarters, could be given as examples of this case. Despite their post-national neoclassical architectural language, such buildings were also labeled as Ottoman-Seljuk (Ibid: 168).

In the evaluation of new national architecture, although the reference was Ottoman Revivalism at first, it turned into free eclecticism since there was no particular order. In its own period, Ottoman Revivalism represented the glory of the Ottoman past and the will of the young nation simultaneously (Bozdoğan as cited in Batuman, 2018: 157). However, budget constraints, straightforward formula, and the inconsistency of reference with an extended and heterogeneous historical period have led to a kind of architecture labeled as kitsch by professional organizations (Ibid: 159). Nevertheless, public reaction was positive, and their façades described as beautiful by comparison with those deploying abstract ones (Sağlam & Akalın as cited in Batuman, 2018: 162). Moreover, it became a trend swinging between ideology and fashion by imitating these forms, and it started to be seen in private buildings (Ayaz Calap as cited in Batuman, 2018: 162).

After lots of implementations in both public and private buildings, this style started to be emphasized less under Ottoman-Seljuk and gave way to local architecture. For instance, in the Strategic Plans of the MEB for 2015-2019 and 2019-2023, there is no mention of architectural features in 2010-2014, as the reference to the Anatolian civilizations (n.d.). Instead, in the Performance Reports of the MEB for 2016, 2017, and 2018, there is a reference to local architecture: “educational spaces will be designed as places which are promoting innovation, accessible, functional and compatible with local architecture, and having an adequate play, sport, and cultural spaces” (n.d.). Lastly, in the Activity Report (2019) and Performance Report (2020)

of the MEB, there is even no reference to local architecture: “educational structures will be designed compatible with technology and environment, safe, economic, aesthetical, accessible, in an architecture of high standards and high-quality” (MEB activity report of 2019, n.d.: 41; MEB performance report of 2020, n.d.: 40).

Last but not least, the AKP’s declaration for the elections in 2018 is important to foresee possible policies and practices of continuing power. The party declares to start “Quality Mobilization in Education” by establishing a quality assurance system (2018: 58). In this way, the quality difference between schools is aimed to be minimized by the help of educational quality index covering all schools across the country (Ibid). Therefore, it is possible to assume that the policy of equal opportunities and democratization of education will be sustained. For school investments, it is stated that they will continue with the concern on the quality in accordance with the 4E criterion (Ibid: 60). Thus, accessible aspects are just added to the economic, aesthetic, and safe aspects of the existing 3-E rule. Although it refers to the continuation of the policy of quantitative and structural development in education, possible implementation could be labeled ambiguous considering implementing the previous rule. For school building, it aims to reflect historical and cultural heritage according to local architecture (Ibid). It also indicates the above-mentioned shift from Ottoman-Seljuk to local architecture under the same umbrella, i.e., new national architecture.

### **2.5.3. Board Policies of Ministry of Education and Department of Construction and Real Estate**

Turkey’s education and training services have been carried out by the Ministry of National Education (MEB). Although the ministry has continued its activities under different names since the Republic’s establishment, its current organizational structure came into force on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (*meb.gov.tr*, 2020). As the main actor of education, the ministry explains its vision as “an education system that raises individuals who are ready for life, healthy and happy” (*meb.gov.tr*, 2015) while its mission as (Ibid):

to provide an environment and opportunities for individuals who have advanced thinking, understanding, researching, and problem-solving skills;

equipped with the knowledge and skills required by the information society; internalized with the national culture and universal values of humanity and democracy; open to communication and sharing, advanced art sensitivity and skill; high self-confidence, high self-esteem, high awareness of right, justice and responsibility; diligent, entrepreneurial, creative, innovative, peaceful, healthy and happy.

The mission referring both national culture and universal values of humanity and democracy together is meaningful for discussing conservative modernization.

Although there is no more explanation about what national culture is, considering Heynen's critique about the culture where he addresses mass culture and collective culture rather than the only culture, there are masses that produce the culture (1999: 159), the nation could produce national culture. Despite the nation under continuous negotiation, it is essential to note its redefinition based on religion and representation with a new form (Çınar, 2011: 533)

Together with the vision and mission mentioned above, there are other board policies of the MEB, including the 2023 Education Vision with the motto of "powerful Turkey with happy children" (2018). The year 2023 will be the hundredth anniversary of the Republic, and this is the reason for its frequent use as the deadline of the country's official aims. This study's main objective is stated as "to bring an understanding of being and knowledge based on moral considerations and human-oriented" (Ibid: 18) through objectives formed around 23 themes. As stated in the main objective and later on in this study's philosophy, the study offers an anthropocentric approach to education. The reason behind this is to avoid the rigid practices in the education system and its mechanical process to pass the class and the exams to find a job (Ibid: 15). Moreover, there is an emphasis on the relation between culture and the education system since "each culture produces its own education system. Education in every community is shaped according to the knowledge, experience, and values that exist in the culture of society" (Ibid: 22).

Considering the emphasis on moral considerations and values with culture, it is essential to note that the concern on society's culture belongs not only to Turkey but also to the world. There are similar studies and practices with the belief of that "many schools have drifted from traditional cultural roots... they have lost, or are in danger of losing, their souls" (Deal & Peterson, 2016: 8). While a possible solution is

indicated as embracing both cultural practices inherited from the tradition and modern standards, its reflection on architecture is described as constructing via traditional ways and blending with the symbol and purpose (Ibid: 10).

In the MEB, there are 23 units, including the Department of Construction and Real Estate, which is responsible to “plan, produce, monitor and supervise the investments of the education and training facilities required by the Ministry of National Education” (*iedb.meb.gov.tr*, 2020) and aims “to be a leading institution in developing modern, environmentalist and unique architecture for the physical capacity of the Turkish education system and exemplary structures in the world” (Ibid). Although the Department of Construction and Real Estate has the main responsibility in building public schools in Turkey, there are also other institutions sharing this load such as municipalities, governorates, and governorate related institutions like *YIKOB* in Ankara (*Ankara Governorship Investment Monitoring and Coordination*) and *IPCU* in Istanbul. Despite the multiple actors in the same area, all public schools serve the MEB as public schools and must fulfill the ministry’s standards.

There are five objectives of this department in which some are related to the discussion. The first related one is "...to meet the International Earthquake Code standards in designing safe and economical structures in accordance with the geological structure and earthquake reality of the country," and the other one is "modernization of all educational and training facilities" (Ibid). The schools to be analyzed in the thesis are constructed in the scope of the Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project (ISMEP) governed by *IPCU*. ISMEP is the first risk mitigation project of Turkey for a potential earthquake in İstanbul (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2020). Therefore, together with the modernization of the facilities, selected schools to be analyzed also serve the department's aims, the ministry, and respectively the state.

Beyond the building process, this department prepares publications about the design of schools, including prototype projects. 2015 Educational Structures Minimum Design Standards Guide and 2016 Project Catalogue, both prepared by the Department of Construction and Real Estate, are two current releases. The 2015

Educational Structures Minimum Design Standards Guide is well prepared with strong bibliography and introduces general principles. Just on the General Principles for Architectural Projects of Educational Structures, there is a suggestion to avoid monotonous façades by the use of traditional Turkish architectural elements

(*iedb.meb.gov.tr*, 2015):

Monotone façades should be avoided; traditional Turkish architectural elements such as an alcove, jamb, wide eaves, strut, etc. should be synthesized with contemporary construction techniques and solutions; considering the openness, mass, and volume ratios of the buildings, it should be ensured that the students will like and enjoy with the beautiful looking buildings.

In the 2016 Project Catalogue, there are prototype projects for primary, secondary, high schools, including Imam-Hatips and student dorms with a different number of classrooms (*iedb.meb.gov.tr*, 2016). While there are exploded plans and 3D exterior views to represent these schools, all seem to be designed according to contemporary needs, from science labs to sports halls. Despite using the same spaces, especially classes as repetitive units, there is somehow diversity in terms of the architectural form deriving from different combinations of volumes and voids like atriums. About architectural style, almost all primary, secondary, and high schools present more of a contemporary look, not traditional, local, or national. However, it changes in Imam-hatip schools in which 3 of 4 schools are presenting a style inspired from new national architecture in exterior with the use of long arch-liked windows, conservative art patterns, and tower-like volumes. There is only one exception representing a similar contemporary look with all primary, secondary and high schools. Regarding the difference between Imam-hatips and normal schools, it is essential to note that all architectural plans work the same. There is almost no element or program that could differentiate a normal school from an Imam-hatip. Moreover, although there is no restriction, there is a visible recommendation in the representation of Imam-hatip schools with new national architecture (Figure 2.8).



In conclusion, considering all these government publications and the AKP's declaration for the elections in 2018, local architecture has been brought up to the agenda. By shifting from Ottoman-Seljuk to local architecture, a more consistent reference could be attained for new national architecture. In this respect, 12 selected schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula, where all were reconstructed after 2010, will expose how local architecture is rendered. Interestingly, this shift reminds the early Republican period from Ottoman Revivalism "Toward Local Architecture" when subtracted the period of modern architecture (Eldem as cited in Bertnam, 2008: 202).



## CHAPTER 3.

### CONTEMPORARY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN ISTANBUL

As the title of *In Istanbul Between the Global and the Local* by Keyder (1999) suggests, Istanbul as the city between the global and the local, could be regarded as the best context to see the reflections of all kinds of dynamics of Turkey. Considering the history of modernization in Turkey, except for the early Republican period, the imagination of modernization since the late Ottoman period has been Istanbul-centered (Tanyeli, 2004: 35). In the present, as being the contemporary metropolis of Turkey, it carries most of the main features of modernization, which are “technological advances and industrialization, urbanization and population explosions, the rise of bureaucracy and increasingly powerful national states, an enormous expansion of mass communication systems, democratization, and an expanding (capitalist) world market” (Heynen, 1999: 10). It dates back to the 1980s; the campaign to make Istanbul a global city is in progress. Since then, the city continues to gain special importance in making it a world (leading) brand. Therefore, the city is perceived as a showcase for Turkey, and the city’s future is connected to the future of the country (Öktem, 2006: 59).

Like the city itself, the institution selected, *Istanbul Project Coordination Unit (IPCU)*, with its project, Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparation Project (ISMEP), is also between the global and the local. The institution represents a neoliberal form with the use of international capital. Together with its

global-local betweenness, there are two more reasons behind this selection: (1) the abandonment of prototype projects, which is longstanding in building public schools in Turkey, and (2) a wide diversity of architectural languages in the portfolio of reconstructed school projects included in the program. Considering more than 300 reconstructed schools in 39 different districts of Istanbul in the scope of ISMEP, the discussion was required to narrow the discussion for further elaboration (Figure 3.1). To have consistency in the discussion, a context-based analysis was decided to read architects' interpretations. Because it may provide the same or similar parameters, like the same plan notes and similar built environment, at the highest degree. Since the main argument is shaped around the conservative modernization, which aims to refashion a bound with the tradition, the Historical Peninsula, i.e., the district of Fatih as the old city of the contemporary metropolis, is selected. To be precise, there are three main reasons behind the selection of Istanbul's Historical Peninsula: (1) the district which is prominent with the Ottoman heritage despite multi-layered historical context, therefore very suitable to read historicism and traditionalism; (2) ongoing politics and practices on the district by the conservative powers, deriving from their reference to the Ottoman ideal; and (3) the plan notes asking for traditional and contemporary altogether in the designs of new buildings (2016: 35).

In this way, 12 public schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula became case studies for the discussion on conservative modernization. Except for their context, i.e., the location, their reconstruction date is also in common, all reconstructed after 2010, which coincides with Bora's interpretation of a more authoritarian period of the same power and the increased nationalist-conservative populism (2018: 499). This chapter will not enter this coincidence but provide background information before the main discussion. At first, the context, Istanbul and the Historical Peninsula will be read and followed by the selected project's global and local dynamics, its reconstructed educational buildings, and the ISMEP school catalog representing selected projects. It will end with informative tables presenting ISMEP Schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula.

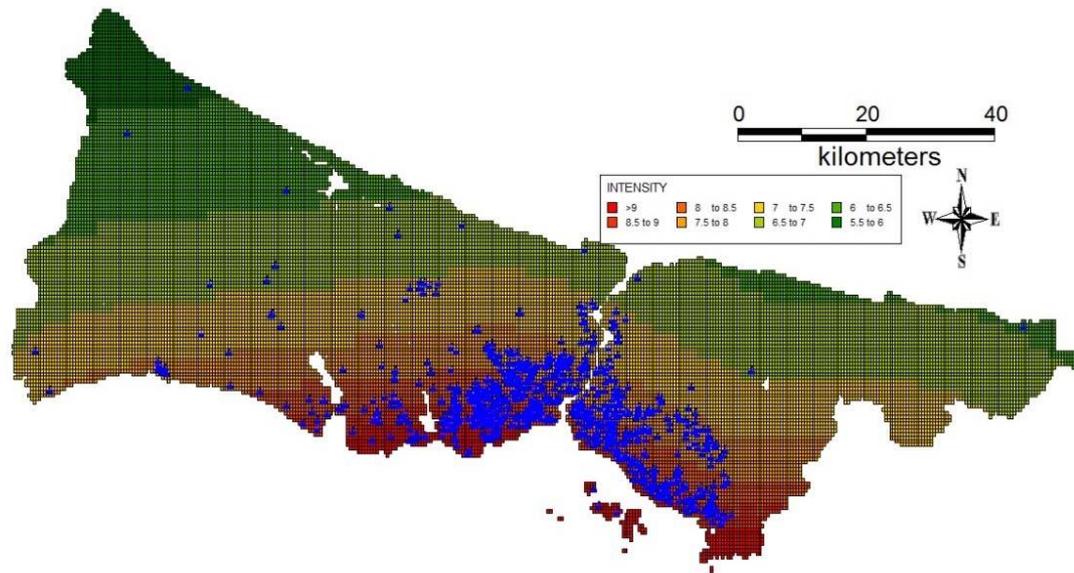


Figure 3. 1. Site specific intensity (Modified Mercalli) distribution and location of ISMEP school buildings<sup>21</sup>.

### 3.1. Reading the Context: Istanbul and the Historical Peninsula

Except for the early Republican period, Istanbul has always been the leading city of Turkey. Before Republic, its imperial and commercial character has already made it a world city where its geographic position leads to be a marketplace (Keyder, 1999: 3-4). Afterward, changing dynamics led to converting these logics to other forms, such as from imperial to touristic concerns, but kept the importance of cultural-economic dimensions. Istanbul's transformation in terms of the urban structure dates back to the 1980s when the city's economic character transformed "from manufacturing to finance and services" (Aksoy as cited in Enlil, 2011: 15). And the increased migration followed it.

Considering the 1980s as the breaking point for the formation of a global city, it is essential to note Robertson's globalization. Despite elapsed time since its definition in 1979, he states that his twofold definition on globalization has stayed much the same where "increasing connectivity, on the one hand, increasingly reflexive global consciousness on the other" (2014: 450). With the idea of globalization, considering

<sup>21</sup> Source: (<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/292841467306935392/pdf/ICR3698-P078359-Box396255B-OUO-9.pdf>: 20)

the production of contemporary localities in global terms, he has also brought forward “the idea of glocalization as a refinement of the concept of globalization” (Robertson, 2012: 191, 196). In Istanbul, both the main object and subject of these productions in Turkey, it is reasonable to address the glocal characteristics of contemporary policies and practices. It derives from both the effects of increasing globalization, which lead to “local assertions against globalizing trends” (Ibid: 195) and a new understanding of conservative power.

Continuing politics and practices on Istanbul by conservative powers date back much earlier, to the early Republic period. When Ankara was employed as the new center for the secular Republic, Islamist and conservative-nationalist people embraced Istanbul on the contrary. Deriving from the radical implementation of modernity in this period, the city has started to carry “a symbolic burden in Islam’s struggle with modernity” (Bora, 1999: 47). By the time, it has turned into the popular rhetoric of reconquest of Istanbul, or to say a kind of “cultural jihad against the modern and cosmopolitan facet of Istanbul” (Ibid: 56). In this regard, the first intervention as an “alternative version of the global-city project constructed by political Islam” (Ibid: 47) has initiated in the 1950s by the DP. Although a global city’s idea was not in progress and political Islam has not risen to the surface yet, the adaptation of more liberal policies and Turkey’s view as little America confirms to be described as the initiator.

Within Istanbul, the Historical Peninsula represents the old city ramparted with the fortifications. In contemporary agenda, the district is named as Fatih, the commander who conquered Istanbul. In the late Ottoman period, it was inhabited by a Muslim-dominated society with the royal family and the non-Muslim population in the northern parts as Galata and Pera (Özlu, 2018: 6). Although residents have changed and homogenized over time, the area is currently home to conservative and generally low or middle-class people. Due to the prominent Ottoman and Islamic character, the district also provides a kind of archive of symbols for new national architecture, thus enabling instrumentalization of both past and religion.

In this sense, there are many projects on architectural and urban scales for the district with a regeneration approach. “The Haliç Congress and Convention Centre, Feshane, Santral Istanbul, Rahmi Koç Museum, Minia Turk open-air theme park, and Modern Art Museum are among these prominent projects designed by famous national and international architects and developed through public-private partnerships” (Erdoğan as cited in Akkar Ercan, 2020: 115). Urban Renewal Project for Fener-Balat (2006), Urban Transformation Projects of Süleymaniye and Sulukule (2005), Environmental Design Project of Sirkeci (2015), Square Projects of Beyazıt and Aksaray (2013), Yenikapı Transfer Point and Archaeo-park (2008), Yenikapı Coastal Land Reclamation Project (2012) and Yenikapı Market Garden and Renewal Project (2013) are continuing projects (*megaprojeleristanbul.com*, 2020). According to Akkar Ercan, the regeneration approach applied to the Historical Peninsula could be evaluated under the phrases of museumization and de-contextualization of heritage sites (2020: 120). Both also serve the idea of a global city with nationally desired benefits. To mention, conservative politics and practices aim for both national and global benefits, although either one could be prominent in particular circumstances. Reconversion of the Hagia Sophia museum to the mosque could be mentioned as the district’s last intervention. It could be evaluated as a practice where the importance of religion’s symbolic value exceeds a global city’s idea.

### **3.2. Global and Local Dynamics of the Selected Project, ISMEP**

With the character of being the biggest metropolis in Turkey and relatively the target on global city policies, Istanbul is a city located at a significant seismic zone, near the North Anatolian Fault Line (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 10). Therefore, the city has experienced earthquakes many times in history, including the 7.4 earthquakes on August 17, 1999, which resulted in great mortality (Ibid: 24). Also, concerning a study performed by Geo-Hazards International sponsored by the UN, Istanbul is cited among three cities having the highest earthquake risk worldwide (Ibid: 12). With the change in mentality from crisis management to risk management (Ibid: 11), *IPCU* was established in 2006 under the Governorship of Istanbul “to form a basis for a safe and secure tomorrow,” and “it started studies on what to do before, during and after a potential earthquake” in Istanbul under Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparation Project (ISMEP) (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2019). Beyond this

desired national benefit, the vision of *IPCU* also contributes to making Istanbul a world city (Ibid).

To explain the global-local betweenness of *IPCU* and ISMEP, it is important to mention some institutional details. The project's local dynamics derive from its connection with public institutions: the Governorship of Istanbul and Istanbul Disaster and Emergency Directorate<sup>22</sup>. Global dynamics or its neoliberal character arise with fund resources provided by the international finance organizations including World Bank, European Investment Bank, Council of Europe Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, KfW Development Bank (Ibid). For this reason, *IPCU* could be described as neither absolute public or private and independent institution (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). Although external financing leads to different requirements, requests, and visions, they inevitably affect the institution; it is an institution established by the state for Istanbul's case and eventually producing for the public itself (Ibid). Therefore, *IPCU* is designed in accordance with both global and local standards, which makes the institution itself and its projects appropriate to this thesis discussion. Additionally, all steps specified by the UN for a "disaster-resilient city" were taken by ISMEP (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 88).

As being the first risk mitigation project of Turkey, ISMEP consists of three main components: (1) component A is enhancing emergency preparedness, (2) component B is seismic risk mitigation for the priority public buildings, and (3) component C is the enforcement of building code (Ibid: 15), in which most of the budget is canalized for the preparation of public buildings against earthquakes, i.e., component B (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). There are two ways for this preparation: retrofitting or reconstruction. If the ratio of retrofitting and repair costs to reconstruction costs is more than 40 percent, the strengthening of a public building is implemented as a reconstruction (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2019). Although the primary aim is to be resistant against earthquakes, each reconstruction project is designing to be beneficial for the district where it will be built by their functions as well as their

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<sup>22</sup> Istanbul Disaster and Emergency Directorate (Istanbul DED) is an institution in charge of the management of the disasters and emergency case of the city, and also in the coordination with *IPCU* to develop projects (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 18).

appearances and to be eco-friendly and modern (Ibid). Schools, hospitals, polyclinics, and health care centers, administrative buildings, dormitories, and social service buildings are types of public buildings transformed in the scope of ISMEP (Ibid). The inventory of historical buildings under auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is also taken, and retrofitting operations are performed according to the seismicity risk assessment (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 52).

Together with social, environmental, and economic national effects, there are international achievements of ISMEP declared by both international institutions and media<sup>23</sup>. While World Bank interprets the project as “the best risk reduction project worldwide,” ISMEP became the first project in Turkey to receive the high satisfactory grade in Turkey with the closing and final report prepared by the World Bank (Ibid: 9; *ipkb.gov.tr*, 2016). Most importantly, selection as the leading country in the ‘Safe School’ program run by the United Nations is worth to mention, considering this thesis discussion on school architecture (*ISMEP*, 2017).

### **3.3. Reconstructed Educational Buildings of ISMEP**

While component B constitutes the major part of the project with retrofitting and reconstruction works, education buildings, among other building types, have achieved 51% of ISMEP investment accounts (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 52). From 2006 to 2017s, 85% of the school buildings built before 1999 have been strengthening and reconstructing against earthquake risk (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2017). Thanks to school investments by *IPCU*, more than 1.5 million students have safe educational facilities, and this number will increase with the continuation of the project<sup>24</sup> (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 52). While most of the schools reconstructed or retrofitted in the scope of ISMEP are public school buildings for formal education, there are also special education schools such as business schools and practice centers, visually impaired and hearing impaired, reconstructed by *IPCU* (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2017).

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<sup>23</sup> For example, in 2010, the project has appeared in the documentary “Greatest Investments” broadcasted by CNN International and declared one of the biggest projects to prepare against earthquake (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 81).

<sup>24</sup> For the project duration, although it was determined as 2006-2021 at first, the agreement with Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank provided its extension to 2025 (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020).

As mentioned in previous chapters, although the main actor in Turkey's education and training services is the MEB, there are multiple actors for different activities in which *IPCU* is one of them. Although reconstructed ISMEP schools meet the minimum design standards determined by MEB for educational structures, and they are in coordination with MEB to determine the number of classrooms, to consider feasibility, etc., these reconstructed schools get approved by the Provincial and District Directors of National Education, not by the Ministry (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). This is important to mention because MEB reflects national dynamics entirely *IPCU* represents them partially. At one point, it is impossible to find an institution reflecting all local, national, and global dynamics entirely. Still, *IPCU* could be described as a combined version where some deficient aspects are available due to all sides' partial presence.

Another different aspect of *IPCU* from MEB and one of the main reasons behind the selection of ISMEP is the abandonment of prototype projects and the shift to special designs in 2010. As there has been the use of prototype projects in building schools by most actors, including the main actor MEB, *IPCU* is also started with the prototype projects in contracts. By the time, deriving from the dynamics of Istanbul and architects' complaints, the contract has been revised. According to the director of *IPCU*, there were three main reasons behind the decision: (1) prototype projects don't fit every plot, (2) the land in Istanbul is precious, so it should be used efficiently, and (3) Istanbul has its own dynamics with an example of the plot having the sea view (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). Ultimately, since the plot is very expensive, and it could not be used feasible with prototype projects, *IPCU* has moved away from the use of prototypes to capture the maximum benefit (Ibid).

Until 2010, most of the consulting firms progressed with prototype projects and interpreted them in accordance with the site and the architect's approach. For example, *Prokon Engineering*, the consultant for four different packages in ISMEP, used prototype projects until the change in contract. According to Tuba Yücel, an architect in *Prokon* and represented architect in the ISMEP school catalog, prototype projects were almost turned into special projects since they didn't fit the plot (personal communication, June 13, 2019). After the change in the contract, special

designs were employed, and this increased architect's interpretation while at the same time increasing the cost and duration (Ibid). On the contrary, *Uygur Architects* with the business partnership of *Eptisa-Dolsar-Uygur* started with special designs from the very beginning (*uygurmimarlik.com.tr*, 2020). Their way of design also affected *IPCU* and led them to change the contract with a special design.

As the main purpose of *IPCU* and *ISMEP* regarding the characters of the reconstructed schools is to provide an earthquake-resistant environment, all projects to be reconstructed were designed in accordance with the "The Regulations on Buildings to be Built in Earthquake Zones," which entered into force in 2007 (*ISMEP Guidebook 3*, 2014: 34). Moreover, *IPCU* has attached importance to other aspects such as sustainability, energy efficiency, functionality, and everything related to modern education (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). With the vision of making them the schools of the future and the understanding that they should not be rebuilt again, laboratories, social facilities, sports halls, outdoor playgrounds, etc., were built (Ibid). Also, because of Istanbul's dynamics, *IPCU* has tried to achieve the highest number of classrooms as much as possible (Ibid). Although there have been architects' complaints on the number of classrooms in the limited sites of Istanbul since it increased the number of floors<sup>25</sup>, according to the director of *IPCU*, all reconstructed schools are full, no class or no school is vacant (Ibid). Thanks to reconstruction, the schools' total square meters, the number of classrooms, and student capacities have also been increased (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2017). According to the director of *IPCU*, thanks to the improvement in spatial quality and capacity, the demand for these schools has increased because they are modern and look like private schools<sup>26</sup> (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020). The increase in demand has also increased the quality of education and success relatively (Ibid). From architectural and educational points of view, new school buildings have brought identity to the district and the city (Ibid). Moreover, reconstructed schools were designed to serve the neighborhood as emergency shelters. Required

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<sup>25</sup> For example, an 8-story school building was built to meet the required number of classrooms (Yücel, personal communication, June 13, 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Moreover, when reconstruction works were ongoing in some districts, some people were worried about their public school, destroyed, and turned to private school (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020).

infrastructure was applied to each school's basement floors as a kitchen bench, battery, shower bath, generators for reservoirs, electrical panels, USB hub, etc. Except for school time, they also provide the opportunity to be used by the public.

In the process of educational buildings, there has been a participatory approach applied to some extent. For the preliminary design, meetings with the most stakeholders were made, including school administration, the family union, and its administrative staff (Ibid). Afterward, in compliance with the minimum design standards, a preliminary design is prepared and submitted to the school administration and the Provincial and District Directors of National Education (*ISMEP Guidebook 4*, 2014: 50). According to feedbacks, the proposed design is revised, and the process continues with the next stage, the implementation of the project (Ibid). Throughout the construction works, which typically take 6 months, the students are transferred to another school with their teacher to continue their studies (Ibid: 60).

### **3.4. Reading School Catalog of ISMEP**

To provide a general understanding of ISMEP schools and an introduction before context-based analysis, the analysis of the ISMEP school catalog is essential. There are many publications prepared by *IPCU* to represent their works. However, this catalog is specific for reconstructed school buildings and is therefore worth discussing in this thesis. In the ISMEP school catalog, school projects carried out by two different consultancy firms are represented under the names of two female architects Semra Uygur and Tuba Yücel. Even from this catalog, it is possible to see the diversity of architectural languages despite the same institution not requiring any request from the architects in terms of style (Elgin, personal communication, 20 January 2020).



Figure 3. 2. Projects of *Uygur Architecture* in ISMEP publications<sup>27</sup>. Top-down: (1) The motto of ‘contemporary generations grown with modern design’, (2) Special design according to the topography with terraced playground and (3) Sultantepe Secondary School in Üsküdar.

<sup>27</sup> Source: (1) (2) (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.)

(3) (<https://www.ipkb.gov.tr/e-kutuphane/yeni-bir-mimari-yeni-bir-gelecek/>)

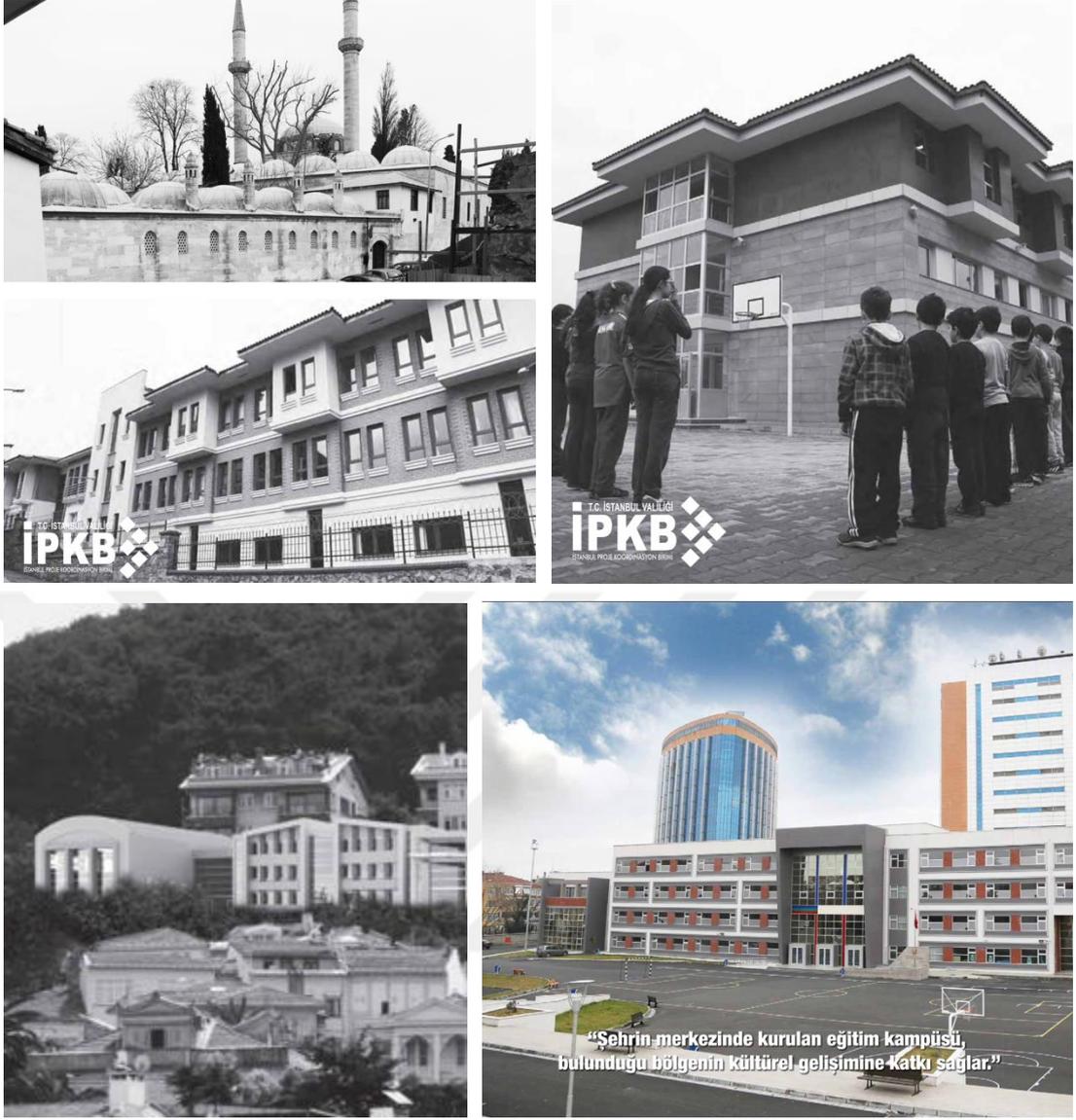


Figure 3. 3. Projects of *Prokon Engineering* in ISMEP School Catalog<sup>28</sup>. Top-down. From left to right. The first line: (1) Valide-i Atik Mosque and Mustafa Noyan Primary School in Üsküdar and (2) Mehmetçik Secondary School in Üsküdar. The second line: (3) Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar Multi-program High School, Heybeliada and (4) Erkan Avcı Industrial Vocational High School in Bahçelievler.

<sup>28</sup> Source: (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.)



Figure 3. 4. Energy Efficient Schools<sup>29</sup>. Top-down: (1) Bahçelievler Kazım Karabekir Primary School, (2) and (3) The first LEED platinum certified school in both Europe and Asia, Atatürk Science High School, Kadıköy (2017-2019).

<sup>29</sup> Source: (1) *(ISMEP Guidebooks 4: Retrofitting and Reconstruction, 2014: 86)*

(2) (<https://www.ipkb.gov.tr/2019-2020-egitim-ogretim-yilinin-acilisi-ismep-projesi-kapsaminda-depreme-karsi-yeniden-yapilan-kadikoy-ataturk-fen-lisesinde-cumhurbaskanimiz-sayin-recep-tayyip-erdoganin-tesrifler/>)

(3) (<http://vista-eed.com/projects/ismep-projesi-ceb-cb1-5-istanbuldaki-okullarin-tasarim-ve-yeniden-yapim-danismanlik-hizmetleri/>)

The catalog starts with a text written by Semra Uygur and continues with the projects of the business partnership between *Eptisa Engineering and Consultancy*, *Dolsar Engineering*, and *Uygur Architects*. According to her, school buildings are the first places for children to get involved in public space and therefore have the first social experience (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.). Starting from this point of view, she predicts that students studying in architecturally qualified schools could look more critically at other places and demand better in the future (Ibid). This understanding reflects on schools by giving importance to common areas, natural light, minimum maintenance cost, and the use of structural materials without coating to enable users to reflect their identity on these walls (Ibid). The catalog presents a visual exhibition of 11 works referring to specific architectural details and the slogan "contemporary generations growing with modern design" (Ibid).

According to her, designing and building special projects instead of prototypes expresses the importance given to the children (Uygur, personal communication, 2019, May 20). She highlights the liberating potential of the space and the social aspect in which the passageways or corridors are designed to strengthen students' interaction both among themselves and with teachers, thereby providing another way of learning (Ibid). There are also wooden lecture halls, atriums with skylights, terraces when the outdoor play area is limited, and multi-purpose halls that enable socialization. The idea of social sustainability with energy-efficient buildings and minimal maintenance costs is another important goal for the architect (*uygurmimarlik.com.tr*, 2016: 112). In this respect, exposed concrete and colored panels are used in the interior. While the use of exposed concrete eliminates the need for whitewash and provides economic sustainability, plain and bare walls offer users the opportunity to blend their identity with the identity of the building (*TSMD Eğitim Yapıları Serisi*, 2016).

In general, the firm's architectural language is similarly reflected in the architecture of the schools. Even in the historical contexts, their architectural approach remained nearly the same, despite limited plan notes demanding certain traditional building tectonics and requiring the approval of the relevant Protection Board. According to Balamir, although there is no stylistic concern for architects, there are building tectonics such as eaves, bay windows, cornering, dimensions, and rhythm of

accented window records which evoke the building tradition of Anatolia (2015: 47). While the ones which Balamir refers, don't take part in the ISMEP school catalog but they are part of the same project titled "44 Schools in Istanbul" where these tectonics were applied to all schools (Uygur, personal communication, 2019, May 20).

It is also important to mention that all these schools present the same quality with all aspects despite their different socio-economical contexts<sup>30</sup>. The vision of providing equal opportunities to all students derives from the understanding of both the employer *IPCU* and the employed *Eptisa-Dolsar-Uygur*. Sultantepe Secondary School in Üsküdar could be given as an example, the first school represented in the catalog. In the video prepared by *IPCU* with the slogan of "a new architecture, a new future," a student studying in the old school building later witnesses its demolition and reconstruction and explains what opportunities they gained from the new school building (*ipkb.gov.tr*, 2015). She says that the new building's architecture was out of their expectation, and their first impression is that the walls were so pale due to the general perception that schools are colorful (Ibid). However, she says that they later decorated these walls with their works, and thus the walls were colorful, which is the architect's intention from the very beginning (Ibid). She also talks about a separate and more comfortable painting room, science laboratory, only trees from the past, and new school building resistance to disasters (Ibid) (Figure 3.2).

The catalog continues with a text written by Tuba Yücel representing selected works of *Prokon Engineering*. According to her, the school building's design plays a major role in developing students' aesthetic value judgments and shaping their behavior experience (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.). Like Uygur Architects, they also attach importance to social spaces in educational buildings and reflect interior common spaces, outdoor playgrounds as larger as the site allows, and a multi-purpose hall in each school (Yücel, personal communication, June 13, 2019). The firm has completed four work packages with *IPCU*, each of 13, 25, 40, or 45 projects, including both consulting and construction work (Ibid). According to her, due to the use of prototype projects in contract, the first two packages were implemented with prototypes created for EFIKAP between 2000 and 2004, while the last two packages

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<sup>30</sup> The distribution of these 11 schools: 3 in Üsküdar, 3 in Kağıthane, 1 in Beykoz, 2 in Eyüp, 1 in Beyoğlu, 1 in Beşiktaş.

were conducted with special projects (Ibid). As mentioned before, although prototypes were used in the first two packages, these projects were revised and turned into special projects because the plots were quite different (Ibid). With all that, she also states the abandonment of prototypes provides more freedom to be modern in their designs, except for the projects in the protected areas requiring the approval of the related Preservation Board (Ibid). As examples, 3 of 5 projects represented in the ISMEP school catalog were built in these protected areas requiring councils' approval. This could be why the motto represents the firm's works: "projects are developed to adopt the surrounding architectural and historical environment" (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.).

Mustafa Noyan Primary School is the first school designed according to the neighborhood's historical texture, and across the street is the complex built by Architect Sinan in 1583 and the Valide-i Atik Mosque (Ibid). In the materials prepared by *IPCU*, this school is given as an example to show the great care given for the historical surroundings, and new building adapted accordingly (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 53). The adaptation is interpreted as "reworked according to the current conditions and visually according to the historical texture" (Ibid). Mehmetçik Secondary School is another example presenting a similar way of design. Since its built environment consisted of mansions, including the Vahdettin mansion, this school is designed to adapt to this environment (*ISMEP School Catalog*, n.d.). To ensure this adaptation, stone as a reference to Vahdettin mansion and wooden cladding as a reference to other mansions were used in the building's façade (Ibid). For Mustafa Noyan, there is a similar approach with the use of façade materials, stone and wood together, and the rhythm of windows and their size. Considering both examples, long fringes and *cumba*<sup>31</sup> could be shown as the spatial organization's effects, readable from the façade. Regardless of their architectural styles, they present a particular current understanding of historical and cultural heritage protection.

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<sup>31</sup> *Cumba* is "the window with lattice used in civil architecture to look at the street without being seen from the outside, or a kind of closed balcony with three-sided windows built on the overhangs on the buildings' façades (<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cumba>).

In addition to these schools in Üsküdar, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar Multi-Program High School was rebuilt in Heybeliada, a different protected site, with a design suitable for the general silhouette of the island (Ibid). To adapt to the silhouette, the building mass is divided into smaller masses at different angles and supported by different roof movements (Ibid). In this way, a dynamic and fragmental façade is provided by using white paint and wood coating. Because of the surrounding built environment, there was no parameter requiring similar forms like the examples in Üsküdar. On the contrary side, the island has a different context with its denominational school and old religious buildings for Greek inhabitants. Moreover, both interior and exterior characteristics seem consistent with each other, i.e., reworked and visually performed according to the current conditions. Another school placed in the ISMEP school catalog is Erkan Avcı Industrial Vocational High School in Bahçelievler. Although this project requires no approval from any Preservation Board, due to the same architectural approach, it is possible to see similar architectural choices with the school in Heybeliada such as wooden cladding between windows, white painted façade, architectural interventions to divide the building mass, and to get a more fragmented silhouette. The school is represented in the catalog, emphasizing its large campus and the building meeting different requirements of its different education system (Figure 3.3).

The last school to be discussed from the works of *Prokon* represented in the ISMEP school catalog is Bahçelievler Kazım Karabekir Primary School. This school is also frequently mentioned in the other ISMEP publications due to its energy-efficient systems equipped. Thanks to solar trees and solar panels, the school has become the first public school in Turkey that generates its own electricity and collects rainwater from the roof in a 100 m<sup>3</sup> buried water tank in the basement floor (Ibid). The school equipped with much more has also led to green building studies thanks to its beneficial results such as a reduction in energy costs and no requirement of maintenance, so it proves its representation in the catalog: “a building that pioneers smart buildings of a new generation” (Ibid). Kadıköy Atatürk Science High School reconstructed afterward in the scope of ISMEP could be shown as the peak since it was opened as the first LEED platinum-certified school in both Europe and Asia. This school, with the concept of sustainability and technology, reveals a particular understanding and interpretation of conservative modernization (Figure 3.4).

To conclude the discussion on the ISMEP School catalog, it is possible to see a wide diversity of architectural languages in the portfolio of reconstructed school projects included in the program, even designed by the same architect. The projects of *Uygur Architecture* have consistency within, while *Prokon* represents almost 3 different perspectives on 5 projects. This diversity in architectural interpretations could be rendered as the reflection of different understandings within conservative modernization.

### **3.5. ISMEP Schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula**

As mentioned previously, to keep design parameters as same as possible thus to read architects' interpretations, the analysis decided as context-based, and the context decided as the old city of Istanbul. While the district prominent with the Ottoman heritage enables questioning historicism and traditionalism, ongoing politics and practices on the district provide a proper background for the discussion on conservative modernization. The most architecturally based reason is Fatih's plan notes, which ask for traditional and contemporary altogether in the designs of new buildings (2016: 35). In the next chapter, historicism and traditionalism will be questioned, and also continuing policies and practices, which have already been mentioned in previous chapters, will be rediscussed. Hence, this subchapter will examine two interrelated design parameters for the projects in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula: (1) the plan notes of Fatih and (2) the approval of the related Protection Board. They could be shown as architectural parameters deriving from the local dynamics.

The plan notes can be described more strictly than others, as the Historic Peninsula is one of the most historic districts of Istanbul and therefore requires special attention (Yücel, personal communication, 2019, June 13). Hence, there is also no allowance to use prototype projects for new buildings, including public schools. To indicate, the plan notes were prepared by its municipality and consists of 6 main chapters (2016): (1) general provisions of plan, (2) protection areas, (3) provisions about urban design areas, (4) decisions on land usage, (5) provisions on new buildings and (6) provisions on earthquake. In the first chapter and the following ones, the requirements on the character of design and its application are frequently mentioned. Accordingly, they

need to be prepared considering the historical, cultural, physical, and natural character of the Historical Peninsula and are based on the continuity of traditional architectural identity (Ibid: 4). For this reason, buildings should primarily have contour-gauge-façade features instead of large masses. Thus, it is claimed that the new building will not contradict the traditional architectural character of the region and will respect its architectural character (Ibid: 5). In chapter 5 named the provisions on new buildings, there are specifications on the adaptation of new building with its gauge and mass, and architectural details (Ibid: 35):

In the 1st and 2nd-degree protection zones, adaptation with the registered cultural assets' gauge and mass to be reconstructed and restored in the region will be observed. Although traditional materials are used on the façade, new construction techniques will be applied. The forms in windows, doors, jambs, bay windows, cornices, etc., will be stylized and interpreted in contemporary architecture.

Accordingly, it is understood that expectation is a kind of combination of traditional and contemporary, and the person who interprets this combination is the architect. However, the previous discussion on the adaptation, physically reworking according to the current conditions and visually performing according to the historical texture, is contradictory compared with the plan notes. It is understandable to limit the building mass, contour, gauge, and façade for the protected area, but interpreting this as different references for exterior and interior for the same building creates dilemma and ambiguity.

Following the provisions on new buildings, qualities expected from specific architectural elements are given in a detailed way under the title of the provisions on building elements. Except for Fener, Balat, and Yenikapı<sup>32</sup>, the use of possible different bay windows in different conditions, possible window sizes, compulsory use of eaves, four-pitched roof design, reinforced concrete construction under ceiling tiles are some requirements specified in the plan notes. Furthermore, with their different combinations, these architectural elements are presented for different areas of the district in General Inventory Typology and Urban Design Guide for Historical Peninsula.

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<sup>32</sup> They are excluded since they have a different original character from the overall context.

For the related Protection Board, there are two different institutions in the district of Fatih. While Regional Board for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Istanbul Number 4 is in charge of 33 neighborhood except for the renovation areas in Fatih (*korumakurullari.ktb.gov.tr*, 2020), KUDEB established in 2005 under Cultural Heritage Department, Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul serves as offices for the Directorate of Protection, Application, and Audit (*Istanbul Historical Peninsula Management Plan*, 2018: 307). Although both the plan notes and the related Protection Board are working in accordance with the same principles, the architect's interpretation may contradict the interpretation of jury members.

As a result, these plan notes and the approval of the relevant protection board affect architectural design as local dynamics, while the global ones emerge with the international financial institutions, their requirements, aspirations, and visions as the financer of ISMEP. Within the scope of ISMEP, there are 12 reconstructed schools in the Historical Peninsula, 2 of which are under construction, between 2010 and 2020. Their specific location in the district will be given in the map below (Figure 3.5). Afterward, informative tables presenting the school name, the consultancy, the architectural firm of reconstruction projects, and giving photos of both old and new buildings will be given (Table 3.1-3.12). Their discussion will be elaborate in the next chapter.



Figure 3. 5. ISMEP Schools in the Historical Peninsula<sup>33</sup>. By numbers: (1) Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School, (2) Uzun Yusuf Secondary School, (3) İskenderpaşa Primary School, (4) Çapa Atatürk Secondary School, (5) Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School, (6) Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School, (7) Neslişah Imam-Hatip Secondary School, (8) Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School, (9) Sancaktar Hayrettin Secondary School, (10) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School, (11) Aksaray Mahmudiye Secondary School, (12) Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-Hatip High School.

<sup>33</sup> Source: (<https://gis.fatih.bel.tr/webgis/>)

School Name:	Şehit Vedat Kara <sup>34</sup> Primary School (old name: Ali Suavi)
Consultancy:	Eptisa-Dolsar-Uygur
Architectural firm:	Uygur Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1978) and (2) new building (2011-2013)

Table 3. 1. Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The name of Vedat Kara belongs to one of the south-east martyrs in 1997.

<sup>35</sup> Source: (1) (<http://sehitvedatkarailkokulu.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>)  
(2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Uzun Yusuf Secondary School
Consultancy:	Eptisa-Dolsar-Uygur
Architectural firm:	Uygur Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1952) and (2) new building (2013-2014)

Table 3. 2. Uzun Yusuf Secondary School<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.ortaokullar.com/istanbul/fatih/uzun-yusuf-ortaokulu/7081>)  
(2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	İskenderpaşa Primary School
Consultancy:	Prokon
Architectural firm:	Cumhur Gürel Architecture <sup>37</sup>



Top-down: (1) Old building (1964) and (2) new building (2014-2016)

Table 3. 3. İskenderpaşa Primary School<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Prokon employed *Cumhur Gürel Architecture* for projects in the historical environments, and the architect Cumhur Gürel worked in collaboration with the architect Tuba Yücel who was indicated as the architect of particular schools in the ISMEP school catalog (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11).

<sup>38</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.tgrthaber.com.tr/videogaleri/Iskenderpasa-Ilkogretim-okulu-yikiliyor-Izle-333>) (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Çapa Atatürk Secondary School
Consultancy:	Studio Altieri - Svei - Han Technical <sup>39</sup>
Architectural firm:	Cumhur Gürel Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1971) and (2) new building (2015-2018)

Table 3. 4. Çapa Atatürk Secondary School<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Deriving from the procedures of ISMEP, each consultancy has a time limit to finish their works. When their time is over, ongoing projects are transferred to the period's consultancy (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). Therefore, there are particular shifts in the relations between consultancy and architectural firms.

<sup>40</sup> Source: (1) (<https://iyiokulburada.com/ortaokul/istanbul/fatih/sehremini/capaaturk-capa-ataturk-ortaokulu/1428>) (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School
Consultancy:	Prokon
Architectural firm:	Cumhur Gürel Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1940) and (2) new building (2016-2018)

Table 3. 5. Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.facebook.com/pg/FatihAhmetRasimLisesi/photos/>)  
(2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer <sup>42</sup> Primary School (old name: Muhittin Akdik)
Consultancy:	Studio Altieri - Svei - Han Technical
Architectural firm:	Vista Architecture <sup>43</sup>



Top-down: (1) Old building (1969) and (2) new building (2016-2017)

Table 3. 6. Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The name of Yunus Emre Ezer belongs to one of the martyrs of the July 15 coup attempt.

<sup>43</sup> *Studio Altieri-Svei-Han Technical* employed *Vista Architecture* to prepare the license project for the municipality and the drawings of application details (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). The main architectural design belongs to Italian architects of *Studio Altieri*.

<sup>44</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.emlaktagundem.com/fatih-muhittin-akdik-ve-sariyer-hurriyet-ilkokulu-ihaleye-cikiyor/>) (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Neslişah Imam-Hatip Secondary School
Consultancy:	Studio Altieri - Svei - Han Technical
Architectural firm:	Vista Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1978) and (2) new building (2016-2018)

Table 3. 7. Neslişah Imam-Hatip Secondary School<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Source: (1) Google Maps (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk <sup>46</sup> Primary School (old name: Vasıf Çınar)
Consultancy:	Studio Altieri - Svei - Han Technical
Architectural firm:	Vista Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1970) and (2) new building (2016-2017)

Table 3. 8. Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The name of Fikret Metin Öztürk belongs to one of the martyrs of the July 15 coup attempt.

<sup>47</sup> Source: (<http://sfmoilkokulu.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>) (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Sancaktar Hayrettin Secondary School
Consultancy:	Studio Altieri - Svei - Han Technical
Architectural firm:	Vista Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1973) and (2) new building (2017-2019)

Table 3. 9. Sancaktar Hayrettin Secondary School<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Source: (1) (<http://sancaktar.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>) (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School
Consultancy:	Koltek-Uygur
Architectural firm:	Vista Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1983) and (2) new building (2017-2019)

Table 3. 10. Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Source: (1) Google Maps (2) Photography by the author, 2020.

School Name:	Aksaray Mahmudiye Secondary School
Consultancy:	Projacs International - Dome - Optimal
Architectural firm:	Uygur Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1939) and (2) new building (2019-continuing)

Table 3. 11. Aksaray Mahmudiye Secondary School<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Source: (1) (<http://aksaraymahmudiyeortaokulu.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>) (2) *Uygur Architecture*.

School Name:	Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-Hatip High School
Consultancy:	Koltek-Uygur
Architectural firm:	Uygur Architecture



Top-down: (1) Old building (1976) and (2) new building (2019-continuing)

Table 3. 12. Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-Hatip High School<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Source: (1) (<http://kocamustafapasaaahl.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>) (2) *Uygur Architecture*.

## CHAPTER 4.

### DISCUSSION ON CONTEMPORARY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE IN ISTANBUL'S HISTORICAL PENINSULA

The meaning of education is affected by the period it is in. Our primary duty is to make the conditions of the period we live in meaningful for our children's present and future. On the other hand, our main responsibility is the renewal and transformation of our civilization claim that we built on our cultural codes (*2023 Eğitim Vizyonu*, 2018).

This thesis's main discussion focuses on conservative modernization, a continuing process of social development with its simultaneous attempts: (1) to accelerate the process of modernization and (2) to refashion bounds with the tradition. As the MEB pointed out, two simultaneous attempts are defined when ending the 2023 Education Vision (2018). While contemporaneity is the one referred to by "the period we live in", "the renewal and transformation of our civilization" is the another which makes education vision conservative modern. Although they are defined under different names, i.e., "the duty" and "the responsibility", this simultaneity in the same field creates a new hybrid understanding, or it could be read as the reflection of the already hybrid ideology: "a modernity that does not exclude tradition, a universality that accepts locality, a rationality that does not deny meaning, a non-fundamentalist change" (Bora, 2018: 406).

Whether the formula of "one nation, one flag, one motherland, one state" (*tcdd.gov.tr*, 2017) homogenized this ideology or not, there is a similar approach in

the medium of architecture under the name of making new national architecture. Considering this social process under a continuing negotiation, this thesis aims to seek ambiguities over the intersection of two mediums: school architecture. On the one hand, education is one of the most suitable mediums to read this continuing negotiation since different ideologies have been discussed most over educational institutions and policies throughout the history of modernization (Akşit & Coşkun, 2004: 396). On the other hand, the architecture of public buildings offers the opportunity to enter the domain of images when the influence of politics on architecture is high. Yet another, as Balamir pointed out, school buildings in Turkey describe the periods' profile in a shortcut (*TSMD Educational Buildings Series 1*, 2016).

Considering the multiple actors in building public schools of Turkey, *Istanbul Project Coordination Unit (IPCU)* is one of the very newest institutions established in the continuing conservative power period. Although its specific character, i.e., being an institution only for Istanbul, can be regarded as a limitation in reading the period overall, this thesis aims not only to describe the period's profile but also to read conservative modernization with the changing dynamics. For this reason, the city of Istanbul and the institution *IPCU*, with their global-local betweenness, present the most current dynamics of all kinds. In terms of architecture, *IPCU* has not only broken the regular practice of prototype projects in building schools in Turkey, but also its portfolio of reconstructed school projects represents a wide diversity of architectural languages. In light of all these, the methodology was formed as reading the school architecture, i.e., space of education as architectural space and the reflection of ideological discourse.

To elaborate the debate within more than 300 reconstructed public schools in 39 different districts of Istanbul, the selection of the case studies required a criterion. Considering conservative modernization with the attempts towards finding a balance between modernity and tradition, the Historical Peninsula was decided for the context-based analysis. Because its prominent Ottoman heritage and thus in the target of the Ottoman ideal provide the opportunity to read historicism and traditionalism. Besides, the architectural expectation is similar to the two

simultaneous attempts mentioned above. Fatih's plan notes ask for traditional and contemporary altogether in the designs of new buildings (2016: 35).

Upon this framework, this chapter will discuss all the information examined so far. It will focus on the context with cultural-political and environmental aspects. Cultural-political aspects mostly refer to the ideological discourse, while environmental ones refer to the physical characters of the built environment. Afterward, educational spaces will be analyzed as architectural spaces and reflections of ideological discourse. Here the ideological discourse is reflected in two stages: from ideological discourse to the education system and from the education system to the architectural sphere. Since the classroom is the main educational space in the Turkish education system, they are called classroom and non-classroom. Finally, the façades of public schools will be read, which gives the most evidence towards conservative modernization. Thus, and considering the concern for representation, reading the façades is considered relevant to the representation of conservative modernization.

#### **4.1. Reading the Context with Cultural-Political and Environmental Aspects**

As discussed in the history of Turkey's modernization, the first searches for national architecture appear in the early Republic period when a modern nation-state was built. It was followed by international style, architectural pluralism, and then the involvement of commodity aesthetics into architecture due to the perfection of liberalism and the rise of globalization. In the period of ANAP, a pro-active liberal-conservative attitude has already appeared and paved the way for a new architecture by questioning international modernism (Bora, 2018: 405). In the early years of the XXI century, this search for a new architecture has also coincided with a new understanding, the combination of conservatism and neoliberalism. Inevitably, the new style had to create new references or reveal existing ones.

From one side, conservative power attempted to reject the modernist architecture adopted in the radical process of modernization. Because there was somehow prohibition of conservatism, including the first years of the AKP power. Therefore, "interventions mainly seek to challenge and displace secularist constructions" (Çınar, 2005: 31). On the other side, it praised exactly what had been for long criticized by

the latter, namely the Ottoman past. Not only Ottoman with its glorious history but also its ancestor Seljuk which holds the first stage of Turkishness's journey with Islam, were selected as the references (Bora, 2018: 363). Since Ottoman revivalism has already taken place in the late Ottoman and early Republic periods, these periods' buildings were recognized as referential examples for the new style. Besides, the aim was the same for the building in the early Republic period, i.e., making a (new) national architecture. Although the buildings referred to for the new style present different architectural styles, it could be clearly read that the intention was the re-revival of Ottoman architecture (Figure 2.6). However, due to the need to blend them with contemporary techniques and materials, revealing the existing ones was exceeded, which gave rise to new references. From another point of view, heterogeneous references have formed due to the reactionary policies of conservative power.

As the new style's first experience, new prototype projects were prepared with a different sense of aesthetics. The reactionary policy to modernist architecture was carried out by the replacement of "cold, gray and monotype school buildings" with "aesthetic, colorful, towered Ottoman architecture" (Şenol, 2005). These new prototypes were materialized upon the schools built in the scope of the renewed agreement EFKAP (Figure 2.7). A contemporary interpretation of Ottoman revivalism has generally reflected architectural design as symmetrical and U-shaped plans, façade organizations with double-height porticos, pointed arches imitated with architraves and stucco reliefs, and the porticos displayed reinforced concrete columns and false arches (Batuman, 2018: 159). Although the Strategic Plan of the MEB for 2010-2014 refers to the Anatolian civilizations, with the understanding of "from the tradition to the future" (n.d.: 168), these buildings were called "Ottoman-Seljuk." Whereas there is no such period that is being together simultaneously, but both leading Turkification of Islam, contemporary interpretation has created a new heterogenic synergy. While "the Great Seljuk sultanate based in Iran, Iraq, and Central Asia (c. 1040–1194); the Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia (c. 1081–1308)" (Peacock and Yildiz as cited in Batuman, 2018: 161), Ottoman Empire had a 700-year imperial history presenting a variety of architectural styles for such a long period. Therefore, the reference depending on such an "extended and heterogeneous historical period" (Ibid) has led to inconsistency from its very beginning. With

straightforward formula and budget constraints (Ibid: 159), the style has started to be visible just over façades and revealed the political concern on the representation, not the architectural aspect.

Since the period when the new national architectural discourse was at its peak coincided with the early period of ISMEP, some projects within the scope of ISMEP were also reconstructed with prototype projects reflecting this style (Figure 2.8). Although *IPCU*, as the project management office of ISMEP, didn't request the architects in terms of style (Elgin, personal communication, 2020, January 20), they formed with the school administration's demand. This demand derived from the fact that new style has "became a trend swinging between ideology and fashion" (Ayaz Calap as cited in Batuman, 2018: 162). However, it was labeled as kitsch by professional organizations. Their façades were especially described as more beautiful than the abstract ones by part of society (Ibid). The new school buildings built during the period reveal that not only this new national style attempted but also the conventional practice continued. Here, the contract of *IPCU* revised in 2010 created a third path: a special project for each public school. In fact, prototypes were not allowed anyway in the Historic Peninsula since it is a protected area. Thus, although the change in the contract doesn't seem to affect the selected district because the design parameter remains the same, it has changed the architect's perspective on ISMEP buildings. According to Yücel, after the change, the space for architect's interpretation has increased with the increase in cost and duration (personal communication, 2019, June 13). From these points of view, the projects designed by *Uygur Architecture* prove to be an exception since, from the very beginning, they were conceived as special projects instead of prototypes.

Along with cultural-political aspects, it is also necessary to examine its environmental dimensions with the built environment. As mentioned previously, Istanbul's Historic Peninsula forms the old city and stands out with its Ottoman heritage. Therefore, it could be defined as an archive to find or revive architectural elements for this particular style. However, except for monumental structures and historical artifacts, there is a few buildings remained. Most buildings in the neighborhoods of public schools are reinforced concrete buildings built to meet the need as much as possible with less concern for style. It dates back to the change in

the 1960s-70s when the wealthy residents of the historical neighborhoods were replaced with poorer citizens (Zeren & Dinçer as cited in Akkar Ercan, 2020: 74). As an exception, despite made of reinforced concrete buildings, the built environment of Ahmet Rasim High School reminds traditional Turkish house with their use of architectural elements such as *cumba* in different forms, elements under their pitched roof, window sizes and frames, etc. They lead to having a dynamism through both sides of the street, and long mass of new school building seems to resemble them in its façade with *cumba*, similar use of elements under its pitched roof, breakings on its façade, and material changes (Figure 4.1). Besides, there are Islamic sepulchral monuments across the street of Ahmet Rasim High School. Similarly, in Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School, there is the historical Harbi Mosque next to the school building (Figure 4.2).

Differently, the two schools are close to buildings designed with the new national architecture called Ottoman-Seljuk. Firstly, Neslişah Imam-hatip Secondary School neighbors the building of Fatih District Governorship. Its building is similar to the AKP headquarters building, where both are white-clad, have arches and elements to frame the façade. As Batuman pointed out, this interpretation represents a post-national neo-classical style, which derives from Turkish construction companies' global activities in the post-Soviet geography (2018: 155). The second one, İskenderpaşa Primary School, neighbors the Historia shopping mall, opened in 2008. Although the building given the sense of a public building is a half private and half public shopping mall. While searching for national style over a shopping mall is an interesting case, it could derive from the concern of adaptation with the old, which is seen in historical environments (Figure 4.3). Besides, it is essential to note the characteristics of the built environments as dense and tight. Problems have reflected on public schools as very small schoolyards and school buildings consisting of almost just classes. While the common complaint that reconstructed schools have less space for school gardens is based on this, there are also demands for increased capacity to meet the need.



Figure 4. 1. Schools with their built environment<sup>52</sup>. Top-down: (1) İskenderpaşa Primary School, (2) Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School, (3) Ahmet Rasim High School.

<sup>52</sup> Source: Photography by the author, 2020.



Figure 4. 2. Schools next to the historical artifacts<sup>53</sup>. Top-down: (1) Ahmet Rasim High School and (2) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School.



Figure 4. 3. Built environment with new national architecture<sup>54</sup>. From left to right: (1) Fatih District Governorship, and (2) Historia shopping mall.

<sup>53</sup> Source: Photography by the author, 2020.

<sup>54</sup> Source: (1) (<http://fatih.meb.gov.tr/www/fatih-ilce-milli-egitim-mudurlugu-yeni-hizmet-binasina-tasindi/icerik/441>) (2) (<https://www.fatihhaber.com/fatihhaber/historiasatildi.htm>)

It seems necessary to frame better the continuous reference to Fatih with the practices of conservative power: abstracting tangible identities and including them into national identity. It has been materialized with naming the investments taking place in the XXI century with particular people having significance in different periods of history. There is no restriction on application fields, from naming the bridges to the projects, but their common ground is their relations with developmentalism or technological modernization. In this sense, the discussion is related to the global understanding of conservative modernization, which doesn't belong to Turkey alone. Naming the old city with the name of the commander who conquered Istanbul and naming a historical mosque with Fatih's name are normal attempts towards his memory. However, the naming of the project, which is about using technology in schools with Fatih's name, could be given as an example of related policy. Renaming two of the twelve schools with the July 15 coup attempt's martyrs is the same, but it belongs to recent history. On the contrary, this naming makes sense since they belong to contemporary history and create a concern to eternalize their names.

To read the change in the understanding of modernization, the comparison between old and new school buildings is required. While most were constructed in 1950-83, just two were constructed in the early Republican period (1939-40). To remind, due to the concern to increase literacy in a short time, prototype projects for schools were prepared and sent by the Education Board in the early Republican period. According to the dynamics of the period, particular architectural elements were also implemented in Ottoman revivalism and then modern architecture. The architecture of these two schools represents modern architecture principles deriving from their use of mass, window sizes, etc. (Table 3.5 & 3.11). On the contrary, there was pluralism in architectural styles in 1950-83, but it was not seen in the period's school buildings. Despite the historical environment, there was also no reference to the traditional, local, or national deriving from “the search for the universal rather than the national” (Tekeli, 2005: 20) in the cultural-political context. The search for national architecture was already left behind with architectural modernism and followed by international style for the following period. Of the rest ten schools, Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School could be counted as the exception giving the

sense of traditional at the least with its small scale and the material used on the façade (Table 3.8).

When the date came to the 2000s, based on earthquake safety problems, all these school buildings were decided for their reconstruction within the scope of ISMEP. Contrary to the period of old school buildings, the agenda had a different cultural-political context with the search for a new national style. Moreover, *IPCU*, as the responsible institution, has presented all local, national, and global dynamics, thanks to its structure. Last but not least, it is essential to address the further emphasis on local dynamics affecting the design of ISMEP schools in the Historical Peninsula, the old city of Istanbul. The strict plan notes and the related protection board's approval could be given as legal responses, while a dense and tight built environment could be shown from physical limitations.

#### **4.2. Reading Space of Education: Classrooms and Non-classrooms**

In the context mentioned above and with the effect of all these dynamics, 12 public schools have been rebuilt in the Historic Peninsula since 2010. As three different architects or consultants participated in the design and reconstruction process, three different architectural interpretations were formed. About the architectural firms, it should be noted that all of them have Ankara-based offices, except *Studio Altieri*, the Italian architecture firm, which is at the concept stage of certain schools. Moreover, they are neither conservative modern nor pioneering architects in the search for new styles, yet they all worked to design a contemporary school for a historical environment that demands traditional and modern together.

The first architectural interpretation belongs to *Uygur Architecture* with two different consultancies: *Eptisa-Dolsar-Uygur* and *Koltek-Uygur*. The project named 44 schools in Istanbul was implemented in the scope of the first consultancy. Although there was a prototype project in the contracts, the firm has designed special projects since the beginning. Because they believe that not doing the prototype projects indicates the importance given to the children (Uygur, personal communication, 2019, May 20). The importance given to the social space could be shown as another essential policy affecting their architectural practice. According to Uygur, all spaces

of a school are educational spaces where classrooms provide formal learning, and social spaces provide learning behavior patterns (Ibid):

In our projects, we act with the thought that education should take place not only in a closed classroom with a teacher-board-desk but in all places of the school. Therefore, we believe that all spaces should be considered educational spaces. Designs in this direction should provide social spaces that allow children to socialize and learn from each other or their teachers. Because the school itself, with its indoor and outdoor areas, can be a social space, expanding the learning about this life. Education and training are not just about learning the formal information in the lesson. For example, learning behavior patterns takes place in social spaces.

The placement of semi-open and close social spaces as much as possible with necessary administrative rooms and service spaces rather than classrooms on the ground floor could be shown as a reflection of their policy on architecture. If the school serves pre-school education, its classrooms are located on the ground floor with a separate entrance and, if possible, enriched with a small separate playground from the main schoolyard. Apart from the only design of the high school, the other three schools have such an arrangement. In high school, there is the inevitable placement of classes starting from the ground floor. However, the required separation from the main entrance and social spaces around is provided by a breaking, which derives from the site's shape. Besides, in the schools of *Uygur Architecture*, there is always a design of colonnaded semi-open space for the entrance, providing not only an emphasis to the entrance but also links the schoolyard (open social space) with the main hall (closed social space). In this way, the hierarchy between social spaces from open to closed one is provided.

The atrium's design could be evaluated in the scope of social spaces too, where its social aspect on the ground floor is also strengthened with next to the placement of other social facilities such as the canteen. The triangular atrium of Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School could be shown as an example, and its architectural effect is enriched by the natural light provided from triangular skylights. Design of atrium enables the placement of classes, laboratories, administrative units, etc., one-sided while their corridors or windows are looking at the void provided by the atrium. A similar interpretation is seen as the placement of staircases next to gallery space in the other three school projects. In this way, both-sided placed classes, laboratories,

administrative units, etc., in the first and subsequent floors of the building, are opening to wide corridors (Figure 4.4).

The use of structural material (exposed concrete) without coating is another common design policy applied in school designs of *Uygur Architecture*. To lead students to encolor them by their works and prevent whitewash maintenance, exposed concrete is preferred for walls with separative colorful panels of classrooms in the interior. The same policy is also seen in the school designs of Hertzberger as the interior design unfinished to lead users to appropriate the space with their identity (Voordt & Wegen, 2005: 33). Therefore, it could be referred to as practice toward modernization in school architecture. However, interior walls, columns, and balustrades were painted in the example of Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School. While the addition of colorful paints affected the atmosphere created by the architect deeply, it also disappoints the idea of no maintenance cost for the whitewash. This intervention shows that the general perception of colorful school may sometimes not be broken. While there is no such intervention in the example of Uzun Yusuf Secondary School, two ongoing school projects will have the same implementation (Figure 4.5).

The second architectural interpretation belongs to *Cumhur Gürel Architecture* in the consultancy of *Prokon*. It mainly derives from the need for a specialist to design for historical environments such as the district of Fatih, Üsküdar, and Heybeliada (island) or schools in protected areas (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11). Therefore, the architectural firm collaborated with the architect Tuba Yücel from *Prokon*, who is also indicated as the architect of particular schools in the ISMEP school catalog (Ibid). As the policy of both *Prokon* and *Cumhur Gürel Architecture*, the importance given to the social spaces has been implemented as much as possible in Istanbul's limited sites (Yücel, personal communication, 2019, June 13; Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11). It has reflected on school buildings in the form of gallery spaces, large corridors, gathering areas in the corners of the floors, and stairs following each other rather than stairwell (Ibid). In the example of Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School, the site enables to have L shaped building. In this way, classes are placed one-sided in thinner wing with their corridors having schoolyard views via large windows. On the contrary, the thicker

wing has an atrium in the middle with the skylight above, so classes on both sides are open to the atrium. Differently, there is an inner courtyard in the middle providing open space and enriching the whole building's lighting in the Çapa Atatürk Secondary School. However, due to its narrow site, there is no use of the atrium or courtyard in İskenderpaşa Primary School but still providing social spaces in different forms (Figure 4.6).

The third interpretation belongs to *Studio Altieri* and *Vista Architecture* in the consultancy of *Studio Altieri-Svei- Han Technical*. Although Italian firm *Studio Altieri* produced the main architectural design, *Vista Project* was employed due to the need for the license project for the municipality and the drawings of application details (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). According to Baran Gökgöz from *Vista Architecture*, they continued with the building scheme already designed by *Studio Altieri*, and they presented these projects with their new façades created under the guidance of the municipality (Ibid). Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School is the only exception in five schools of the Historical Peninsula because *Vista Project* redesigned its plan as the school site was decreased afterward (Ibid). As the policy of *Studio Altieri* in school designs, they adopt a contemporary concept for both plans and façades. In plan-making, two schools have the arrangement of service spaces (restrooms and fire-staircases) in the middle, while classrooms are placed on the sides to provide their natural lighting<sup>55</sup>. As an exception, Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School has an atrium with a skylight and green area in the middle of its building. However, it has intervened in the construction stage by school administration and turned into the corridor by breaking the ground floor walls. Since there is no revision made for the first and subsequent floors, they stayed walled, and their windows are opening to a close space again (Figure 4.7).

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<sup>55</sup> In addition to all, the design of *Studio Altieri* about natural ventilation with the use of a grill and chimney system deserves to be mentioned. In the classes of schools designed in *Studio Altieri-Svei- Han Technical* consultancy, there are aluminum grilles on the system of window joinery (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). However, since having a grill isn't enough to get air, there is a chimney getting the air inside and creating negative pressure (Ibid). The chimney system has a gutter directing the air getting from this volume to the main chimney on the upper floor. Thanks to the continuous chimney effect, classrooms are ventilated continuously by the airflow (Ibid). There is also the application of insulation materials inside chimneys for possible noise due to the airflow (Ibid).



Figure 4.4. Space analysis over ground floor plans of *Uygur*<sup>56</sup>. Top-down: (1) Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School, (2) Uzun Yusuf Secondary School.

<sup>56</sup> Source: *Uygur Architecture*.

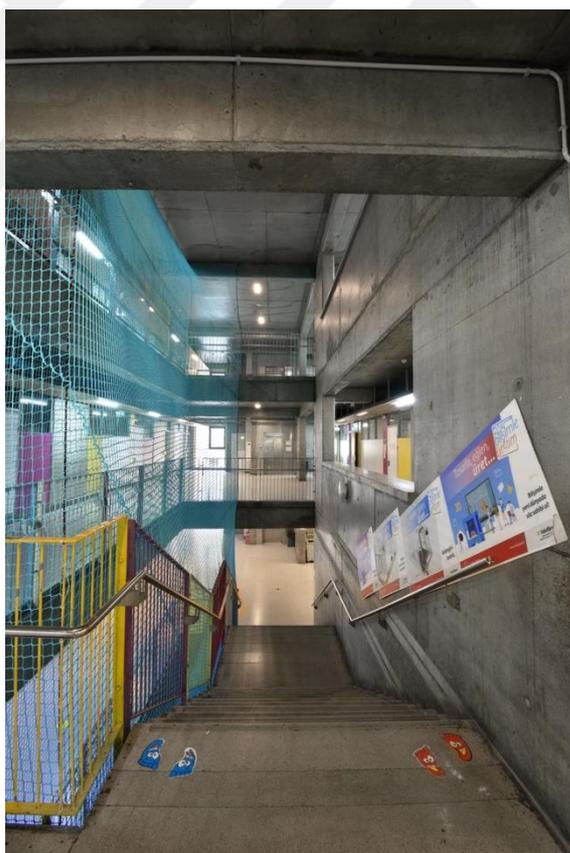


Figure 4. 5. Exposed concrete with and without intervention<sup>57</sup>. Top-down: (1) Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School and (2) Uzun Yusuf Secondary School.

<sup>57</sup> Source: Photography (1) by the author, 2020 and (2) by *IPCU*, 2020.



Figure 4. 6. Space analysis over ground floor plans of *Cumhur Gürel*<sup>58</sup>. Top-down: (1) Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School and (2) Çapa Atatürk Secondary School.

<sup>58</sup> Source: *Prokon and Studio Alteri*.

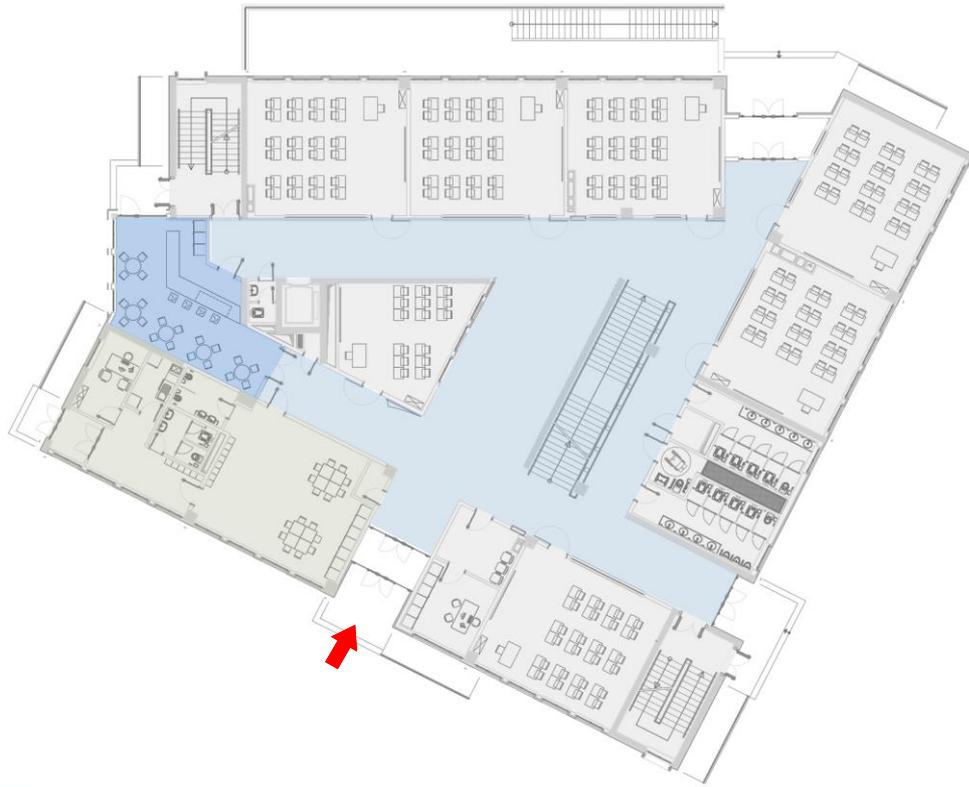
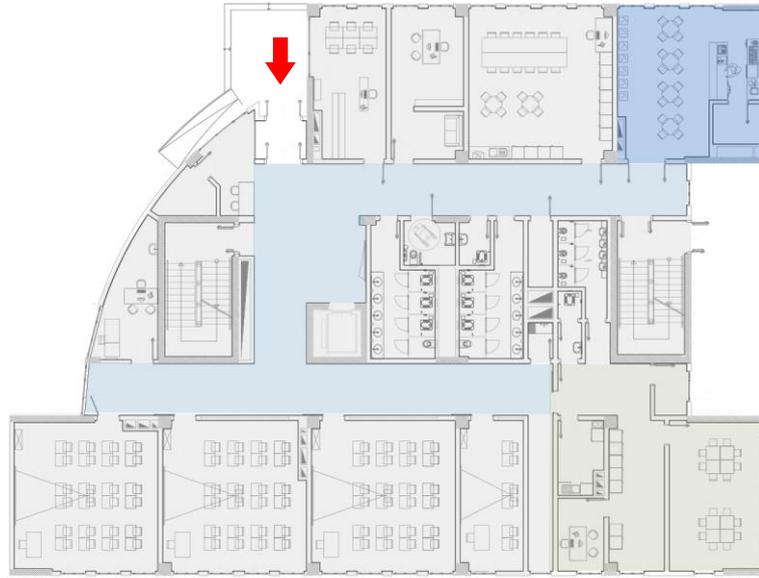


Figure 4. 7. Space analysis over ground floor plans of *Studio Altieri-Vista*<sup>59</sup>. Top-down: (1) Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School and (2) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School.

<sup>59</sup> Source: *Studio Altieri and Koltek*.

About the reading of plans, the placement of service spaces, especially restrooms, is recognized as problematic since their doors are opening in the middle of the corridors. There are also particular complaints about their placement, and due to the pandemic of the period, they don't know how to establish control when the schools start their education. When compared with schools of *Uygur* and *Cumhur Gürel*, there is less close social space designed. It could depend on the idea of having a larger schoolyard, i.e., open social space. However, it could be supported by the transitional spaces as in examples of *Uygur Architecture*. Despite less common space, there is also no more extra width given to the corridors in particular schools, for instance, Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School. However, Neslişah Imam-hatip Secondary School could be marked as the largest school, and it provides larger corridors than others with semi-open space in the front façade. As an exception, the plan of Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School is designed by *Vista Architecture*, and it is the smallest school within all schools in the Historical Peninsula; therefore, it requires a separate reading. There is an efficient use of space in plan making, while its exterior is also differentiated from the others. The policy of *Vista Architecture* in school designs is to provide not only a (class)room for learning but also spaces where students could gain their own experience (Ibid). However, deriving from the limited site, they couldn't create relational spaces as they wanted to, but only to meet the requirement (Ibid). For instance, their project of MEV Bornova Educational Campus in İzmir enables the opening directly to the outside and create such relational spaces with the use of pivot windows, classrooms, workshops, sports hall, etc. (Ibid).

Non-classroom spaces or social spaces in public schools could be related to modernization in school architecture, especially the space of learning. With the recognition of learning as an experience, learning outside the classroom has appeared as a new educational policy. It has reflected on school architecture as the reconsideration of non-classroom spaces which “allow children to roam further from the traditional classroom” (Chiles, 2015: 28). While it dates back to the 1960s in the international debate, MEB's contemporary publications also support the idea. In this regard, *Uygur's* interpretation of freedom spaces where students learn from each other could be given as an example ([uygurmimarlik.com.tr](http://uygurmimarlik.com.tr), 2016). It also reminds Hertzberger's interpretation of the school, an environment offering various social

behaviors (2008: 133). Atriums, amphitheater-like stairs, spaces for the display in different corners of school buildings, the use of corridors not only for circulation but also in the form of learning street could be given as other architectural elements reflecting the same approach. Despite no such direct reference to Hertzberger by two other architects, their school buildings present a similar understanding of social spaces. While there is the design of amphitheater-like stairs next to stairs for circulation in the limited site of İskenderpaşa Primary School, large corridors and their next to placement to the windows creates sitting corners for the users as in the examples of Secondary Schools of Çapa Atatürk and Neslişah Imam-Hatip. There are multiple uses of spaces from the suspended ceiling to the stair riser for the display spaces. The classrooms' interior and exterior walls, the windows above the class separators, corner windows in the corridors, corridor's height and width could be given to the other spaces used for exhibition, particularly students' works and awards. Besides, thanks to the multi-use of these spaces, they also remind the discussion on flexibility. According to Kemp, large multi-purpose spaces with a central atrium and the multifunctional staircase provide possible solutions to flexibility in school buildings (2015: 76-78). Therefore, considering the design of non-classroom spaces, it is possible to state that there are more or less efforts towards modernization in reconstructed public schools in the Historical Peninsula (Figure 4.8).

Of all the architectural spaces, the design of the atrium in the public school requires further discussion, taking into account the users' experience. During the site visit, different reactions to the atrium were observed by the school administration and teachers. The first is that the atrium space could be given to the schoolyard so that students would have an open space to play (Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School). It is based on the most common complaint about decreased space for schoolyards after reconstructed school buildings. Actually, the main problem derives from the demand for increased capacity in reconstructed school buildings. The second one is that the school administration questions its function and couldn't know what to do with such a space. It mainly derives from the inexperience of such space previously and the desire of specifying it. In the example of Çapa Atatürk Secondary School, together with the complaint about decreased space for schoolyards, the open atrium in the middle of the building makes the school administration worried about its openness in

a possible water leak because there is the placement of a conference room underneath. Although it has already enriched the school's lighting as much as possible, and the spaces around it are used for the exhibition, its determinant function is still questioned.

In the example of Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School, the atrium designed with skylight and green area underneath has intervened by the school administration in the construction stage and turned into a corridor by breaking the walls of the ground floor. However, since there is no revision made for the first and subsequent floors, they stayed walled; thus, their windows are opening to a close space again. Contrary to these examples, satisfying use of atrium is observed in the example of Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School. The thicker wing of L shaped building has a wide atrium in the middle with a wide skylight above, enabling a social space and enriching the whole building's lighting. The atrium works almost like a closed schoolyard from the photographs since different social activities are happening. The use of space for a speech, taking a photograph, hanging their posters, celebrating, etc., enables the consultancy firm to obtain its goal about social space (Figure 4.9). Besides, it is essential to note a common intervention for the atriums in the primary schools: nets are hanging to the side where corridors or stairs are looking at the void. While it weakens the atrium's effect, it is a precaution about safety issues in case of any fall. According to Yücel, even though the child won't fall out, the image is scary for a child at the age of primary school (personal communication, 2019, June 13). Although it leads to reconsider atrium design in primary schools, the atrium has still worked as a social space for school activities despite nets.

Multi-purpose halls in public schools could be attributed to modernization in school architecture since they refer to the space of learning as a non-classroom and social space. Considering small schoolyards, these halls strengthen the social aspect of schools to a substantial extent. Besides, they refer to the flexibility that could be counted as a subtopic for modernization, since various activities could take place from the use of sports halls to the use as a community center. Through public schools reconstructed in the scope of ISMEP, almost all have designed with a multi-purpose hall except the ones where the school administration insists on a conference room instead (Ibid). Most schools in the Historical Peninsula have both, especially in their

basement floors with natural lighting and ventilation. Therefore, they could be described as architecturally more qualified spaces than those with no access to natural lighting and ventilation (Figure 4.10). To conclude non-classroom spaces, the vision of *IPCU* also deserves to be mentioned. While they aim not only to build earthquake-resistant school buildings but also to make them “schools of the future” with consideration of “the maximum of modern education” (Elgin, personal communication, 2020, January 20).

For classrooms as the most used and required space in the Turkish education system, they resemble each other with their rectangular and unarticulated form, space arrangement with double school desks, size because they are designed to serve a specified number of students (Figure 4.11). Differently, some classrooms in *Cumhur Gürel* and *Uygur*’s designs have broken the standard in their form. In all three schools of *Cumhur Gürel*, particular classrooms in the first and subsequent floors have *cumba* in the middle of their exterior wall. While it seems strange at first and leads to questioning its presence, according to the architect, it doesn’t derive only from its traditional effect on the façade (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11). As a source of inspiration, he refers to Üsküdar Çamlıca Girls High School where Ahmet Ratip Pasha Mansion designed by Architect Kemalettin (1870-1927) in a neo-classical style, is used as a school building since 1938 (Ibid). Considering the architect’s experience in the music class, *cumba* in class gives the sense of having a class in the house’s living room (Ibid). In contemporary use, while it serves social uses such as sitting corner, exhibition area, according to the architect, breaks the standard rectangular classroom, gives dynamism to space, and provides an enlightened space for breathing in school-recess (Ibid). On the contrary, exploded volumes in two schools of *Uygur* serve for desk placement.

Class orientation with its effect on the school hall in Kocamustafapaşa Imam-hatip High School designed by *Uygur* deserves to be mentioned. Because it reminds the principle of shifting classrooms, which is inherited from Aldo van Eyck and used by Herzberger, i.e., Montessori School in Delft (Hertzberger, 1998: 62), this principle leads to “the evolution from corridor to school hall” (Hertzberger, 2008: 166) and then evolve the hall as “the communal living room” of the school (Hertzberger, 1998: 62). It is just like the city’s relations where each house is opened its threshold

space at first, then to its street, and finally to the main square (Ibid; (Hertzberger, 2000: 8). In *Uygur*'s design, a kind of hierarchy within the school hall and threshold spaces for particular classes is readable despite the larger scale. It is also possible to read the school hall's hierarchical spaces as soft and thicker thresholds for several classrooms' common use. Whether they only derive from the most efficient use of the site with setbacks or not, *Uygur*'s reference to Hertzberger as an inspirational architect strengthens the connection (Figure 4.12).

Despite particular shifts in class form, there is an ideological unity on class models in the form of teacher-student-board. It obviously derives from the implementation of the same education system. However, when considered, they refer to traditional classroom-based education and resemble the first schools in industrialism. The places of teacher-student-board are mostly determinate and oriented, considering permanent visibility. Although there are exceptions such as science labs, music classes, sports halls, etc., most lessons are still held in these classes. Therefore, just like “the fortress-like school buildings, children had no business to be out of doors except in the 15-minute break” (Ibid: 58). Nevertheless, efforts to expand learning out of class walls and the entire building represent a possible restoration idea for education and schools. The importance given to the social space, the change from corridor to learning street, the increase in the number of non-classroom spaces could be shown practices towards the ideology of restoration of conservative modernization. However, as Hertzberger pointed out, in the long run, “new forms of learning will require new spatial conditions” (2008: 8).

When considered the origin of the school movement, there was also an ideological unity on the model, aiming to create the type of person who “could be transformed by a system within the regulatory power of a machine” (Markus, 1993: 42). It is still possible to mention regulatory power but not of the machine. In the contemporary agenda, it is evaluated so that it won't transform the type of person. Considering the education vision of 2023 and contemporary rhetoric on technology and artificial intelligence by the MEB, the type of person aimed is the one who could manage their regulatory power. For the reflection of these policies on schools, classes for robotic coding could be given as the newest practice. There are also computer labs, smart boards next to classical boards in classes, and projections on ceilings. However, they

are older examples, dating back before the 2010s. These classes for robotic coding were made after the reconstruction with special funds, i.e., not in the scope of ISMEP. While the one in Çapa Atatürk Secondary School has placed as an addition to the school hall, the one in Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School has used existing space designed for a class. For the rest of the technological requirements, architects interviewed on ISMEP schools have recognized them as the infrastructure, not architectural space. When considering the impact of technology on education and school architecture, computers' involvement enables not just learning outside the classroom but also outside the school building. Especially, thanks to the pandemic of the period, the extreme scenario that is the disappearance of physical school and its replacement by virtual schools has already been realized to some extent in the form of home-school (Sanoff, 2015: vi-viii). The technology eliminates architectural space and creates new digital spaces for itself, which could be why architects recognize it as infrastructure. However, technology itself changes particular forms and functions and inevitably affecting architectural space.

To conclude, reading educational spaces of 12 school buildings, it is essential to emphasize a few points. At first, reading interior space as ideological discourse mostly refers education system not changing dynamics on the political agenda. Despite comprehensive changes since the 2000s, the main space of learning is still held on the class model of teacher-student-board. Although new spaces of learning are defined, they couldn't take the major space of learning. It refers to the restoration ideology of conservative understanding of the education system. Creating secondary spaces and equipping spaces with technology requirements could be shown as particular practices towards it. Compared with alternative education systems in the modernization of school architecture, Turkey's contemporary education system remains traditional. Therefore, it is difficult to refer to a state of modernity that aims to be disciplined in the education system. On the contrary, there are efforts to modernize the traditional way of learning over the medium of architecture. Besides, reading interior space as architectural space reveals modernization much more than the school consisting of rows of rectangular classrooms and long corridors.

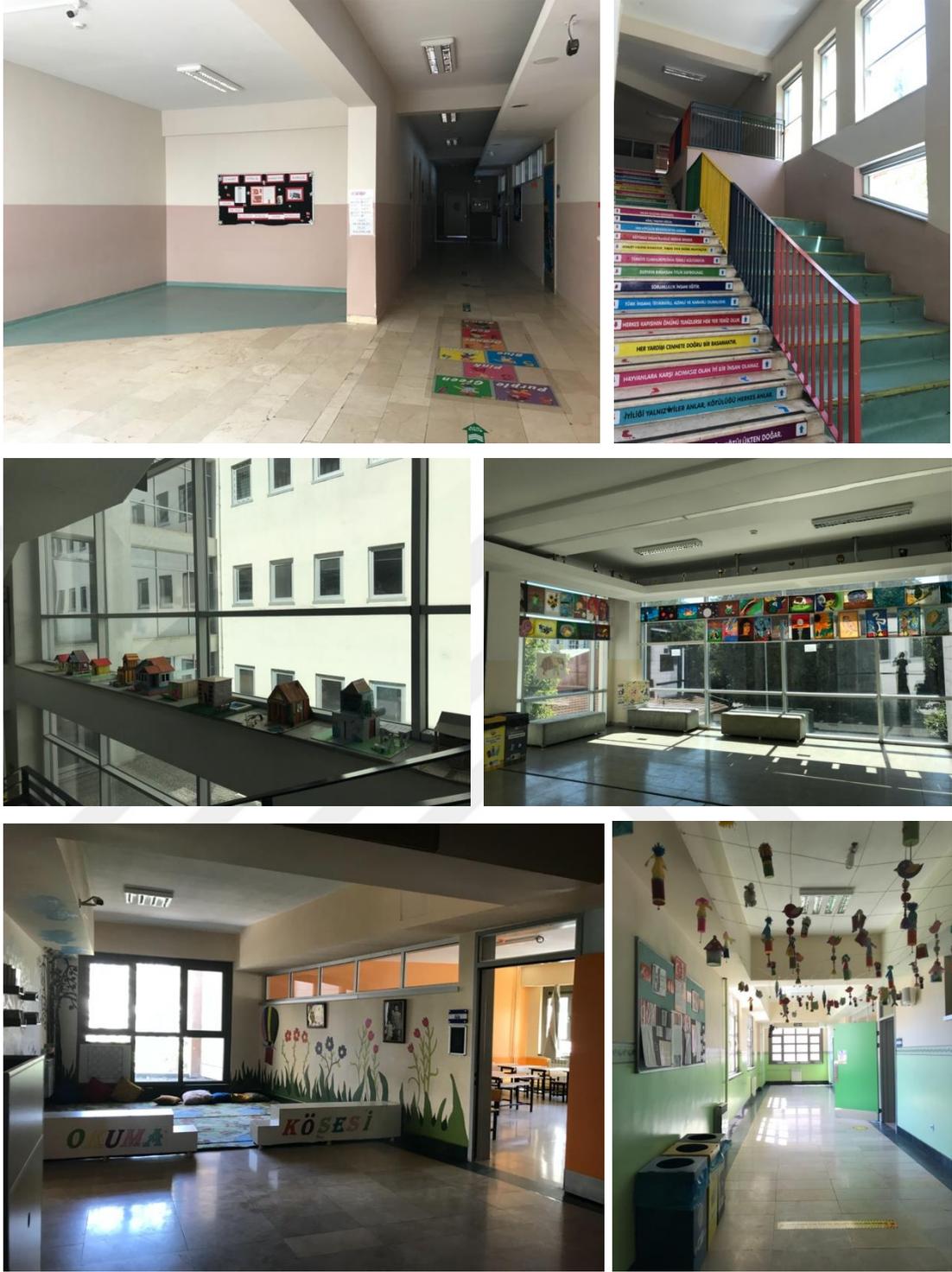


Figure 4. 8. Non-classroom spaces or social spaces in public schools<sup>60</sup>. Top-down: (1) İskenderpaşa Secondary School by *Cumhur Gürel*, (2) Çapa Atatürk Secondary School by *Cumhur Gürel*, (3) Neslişah İmam-hatip Secondary School and Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürl Primary School by *Studio Altieri-Vista*.

<sup>60</sup> Source: Photography by the author, 2020.



Figure 4. 9. Use of atrium<sup>61</sup>. Top-down. From left to right. First line: (1) Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School by *Uygur*, (2) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School by *Studio Altieri-Vista*. Second line: (3) (4) Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School by *Cumhur Gürel*.

<sup>61</sup> Source: (1) (2) Photography by the author, 2020  
 (3) (4) (<http://ahmetrasimanadolulisesi.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>)



Figure 4. 10. Multi-purpose halls<sup>62</sup>. Top-down: (1) Şehit Vedat Kara Primary School by *Uygur* (2) Sancaktar Hayrettin Secondary School by *Studio Altieri-Vista*, (3) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School by *Studio Altieri-Vista*.

<sup>62</sup> Source: Photography by the author, 2020.

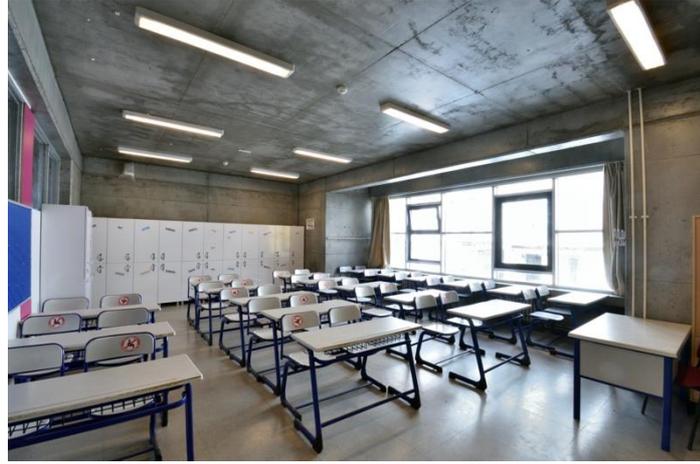


Figure 4. 11. Classrooms<sup>63</sup>. Top-down: (1) Uzun Yusuf Secondary School by *Uygur Architecture*, (2) İskenderpaşa Primary School by *Cumhur Gürel Architecture*, (3) Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School designed by *Vista Architecture*.

<sup>63</sup> Source: Photography (1) by *IPCU*, 2020, (2) and (3) by the author, 2020.



Figure 4. 12. Reading the principle of shifting classrooms over (1) Montessori School, Delft and (2) Kocamustafapaşa Imam-hatip Secondary School, Istanbul.<sup>64</sup>

### 4.3. Reading the Façades: Representation of Conservative Modernization

When reading spaces of education, the relationship between architectural spaces and the education system was powerful. The ideological discourse was shaping the education system, and then the education system was shaping its architecture. However, when reading the façade, a more direct relationship appears between ideological discourse and architecture. The (ideological) demand via plan notes for any public building, including schools, and architects' design perspective could be

<sup>64</sup> Source: (1) (<https://architectureandeducation.org/2016/02/03/interview-with-herman-hertzberger/>) and (2) *Uygur Architecture*.

shown as its architectural responses. As the title suggests, the façades are quite suitable for reading the representational concern of contemporary understanding, framed under conservative modernization. Nevertheless, three different architectural interpretations were formed for the façades with the participation of three different consultancy or architectural firms.

The first interpretation belongs to *Uygur Architecture* with their 4 public schools in the Historical Peninsula. While the reconstruction of two was already ended, the other ones are continuing. Starting from the roofs, there are two types of pitched roofs apart from the Şehit Vedat Kara Elementary School's flat roof. In Uzun Yusuf and Kocamustafapaşa schools, the roof is divided into several parallel pitched roofs with the same width, while the roof of Aksaray Mahmudiye has a more conventional design. As the roof material, the eaves show themselves with the main construction material, reinforced concrete. Still, it is covered with ceiling tiles due to legal obligations stated in plan notes of Fatih. This detail on the eaves may refer that the construction material is also used in the interior as it is.

About façades, the first two schools have almost the same use of materials and forms: clinker brick and aluminum claddings are used in different volumes of the buildings (Table 3.1 & 3.2). In the classrooms' lighting, while ribbon windows with colorful sunshades could be read as contemporary elements, they can also be read as traditional elements since they remind the traditional window with their frames. Several other types of windows are used in service areas and at the end of corridors, but their use is less than ribbon windows. In the combination of window types and materials, aluminum is used under these ribbon windows. Actually, both clinker brick and aluminum are contemporary materials, but clinker brick gives a more traditional sense than aluminum because of its color. Therefore, this combination could point to a possible purpose to balance the traditional sense of the window frames with more contemporary looking materials. While only clinker brick is used in the other two schools under construction, but the same material is used together with its two different colors in one of them. While Aksaray Mahmudiye Secondary School still has ribbon windows, Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-hatip High School offers an unexpected window type, which is not seen in any other example of *Uygur* (Table 3.11 & 3.12). French-like windows remind traditional windows with

their size, width, and narrow placement repetitively. In the same school, there is also such use of exploded volumes resembling *cumba*. Thanks to site setback distances, the same sized volumes of classes on the south elevation are exploded in a stepped way. Accordingly, this school gives the traditional sense most compared with the other *Uygur*'s schools.

The second interpretation belongs to *Cumhur Gürel Architecture* in the consultancy of *Prokon*. As mentioned previously, there is the functional and intentional use of *cumba* in the interior, while its effect in the exterior is also desired: providing façade movements which generally doesn't have much, to a public school (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11). According to the architect, they tried to mobilize the façade with *cumba* and make it in a modern way (Ibid). As their general policy on façades, he refers to their intention of designing the ground floor in a modern way and trying to provide a smooth transition towards traditional upper floors (Ibid). This traditional sense provided by *cumba* seems to be empowered with the use of other architectural elements: wooden cladding as façade material, traditional sized windows oriented in a repetitive rhythm for the lighting of classes, pitched roofs with ceiling tiles above and plastered eaves underneath it. As secondary façade materials, straw-paint and stone cladding are used in different volumes of buildings, while horizontal windows with wooden sunshades are used for service areas. Besides, in Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School, there is side by side use of curtain wall in the entrance and traditional sized windows representing a kind of combination of traditional and contemporary (Table 3.3, 3.4 & 3.5).

The third interpretation belongs to *Studio Altieri* and *Vista Architecture* in the consultancy of *Studio Altieri-Svei-Han Technical*. Although in the first place, the main architectural designs were produced by *Studio Altieri* with options, *Vista Project* was employed afterward for the license projects and the drawings of application details (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). Continuing with the ready-made building schemes, *Vista* presented these projects with their new facades (Ibid). While the options designed by *Studio Alteri* don't refer to the traditional, *Vista* has referred to it by using different materials of different thicknesses on the façades (Figure 4.13). While plastered eaves of the pitched roof, elements connecting the roof with eaves, and thin linear elements made of plaster for

framing could be shown as attempts towards traditional sense by the use of materials, traditional sized windows and their placement in a repetitive rhythm could be marked as architectural elements referring to the traditional. Also, these materials used under the windows as stone covering on the ground floor and wood covering on the second floor provide a kind of continuity and at the same time give the feeling of a French window. According to Baran Gökgöz from *Vista Architecture*, these are refined versions of the municipality's request (Ibid). The municipality exemplifies the style and façade concept through any firm's precast concrete production catalog, which shows neo-classical elements such as columns' decorative use on building façades (Ibid). With reference to this catalog and their own perspectives, alternative facades were created, presented, and then the selected façade was applied (Ibid).

The user experience of these façades is about colorlessness, which is seen as insufficient for a school building. For example, there are interventions observed in Şehit Yunus Emre Ezer Primary School by adding colorful figures and pictures to both the inner and outer walls. As an exception, the façade of Şehit Fikret Metin Öztürk Primary School differs with the use of framed windows and different tones of straw-paint but also resemble the rest with the use of similar elements. Furthermore, it is essential to mention wooden screens, corresponding to the windows placed at the end of corridors in *Vista*'s two schools. Their patterns remind Ottoman-Seljuk and refer to "the breakthrough of conservative art" (Artun; Oral, 2017: 239). While they give a sense of monumentality from the exterior, there is a different sense of scale in the interior deriving from each floor's divided space (Figure 4.14).

Considering architectural design as a whole, the effect formed in the interior and the exterior of some schools creates a dilemma. While it is possible to read traditionalism from their façade, almost nothing is traditional inside. Although it is due to the main design parameter, which is to design a traditional façade with contemporary functions but not a design demand which fully refers to traditional, it could be expected to have their reflection felt inside to some extent. It is also seen in *Uygur* and *Vista* schools, but the most surprising works are works designed by *Cumhur Gürel*. Because they give an intimate traditional sense with *cumba*. Besides, an unexpected architectural richness is encountered, especially when entering the Çapa Atatürk Secondary School and Ahmet Rasim Anatolian High School. While an

open atrium in the middle of the building and the skylight above stair enlightens the school hall with corner windows in Çapa Atatürk, there is the use of atriums in both the entrance and the thicker wing with the skylight above it in Ahmet Rasim (Figure 4.15).

In the continuing *Uygur*'s school, Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-Hatip High School, there is a combination of structural material as it is in interior and exploded volumes resembling *cumba* with the materials and window forms. There is a monumentality felt on *Vista*'s schools' exterior but no similar effect in the interior. Considering *Cumhur Gürel* and *Vista*'s employments, the expectation that the project should not return from the council results in architects to interpret traditional architectural elements on façades with their efforts of not directly imitating. Regardless of whether the balance has been reached, the real problem lies in the uncertainty of what the traditional is. When considered, what is traditional may be the spatial movements in the buildings of the referenced period. Schools, madrasahs, and even schools in the last Ottoman period can be described as traditional because they were transformed from madrasas with courtyards in the middle (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11)

In the interpretation of the traditional on the school facades, both *Cumhur Gürel* and *Vista* refer to Sedat Hakkı Eldem, whose architectural interpretation is inspired (Ibid; Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). In the designs of Cumhur Gürel, there is also an indirect effect of Architect Kemalettin via his designed building Ahmet Ratip Pasha Mansion. Both Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Architect Kemalettin were prominent architects in making national architecture in the early Republican period. When compared, the effect of Sedat Hakkı Eldem comes to the forefront since its interpretation is seen as more refined and formal (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11). According to Eldem's text written in 1939, the style created with the material is regional, not national (2007: 259). With his recognition of the architectural movement of the period as nationalism instead of increased internationalism in the global arena, he believed in the necessity of national (and local) architecture appropriate for the country's people, workers, and space (climate and materials) (Ibid: 263-265).

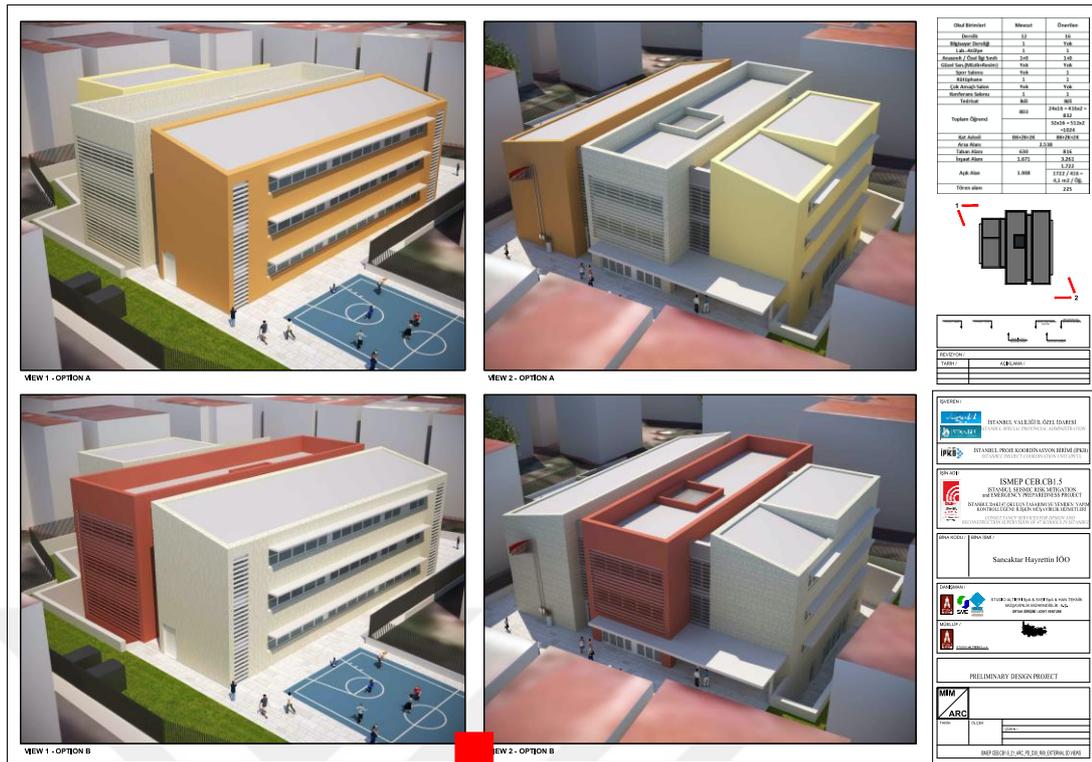


Figure 4. 13. Options designed by *Studio Altieri* and new façades designed by *Vista Architecture*<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Source: *Studio Altieri*.

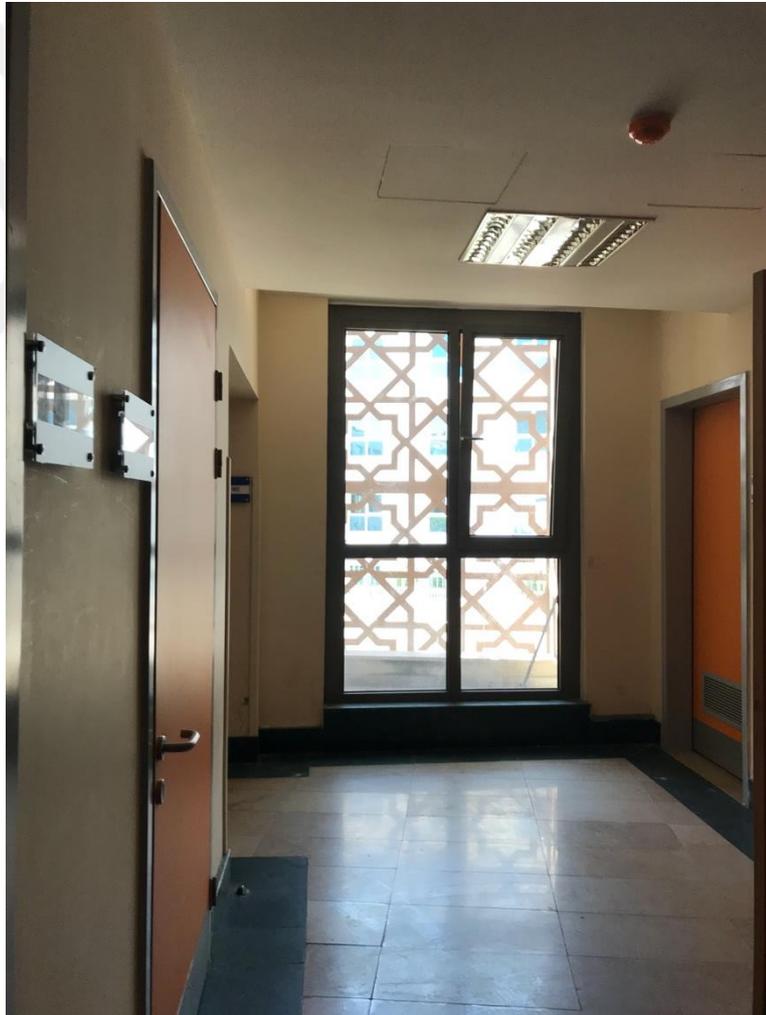


Figure 4. 14. Façade elements and wooden screens referring to the traditional and Ottoman-Seljuk architecture and the screen from the interior <sup>66</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Source: Photography by the author, 2020.



Figure 4. 15. The inspiration vs. the design<sup>67</sup>. Top-down: (1) Üsküdar Çamlıca Girls High School (2) Exterior views and (3) Interior views of schools designed by Cumhuriyet Gürel Architecture.

<sup>67</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.fotokart.shop/blog/camlıca-kiz-lisesi/>) (2) (3) Photography by the author, 2020.

On the contrary, Architect Kemalettin could be defined as “an eclecticist... a particular example of a particular kind of eclecticism... a historian who tries to make the fragments of a dissolving formation holistic and familiar” (Tanju, 2009). According to Tanju, efforts to resist liquefaction of particular values ironically speed their dissolution, where these efforts lead to the formation of fragments reassembling in a way that they have never been together before (Ibid). While his constant rule is to obey the nature of the material, his way of building could be described as experimental leading hybrid formations (Ibid). Although it reminds the Ottoman-Seljuk style with its hybrid formations in today’s world where everything is rapidly liquefying, it is not his eclecticism but rather a free eclecticism or old eclectic contemporary eclecticism. In other words, due to the reference to the revival, new hybrid formations are derived from architectural experiments on old hybrids, which are essentially not local or national ones. While old hybrids already have many contradictions and conflicts, new ones inevitably have much more with contemporary needs to the architectural program.

When considered the desire to re-establish the representation of the lost illusion, its reflection does not necessarily have a form to take but should have a feeling to give. If the initial feeling is quite intense, this may decrease over time with overdose representation. If the feeling given is quite intense initially, this could decrease in time by overdose representation. This also explains the shift from Ottoman-Seljuk to local architecture under the same roof of new national architecture. Moreover, lots of historical references enable a sort of free selection and ease the formation of the new style. When considered, hybrid ideologies formed the conservative understanding, and inevitably their reflections were hybrid to some extent. Of these, the reflection of nostalgic desire can be read through the Turkish house already reconceptualized nationally. The inclusion of the Ottoman period dwelling type in the national area, which is found in various places from Istanbul to the Balkans, dates back to the early Republican period (Bertram, 2008: 21). Sedat Hakkı Eldem could be defined as the pioneer of this revival because he documented the Turkish house’s typologies for the first time, then used and repositioned them as a resource for a national style (Ibid: 202). Since therefore, “the visual lines between domestic and public forms” (Ibid: 205) have begun to blur. Due to the search for a new national architecture in the

contemporary agenda, the signifier of the Turkish house has reappeared not just as a national nostalgia but also as a “global signifier” with the works of conservative power abroad (Batuman, 2021). Certainly, the Turkish house is most likely a national signifier than being global in the case of public schools in the Historical Peninsula, if the global dynamics of ISMEP and the aim of making Istanbul a global city are discounted. Although the Turkish house is used regardless of the building type (Bozdoğan cited in Bertram, 2008: 2), if the reference is accepted as an expression of an ideal future, its relationship with educational structures may differ. Considering the present concerns on education and youth, and also *IPCU*'s vision, which is not only building safe schools against earthquakes but designing schools for the future (Elgin, personal communication, 2020, January 20), an ideal image of a school building may appear. When considered the message as to “remind young people of where their roots are, reinforces a sense of belonging” (Care, 2015: 55), it could be attributed to the idea of sustainability with socio-cultural dimensions and the longstanding idea of *genius loci*.

The use of *cumba* in public schools, one of the most important architectural forms of the Turkish house, can be given as an example. Except for *Uygur*'s three public schools, it is hard to recognize whether exploded volumes are designed in reference to *cumba* or not, but they lead resemblance. However, *Uygur*'s only exception appears as stepped placement of the same sized *cumba* like volumes in Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian High School. In the examples of *Cumhur Gürel*, its use is more direct with their repetitive placements of traditional sized *cumba* at intervals. Although this repetitiveness is sometimes broken with a curtain wall, different sized and scaled windows and materials, its direct message remains. For this reason, regardless of being successful or not, there is the use of traditional forms, at least recognized as inspiration, in the designs of *Uygur* and *Cumhur Gürel*. However, *Vista*'s works have no use of such forms, including *cumba*, and all the traditionality is tried to be given through the materials and frames made of materials. Furthermore, pitched roof with eaves, traditional sized windows, wood and stone façade materials could be given other architectural elements referring to Turkish house.

To remind, although the destruction of Turkish houses was by fire, they were also “no longer suited to... lifestyle needs of a growing and modernizing nation”

(Bertram, 2008: 3). For ISMEP schools in Historical Peninsula, the solution was found in the adaptation: “physically reworking in respect to the current conditions, and visually performing in respect to the historical texture” (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 53). This could be elaborated over the watch metaphor by Belge. According to him, there are old pocket watches, which are still present in collectors from the Ottoman period (2003: 98). In these collectors, both the *alafranga* and *alaturka* watches work and stand side by side, and they are like the symbol of Ottoman modernization (Ibid). On the other hand, the Republic eliminates one of them, usually by forbidding the *alaturka* one (Ibid). Considering the adaptation in conservative understanding, it is possible to introduce a 3rd kind of watch, looking like *alaturka* but working as *alafranga* as the symbol of conservative modernization in the XXI century Turkey. Bruce Lawrence renders such movements by fundamentalists as anti-modernist modern in which “they are modern because they accept the instrumental benefits of modernity” (As cited in Çınar, 2005: 10) while religion stays in the façade.

When considered, all these schools were built after 2010, and this coincides with the period when the same power was more authoritarian with increasing nationalist-conservative populism (Bora, 2018: 499). Although this leads to the expectation of increased authority as the reflection on architecture, a sort of refinement could be read with the façades of ISMEP schools. Certainly, the political environment isn't the only parameter; there are also effects of the institution, its external financing, the expectations of the local institution, etc. However, the decrease in the rhetoric of “Ottoman-Seljuk” and its continuing replacement with the local strengthens this relation. Still, all are gathered under the same roof and referred to as the continuation of national architecture.

Beyond the relationship between architecture and the more authoritarian political period, Turkey has presented a different understanding of disciplining and freedom on education since the very beginning. Even in the most intense period of modernization with radical attempts of the early Republican period, the idea of freedom has been excluded to some extent. Since then, there has been both progress and regression according to the changing dynamics discussed in Chapter 2. For now, considering the conservative power with the cultural cult of Abdulhamid II

constructed since the 1950s (Bora, 2018: 363), the discussion of disciplining and freedom could be related to the ideal person to be raised in both periods. While “the type of person he (Abdulhamid II) tried to train was one who was committed to the sultan with religious ties but one who was a ‘man of science’” (Alkan, 2010: 315-316), on the contrary, Erdogan delivers contemporary rhetoric about raising religious youth in the 21st century Turkey. Although the rhetoric has revealed over Imam-hatip schools, there is a general dissatisfaction about the education system's performance in terms of cultural transformation (Alpaydın, 2018: 6). It leads to interpret them as conservative modernists of their own period where both with their modernizer side, turn towards the past and their ancestors to legitimize their rule (Özlü, 2018). On the contrary to the period of Abdulhamid II, the efforts are now towards to integration of traditional into the contemporary system.

Not just in the field of education but in general, Abdulhamid II is an important reference to form the contemporary ideology of conservative power. Contemporary intent as re-achieving the old power of the empire with the form of the Republic of Turkey could be attributed to the intent of the period of Abdulhamid II. The change from the parliamentary system to the presidential government with the referendum in April 2017 could promote this relation since it increases disciplining in the political arena. Considering the increase in school buildings as another common practice of both periods, it could be interesting to compare schools constructed in the period of Abdulhamid II with the schools constructed in the scope of EFIKAP with their motto of “from the tradition to the future” and also with reconstructed schools in the scope of ISMEP. For example, Valluary has formed an oriental eclecticism with historical form and the employment of Ottoman-Islamic elements on façade. In EFIKAP schools, a kind of free eclecticism is evolved with the combination of many elements from different periods. In particular ISMEP schools in the Historical Peninsula, the contemporary revival of Turkish house could be observed with the employment of similar elements but in a more refined version (Figure 4.16). About their contexts, there was a continuity in terms of the traditional power of the empire, and newcomer modern identity has just reflected on the existing one. In 21<sup>st</sup> century Turkey, contemporary power has been searching for a new national identity considering “the tradition.” Although the tradition itself is under negotiation and relatively, and its reflection on architecture consists of ambiguities, traditional materials and techniques

have already been updated with contemporary ones as reinforced concrete, stone-cladding, and plaster.

In terms of freedom on education, Imam-hatip schools, as institutions encountered several closures and reopening from its establishment, could be given as an example. As mentioned previously, the last revision was made in 2013 with the change in the system from 8-years mandatory to 4+4+4 to lead the opening of secondary sections of Imam-hatips. Although secularism's formation as the religion under state control has shaped contemporary conservative ideology, these institutions also serve to the formation of conservatism under state control, which gained importance since the coup attempt on July 15. Through 12 reconstructed schools in the Historical Peninsula, only Imam-hatip, Neslişah Imam-Hatip Secondary School, represents the same architectural space with all, just differentiated with some wallpapers for their religious lessons. Additionally, there is a dining hall on the school building's ground floor, which is demanded for Imam-hatips in general. While foundations provide their management, there are also interventions in other schools to use spaces in the basement floor such as emergency shelter, multipurpose hall, etc., as the dining hall.

After Abdulhamid II, two names, the policies of Menderes and Özal, deserve to be mentioned since they were also shown as references in forming the ideology of conservative power. While contemporary power recognizes itself (also it has recognized by its voters) as the power which continues their efforts, the idea has also materialized with the motto of “men of the nation” in the campaigns for the general election of 2007 (Bora, 2018: 501). Considering not only ideological dimensions but also urban reflections, Menderes’s urban interventions could be labeled as the first wave and Özal as the initiator of the second wave for urban transformation. Accordingly, the current one is the third wave materialized in 21<sup>st</sup> century Turkey. To remind, a new understanding of modernization was institutionalized as technological and economic development in the period of Menderes. With the introduction of more liberal policies and modernity’s interpretation through American cities rather than European cities, a new urbanization model was formed with urban interventions in Istanbul. This new understanding has materialized in the historical city with the mottos of “beautifying Istanbul and glorifying its Ottoman past” (Akpınar, 2018: 56), and “it is time to conquer it again.” While the same

mottos are used by contemporary power to give the sense of their continuation, this particular understanding of modernization has partly continued altogether with technological and economic development.

Regarding the conservatism in the DP period, although certain reforms were initially made to meet the expectations of conservative people, conservatism remained undercurrent due to short-lived power. Thus, there was no time for a new national rhetoric, only the conservative understanding shaped by the introduction of liberal policies. On the contrary, the identity crisis of conservative understanding has come to the fore with the government for nearly 20 years. During the ANAP period, a proactive liberal, a conservative attitude was adopted as a progressive conservative, mostly shaped around Özal's leadership (Bora, 2018: 404). In the years between the 1980s-2000s, the country has become economically liberal but remained culturally nationalist and conservative (Tezel as cited in Yılmaz, 2005: 20; Bora, 2005: 594). For this reason, this understanding has paved the way for "liberation from the sterility and facelessness of international modernism" (Bozdoğan, 1997: 148) and the way for a reinvention of the forms of tradition (Bora, 2003: 447). Accordingly, contemporary new national architecture could be perceived as "an extension of the global and local gentrification attempts after 1980" (Peker, 2015: 18). The perfection of liberalism led to the aim of making Istanbul a global city with the involvement of more global dynamics. Together with the appearance of new consumer habits, they affected the architectural understanding of the period and led to the appearance of commodity aesthetics. For this reason, "architecture was reduced to decoration based on the play of appearances" (Korkmaz, 2005: 4). It also reveals global dynamics in the early period of the 21<sup>st</sup> century behind the search for the new national style over façades.

To conclude, it is essential to mention the discussion on urban regeneration for the developing country leading by neoliberalism's and globalization's policies and driving the construction and tourism sectors forward. This term can be briefly defined as practices to regenerate social relations for areas which have lost their urban functions (Candas, Flacke & Yomralioglu, 2016: 670). In the case of Turkey, it also "mirrors a shift towards neoliberal urban policies based on economic strategy-making" (Güzey, 2016: 40). Considering continuing expanded construction activity

where some are mega projects, regeneration spaces as the reflection of urban regeneration in architectural scale requires attention. Specifically, public schools reconstructed in the scope of ISMEP could be counted as regeneration spaces created under government control. However, considering the discussion on urban regeneration over the community, such as the studies focusing on Sulukule, Fener, Balat, and Kuzguncuk in Istanbul, where the society is transformed with gentrification, there is a different outcome in reconstructed public schools. While the project itself aims to increase schools' quality further for the public and tried to serve more people, it also contributes to the ideas of the global city and world brand.





Figure 4. 16. Oriental eclecticism, free eclecticism and Turkish house revivalism<sup>68</sup>.  
Top-down: (1) Mekteb-i Tıbbiyeyi Şahane in Istanbul, 1903, (2) IMKB Alpaslan Imam-hatip Secondary School in Ankara, 2011, (3) Topkapılı Mehmetbey Primary School in Istanbul, 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Source: (1) (<https://www.kadikoy.com/nerede/mekteb-i-tibbiye-i-sahane/>), (2) (<http://alpaslaniho.meb.k12.tr/tema/index.php>) and (3) Photography by the author, 2020.

## **CHAPTER 5.**

### **CONCLUSION**

The research started with the desire to read contemporary school architecture over special projects of ISMEP. Afterward, considering modernity's contemporary interpretation and the attempts towards making new national architecture, the discussion related school architecture to conservative modernization. Even though the topic was straightforward in the first place, its response became complex deriving from the dual methodology: reading space of education (1) as architectural space and (2) as the reflection of ideological discourse. Regarding the cultural-political context and modernity's significant impact on education and facilities, it would be insufficient to read educational spaces without entering into the ideological discourse. Throughout reading the history of modernization in Turkey, both continuities and changes have been observed in understanding and interpretation of modernity, where most of them enable its reading over the medium of school architecture. When modern understanding institutionalized in the late Ottoman period, education with its architectural spaces was one of the first fields (Kaliber, 2002: 107). In the XXI century Turkey, spaces of education have also become one of the first of (conservative) modernization (Batuman, 2018: 154).

In this rapidly globalizing world, conservative modernization, i.e., modernization while preserving traditions, has reappeared as a defense mechanism for many

countries. Turkey could be shown as one of them, not only experiencing itself but also serving a unique experience to the world, where Islamic values and norms are merged with liberal democracy, personal freedom, and culture (Atasoy as cited in Çınar, 2011: 537). This dates back to 2002, the election victory of conservative democrat AKP. Although in power since then, the ideological discourse, the concept of the nation, and relatively its reflection on the medium of architecture have been under negotiation. Throughout this period, thanks to being in power for the long run, the undercurrent character of conservatism has come to light with an identity crisis. As the reflection of this identity crisis and the desire to “making a new nation(-al)”, a new architectural style has presented with new prototype school projects in 2005.

This paper entered the domain of these projects not only for their analysis as architectural space and as the reflection of ideological discourse. Also, it aimed to compare them with the ones (re-)constructed in the previous period (2000-2010). According to Bora, there has been a more authoritarian period of the same power since 2010 with the increased nationalist-conservative populism (2018: 499). Although it led to the expectation of increased authority on architecture too, a sort of refinement on façades was read with the analysis of ISMEP schools. The decrease in Ottoman-Seljuk rhetoric and its replacement with local architecture strengthens this discussion. In other words, “traditionalist inventions in a reduced neoclassical style” (Dudek, 2000: xiii) have been evolving in itself with new (local) inventions. For sure, there was the effect of the district, Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula asking for traditional and contemporary altogether via plan notes, but there is also the employment of local architecture in government publications and last declaration of the AKP.

Whether Islamic or not, conservative modernization differs from modernization with its aim of refashioning bounds with the tradition. In Turkey’s case, the raw material of this tradition is the religion itself (Bora, 2018: 341). As a reflection on architecture, the question of that “how do these schools differ from modernization? What makes them conservative modern?” was elaborated in the discussion part. Staring with the education, the main space of learning is still held in traditional classrooms as teacher-student-board despite the definition of new learning spaces. For this reason, the contemporary education system in Turkey remains traditional,

and this is why there are such efforts to modernize their interior architectural design. On the contrary, there are efforts to engrave the “national” via Ottoman-Seljuk, local, traditional, etc. elements on façade designs. Certainly, the formation of the new hybrid style is continuing with (re-)invention and promotion of architectural elements. Nevertheless, these 12 public schools reconstructed in the scope of ISMEP in Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula demonstrate the latest samples with their deficiencies and improvements.

Considering the comparison of these 12 reconstructed public schools in themselves, certain architectural details deserve to be mentioned once more with a different point of view. To remind, none of these architectural firms, *Uygur Architecture*, *Cumhur Gürel Architecture* and *Prokon*, *Studio Altieri* and *Vista Architecture*, could be labeled as conservative modern. Still, they are producing in Turkey's conservative modern environment, asking for traditional and contemporary altogether. Starting with *Uygur Architecture*, they not only challenged the regular practice in public school buildings, which is prototype projects, with their way of special design but also led to its change in the contract (Uygur, personal communication, 2019, May 20):

First of all, we explained the problem so it could be accepted, why we are doing this, why we want to do this, and what our goal is. Stating that prototype projects devalue students, the school's image and space in every sense, we said that each child is special, his/her space is special, and for this, each one must be done separately. Besides, we mentioned that the maintenance costs, which the state will spend on the type of building we will build, will be minimized. Everyone waited anxiously until the first construction started and that first school opened. But then everyone saw that it could be done. This is a chance; it was our employer who understood us. Since someone else did not go to them with such a goal before, they assumed they would do so until 2010. When we explained our problem and understood, they removed the prototype project from the contract. Right now, everyone is making projects special to the field.

To trace architectural characteristics, none of these 12 reconstructed schools has a traditionality reflected on its interior. Distinctively, the interiors designed by *Uygurs* are near to brutalist architecture with the exposed concrete without coating and open placed infrastructure, i.e., electricity cables and lighting apparatus, without any second layer. Still, the exterior gives clues about such interior design like eaves presenting itself with their construction material despite its ceiling tiles above or

semi-open colonnaded entrance with their exposed concrete material. While these details could be named as resistant points, they could also be called conservative modern in their own way, in such a context. Apart from these, frames of ribbon windows reminding traditional windows, façade materials, and pitched roofs give a traditional sense to some extent.

In schools designed by *Cumhur Gürel Architecture* and *Prokon*, the dilemma between the exterior and interior requires to be referred once more. Actually, these schools seem to fulfill the expectation of "reworked according to the current conditions and visually according to the historical texture" (*ISMEP Guidebook 1*, 2014: 53). The intimate traditional sense provided by *cumba* is challenged when meeting with an unexpected architectural richness provided by skylights, atriums, and large social spaces in the interior. For this reason, they present latent ambiguity of conservative modernization at a considerable level and lead to questioning the main design parameter: design a traditional façade with contemporary functions. As the architect stated (Gürel, personal communication, 2020, August 11):

When we say traditional, we leave it in the façade. However, here's the main design parameter is not to design a traditional building but to design a traditional façade. I would like to design the best school that the field and investment allow. The first design criterion in my mind is not whether the façade is compatible, but the first design criterion is the plan and the interior. Actually, it is necessary to consider both together.

Schools designed by *Studio Altieri* and *Vista Architecture* also bring forward the same question. Furthermore, the comparison between the options designed by *Studio Altieri* and new façades designed by *Vista Architecture* demonstrates a possible shift from modernization to conservative modernization in school architecture. Unlikely *Uygur* and *Cumhur Gürel Architectures*, the traditional sense in the works of *Vista Architecture* is provided by using different materials of different thicknesses on the façades, not by architectural forms. Still, they are not only refined versions of the municipality's request but also refined versions of the earliest examples of the new national style (Gökgöz, personal communication, 2020, August 12). Here, it is also essential to refer to the ambiguity or unconsciousness about the new style existing all over the country (Ibid):

There is an aspect called Seljuk architecture, where it is actually pointed and the content of which are unknown. When we went to Fatih Municipality to

discuss these projects, they said to us: we have a style here, we have a façade concept, and we will ask you to comply with this... The answer to what do you mean when the municipality asked for a classical façade was that they showed a precast concrete manufacturing catalog of any company, not just any design catalog. Nothing consciously came to us from the municipality that would direct the structure of the entire Peninsula. Therefore, this dilemma exists all over the country; it also includes educational structures.

Considering the selection of case studies from ISMEP and Istanbul's Historical Peninsula, it is essential to refer to the institution as between global and local. As the director of *IPCU* stated, (Elgin, personal communication, January 20, 2020):

We work with very large international funders on a global scale. These include the World Bank, the European Investment Bank, the Council of Europe Development Bank, the Islamic Development Bank, the German Development Bank, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. We have secured a total budget of approximately 2.3 billion Euros... Working with international funders has difficult aspects, but I think it has more advantages. Because we can access the knowledge in the world, the knowledge on the comparison of our country with many countries, and if there is something good in the world in this regard, it is easier to access. These give us an advantage. Their contribution to us in terms of both vision, quality, and project management is undeniable.

Here, it is essential to relate the production of *IPCU* with the debate between global and local. Öncü proposes the adjective of glocalized (global-local) when he refers to global production of the locality over the music culture (1999: 96, 112).

Accordingly, "globalization produces rather than erases the local" (Hall as cited in Öncü, 1999: 308), contrary to theories on cultural imperialism. A similar interpretation is seen in Robertson's glocalization, introduced to "make very explicit the 'heterogenising' aspects of globalization" (2012: 191). Accordingly, "much of the promotion of locality is in fact done 'from above'" and "expressed in terms of a generalized recipe of locality" (Ibid: 192). It corresponds to the invention and promotion of the new style in Turkey, where a generalized recipe of locality has been presented in the name of nationality. As Robertson used, translocal could be an appropriate adjective to describe ISMEP's global reconstruction of locality in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula.

Regarding this study's limitations, in the first place, I need to address the literature's deficiency about school architecture in Turkey. After the early Republic period, there is a limited number of studies, and most are concerning about their numbers. For this

reason, the periods of 1950-1980 and 1980-2000 have been presented with any other education-related buildings. Afterward, there is a deficiency in the literature about this new national style, especially its continuing process. Since this national style has been publicized as the only style, gathered under the same roof, and referred to as the continuation of the same style, it seems to have a general and quick decision on it by professionals too. Although the earliest examples were labeled as kitsch by professional organizations (Batuman, 2018: 159), there is a considerable level of change in its implementation, as seen in these 12 reconstructed schools, and they deserve to be worked on. These 12 schools selected over more than 300 reconstructed public schools just in Istanbul, and in the scope of ISMEP could reveal it to some extent so it could be labeled as a limitation. As the architect from *Prokon Engineering* stated (Yücel, personal communication, 2019, June 13):

The people working in *IPCU* have a broad perspective; they are open to innovations. I can say that *IPCU* is the most open-minded institution in the public sector because they are doing business with foreign money, and also the inspection is from abroad. With exceptions, they look positively to most things. They set out with a prototype project because the Ministry of National Education does this, and the buildings are renewed against earthquakes. There may be an earthquake tomorrow, so they consider how many schools we can renew in a short time.

In the XXI century, considering the unprecedented level of investments in Turkey's school building, many public schools were (re-)constructed by any other institutions in any other contexts. All these have the potential to be sources for future works. From all, Imam-hatips with the increase in their number since the 2000s thus relatively increase in demand and criticisms to these schools could be investigated from many points, including their architecture. In this study, there were two Imam-hatips, Neslişah Imam-Hatip Secondary School by *Studio Altieri* and *Vista Architecture*, and Kocamustafapaşa Anatolian Imam-Hatip High School by *Uygur Architecture*. About their architectural characteristics, they have almost the same architectural characteristics as other schools. The exception was Imam-hatip designed by *Uygurs* with its different window type, not ribbon windows, and exploded volumes in a stepped way resembling *cumba*. Whether it derives from the type of school as an Imam-hatip or just from the site conditions, it gives the traditional sense most compared with other schools of *Uygurs*. To remember, there was a visible recommendation in the representation of Imam-hatip schools with new

national architecture in the 2016 Project Catalogue prepared by the Department of Construction and Real Estate. Therefore, this relation has the potential for elaboration in future work. Moreover, considering this thesis concern on the school building, it couldn't enter any other public and private building types. The same understanding could also be traced over them. Especially private ones could present the user's interpretation of this national style. Furthermore, it is possible to frame contemporary understanding with any other doctrines, i.e., neoliberalism, globalization, and trace them over the architecture.

To conclude, based on the discussion over 12 reconstructed public schools in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula, the restoration ideology of conservative modernization has reflected on the medium of architecture with the (re-)invention and promotion of architectural spaces and elements. Since the main parameters of ideological discourse and the education system are under negotiation, this paper searched for the ambiguities behind the process by entering the domain of architectural images. This study's main contribution is to expose the relations between the ideological discourse and the spaces of education by analyzing contemporary school architecture.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Interview with Architect Semra Uygur from *Uygur Architecture* on May 20, 2019

**N.L.:** Öncelikle eğitim yapıları ve onu şekillendiren eğitim sistemi arasındaki ilişki ile ilgili görüşlerinizi almak istiyorum. Sizce eğitim sistemi mekanı oluştururken, aynı zamanda tasarlanan mekanın sistem üzerinde etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

**S.U.:** Yapılar insanların davranışlarını olumlu-olumsuz etkiler. Dolayısıyla mekanın eğitime etkisi mutlaka vardır. Öncelikle, bizim anlayışımıza göre tip okul yapmamak çocuklara verilen özeni ifade ediyor. Karşılaştıkları ilk kamusal yapının kendilerine ait, özel ve onlar için düşünülmüş olması çocukların okula gitme oranını ve okulu sevme oranını artırıcı bir anlam kazandırıyor. Yine eğitim sistemimiz ve tip projelerden koparak söyleyecek olursak, okullardaki koridor etrafı sınıflarla çocukların iç mekanda hareket etme ve sosyalleşme imkanları indikleri merdiven dışında yoktur. Bizse projelerimizde eğitimin sadece öğretmen-tahta-sıra kapalı bir sınıfta değil, okulun bütün mekanlarında gerçekleşmesi gerektiği düşüncesiyle hareket ediyoruz. Dolayısıyla bütün mekanları eğitim mekanı olarak düşünüp, bu yöndeki tasarımların da çocukların sosyalleşmelerini, birbirlerinden veya öğretmenlerinden öğrenmelerine imkan tanıyan sosyal mekanları sağlamaları gerektiğine inanıyoruz. Çünkü okulun kendisinin, açık ve kapalı alanlarıyla beraber sosyal mekan olabilecek nitelikte olması bu hayata dair öğrenmeyi genişletir. Eğitim ve öğretim sadece dersteki formal bilgilerin öğrenilmesi ile olmuyor. Mesela davranış biçimlerinin öğrenilmesi sosyal mekanlarda olur. Ayrıca eğitim ve öğretim ışıksız ve aydınlık olmayan bir mekanda da olmaz. Bütün bunlarla beraber yapının kendisi de hayata dair bir şeyler anlatmalıdır, biz bunları yapmaya çalıştık.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de eğitim sistemindeki talim-terbiye eksenli anlayış, devlet okullarının tasarımlarında hiyerarşik bir düzen, denetimli koridorlar, sabit program elemanları ve monoton cephe düzenleri şeklinde mekana yansıyor. Bu durumu göz önüne alırsak geleneksel, didaktik bir eğitim sistemiyle eğitim verecek bir okulda modern, özgürleştirici mekanlar ne ölçüde nasıl tasarlanabilir?

**S.U.:** Çocukların kendilerini ifade edebilecekleri özgür alanlar yaratmaya çalışıyoruz. Sadece spor salonu veya çok amaçlı salonu ile değil, okulun kendisini bütünüyle böyle görüyoruz. Okulun iç mekanının da tümüyle sosyal iletişim aracı halinde bu öğrenmeyi destekleyici etkisinin olacağını düşünüyoruz.

**N.L.:** İyi tasarlanmış mekanlarda okuyan çocukların başka mekanlara da eleştirel bakacakları ve gelecekte daha iyisini talep edecekleri düşüncesi sizin okul tasarımlarında önemli bir faktör olmuş. Sizin okullarınızda bu amaç doğrultusunda tasarladığınız ortak iç veya dış mekanlarda sıra dışı durumlarla karşılaşıldı mı?

**S.U.:** Okulların kullanımına başladıktan sonra bizim bir araştırma yapma şansımız olmadı ama işverenlerin yaptırdığı araştırmalardan öğrencilerin okula gitme oranlarının arttığı ve sınavlarda daha başarılı oldukları bilgisini ediniyoruz. Ki bizim amacımız da bu anlamda ve bu yönde etkilerinin olmasıydı. Yine bizim bu okullarımızdan biri olan Ziya Paşa Okulunun da yer aldığı İTÜ’de yapılan bir Master tezi var. Bu araştırmada öğrencilerin boş zamanlarında ortak alanda toplandıkları, orada kümeleştikleri ve etkinlikler yaptıkları bir gözlem ile kayıt altına alınmış.

**N.L.:** İstanbul’da 44 okul projenizde diğer okullardan farklı olarak 3 adet İmam-hatip okulu veya lisesi bulunmakta. Bu okulların İmam-hatip olacağı yatırımcı tarafından tasarımın en başında belirtilmiş miydi? Belirtilenler için tasarımında göz önüne aldığınız farklı kriterler ya da parametreler oldu mu? İmam-hatipler konusunda yatırımcının talepleri değişkenlik gösterdi mi? (Mescit tasarımı, kız-erkek ayrı kat tasarımı vs.)

**S.U.:** Yaptığımız okulların içerisinde bir tanesi İmam-hatipti ama o ruhsat alamadığı için inşa edilmedi. Öteki okulların hiçbirisi İmam-hatip değildi sonradan dönüştürüldü. Biz başladığımızda ilköğretim 8 yıl kesintisizdi, inşaatların bir kısmını yaparken 4+4+4 oldu. O süreç içerisinde ortaokul olanların bir kısmı ortaokul İmam-hatip oldu, bir kısmı da ilkokuldu ve İmam-hatip olarak değiştirildi. Bu okullardan bir tanesi hariç bir değişiklik yapmadık, böyle bir talep de gelmedi. O bir tanesinde de talepleri üzerine mescit yeri önerdik ama onu tam olarak uyguladılar mı, bizim gösterdiğimiz gibi, bizim gösterdiğimiz yere yaptılar mı, bu bilgiye sahip değilim.

Yine İmam-hatip olduktan sonra sınıflardan birini mescit yapmışlar ama çok da doğru olmamış çünkü abdest alma yerleri yok.

**N.L.:** Peki tasarımın başında bunların İmam-hatip olacağını bilseydiniz daha farklı kriterleri ya da parametreleri göz önüne alır mıydınız?

**S.U.:** İmam-hatip olması nedeniyle farklı kriterler düşünmezdik. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının 2010 yılındaki İmam-hatipleri de içeren bir ihtiyaç programı var orada ne diyorsa onu yorumlayarak uyguladık. İmam-hatip okullarında diğer okullardan farklı olarak uygulama alanı olarak mescit yapılması gerekiyor. 2015 yılında başladığımız ikinci iş kapsamında edindiğimiz ihtiyaç programlarında ilkokul dahil bütün okullarda mescit istenen bir mekan olarak belirtiliyor.

**N.L.:** 2005'te dönemin Milli Eğitim Bakanı, bakanlığın okul mimarilerinde köklü değişime hazırlandığını duyurmuştu. Devlet okullarının da dahil olduğu kamu binalarını milli izler taşıyan modern mimariyle yapmayı devletin görevi olarak tanımladı. Devamında okulların tasarımında geleneksel, klasik ya da başka bir deyişle Osmanlı-Selçuklu adı altında yeni bir milli mimari tarz ortaya çıktı. Aynı zamanda modern mimari iddiaları da devam etti. Türkiye'de eğitim yapılarında süregelen bu ikilem hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

**S.U.:** Milli dediğimiz mimarinin unsurları neler ve bunu kim söylüyor? Zaten kendimiz bu ülkede okumuş, bu ülkenin eğitimini almış olan insanlar olarak bütün zamanımızı bu topraklarda geçirdiysek bunlar millidir. Burada önemli olan millilik, günün eğitim sistemine uygun olmasıdır. Güncel olarak yapılabileni, günün teknolojisine uygun olanı, yani bugünkü şartlarda yapılabilen neyse onu yapmaktır. Yoksa 18.yüzyılda bitmiş Osmanlı mimarisinin ve daha önceleri topraklarımızda yapılmış Selçuklu mimarisinin yapılma nedenleri ve elemanları, yapanların işçilikleri ile o zamanki zanaatkarlık var mı da bunu istiyorlar. O zamanki yapım süreçlerinin alacağı zaman ve bilgi başka bir bilgidir. Bu siyasi iradenin kendisini ve kendi siyasetini nakşedeceği bir zemin hazırlama düşüncesi veya amacıyla olabilir. Yoksa eğitim mekanlarında ve binalarda zamansız veya geçmişe dair bir şey aramak doğru değildir. Onun yerine bu yorumlamaları yapacak başka programlar yapmaları daha uygun olur.

**N.L.:** Açıklama yaparken Milli Eğitim Bakanı Cumhuriyet'in ilk döneminde yapılan eserleri, ikonik binaları örnek gösteriyor. Aslında hepsi birbirinden çok ayrı. Orada Opera binasını da gösteriyor, Ankara tren garını da gösteriyor. İkisi de çok farklı üsluplara sahip olduğu halde biz bunlar gibi yapacağız diyor.

**S.U.:** Onlar da önemli ve güzel binalar ancak oradakini bugün aynı şekilde yapma şansı zaten yok. Ayrıca bu binalar Türkiye'nin modernleşme sürecinde yapılmış çağdaş yapılar. Bugün de oralardan feyz alınarak ve eğitim sistemi ile kaynaştırarak yeni iyiler yapmak durumundayız.

**N.L.:** ISMEP okul kataloğunda Mimar Tuba Hanım'ın tarihi yapıların yanında yer alan iki projesinde tarihsel bir yaklaşım söz konusuydu. Biri İmam-hatip, diğeri normal ortaokuldu. Siz bu 44 okul tasarımında böyle bir durum ile karşılaştınız mı? Proje alanı tarihi yapılarının yanında olduğundan farklı bir mimari üslup talep edildi mi?

**S.U.:** Bizim yaptıklarımızın içinde de böyle örnekler var, özellikle bunlar Tarihi Yarımada ya da koruma bölgelerinde yer alan okullardı. Ve orada verilen katı kurallara, saçak, eğimli çatı, belirli pencere oranları gibi uyduklarımız var. Çünkü bunlar plan notlarında yer alıyor ve plan notlarında söylenenler uyulması gerekenlerdir. Önemli olan bugün içinde bulunduğumuz eğitim sistemini ve bizim eğitime bakışımızı, ki en önemli nokta odur, o yapının bulunduğu alana oradaki yapılaşma koşulları ile beraber aktarmaktır.

**N.L.:** 2015'te Serbest Mimar Dergisinde Aydan Balamir, İstanbul'da 44 okul projenizi incelediği yazısında böyle bir üslup sorunuyla yola çıkmadığınız halde, Anadolu'nun yapı geleneğini çağrıştıran yapı tektoniklerinin sizin bu projelerinizde görüldüğünü yazmıştı. Saçak, cumba, köşe çıkması, vurgulu pencere kayıtlarının ölçüsü ve ritmi gibi. Bu tasarımlar nasıl ortaya çıktı? Yatırımcının ya da belediyenin bu konuda bir talebi oldu mu?

**S.U.:** Bunlar tarihi çevrede yaptıklarımız ve Aydan Balamir de onlardan bahsediyor. Aslında bu bahsedilen yapı tektonikleri bütün okullarda var. Geleneksel yapı elemanlarının güncel teknikler ile yorumlanmasıdır.

**N.L.:** Gündemdeki bir diğer konu ise teknolojinin eğitimdeki yeri ile ilgili. Fatih Projesi kapsamında her okul için belli bir altyapı, her derslik için akıllı tahta, internet erişimi gibi hedefler var. Sizin İstanbul'da 44 okul projesinde bu çerçevede tasarladığınız bir okul oldu mu? İhtiyaç listesinde yer alan teknolojik gereksinimler, akıllı tahta gibi, tasarımınızı ve mekanları nasıl etkiledi?

**S.U.:** İstanbul'da hemen hemen bütün okullarda akıllı tahta var, biz onların altyapısını hazırlıyoruz. Yani sadece tesisatı etkiliyor, mimariyi etkilemiyor. O tahtaları söküp saklıyorlar, sonra yeniden koyuyorlar.

**N.L.:** Türkiye'de cumhuriyetle başlayan devlet okullarının tip proje üzerinden tasarımı aslında halen devam ediyor. Tek bir proje gibi ansak da aslında İstanbul'da 44 yerde 44 farklı proje ürettiniz. Şartnamede tip proje vardı ama siz bunu değiştirdiniz. Bu durumda IPKB'nin yani yatırımcının tutumu nasıl oldu?

**S.U.:** Öncelikle bunun kabul edilebilmesi için derdimizi anlattık, neden böyle yapıyoruz, niye bunu yapmak istiyoruz ve hedefimiz nedir diye. Tip projelerin öğrenciyi, okul imge ve mekanını her anlamda değersizleştirdiğini ifade ederek, her çocuk özeldir, alanı özeldir ve bunun için her birinin ayrı yapılması gerekli dedik. Ayrıca, yapacağımız yapı tipinde devletin harcayacağı işletim maliyetlerinin minimumlara ineceğinden bahsettik. İlk inşaata başlayıp o ilk okulun açılmasına kadar herkes endişe ile bekledi. Ama sonrasında herkes bunun yapılabileceğini gördü. Bu bir şanstır, bizi anlayan işverenimiz oldu. Onlara daha önce bir başkası böyle bir hedef ile gitmediği için onlar da 2010'a kadar böyle yapılacağını varsayarak devam ediyorlarmış. Biz derdimizi anlatıp anlaşılınca zaten sözleşme şartından tip projeyi kaldırdılar. Şu an herkes alana özgü proje yapıyor.

**N.L.:** Projelerinizde ihtiyaç programının dışına çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu esnekliğin ne gibi mekânsal karşılıkları oldu? Bu konuda yatırımcının yani IPKB'nin tutumu nasıldı?

**S.U.:** Evet, oldu. Örneğin Milli Eğitim'in ihtiyaç programlarında belirli alanlarda beden eğitimi salonları ve çok amaçlı salonlar ister. Okul arsası alanı ve arsanın topoğrafyası uygun ise beden eğitimi salonlarını nizami boyutlarda spor salonları

olarak çok amaçlı salonları da daha büyük olarak tasarladık. Eğitimi mahalleye yani bulunduğu alana yaymak ve etraftakilerin kullanımına teşvik edebilmek için çok amaçlı salonların, spor salonlarının dışarıdan kullanılmasına imkan sağlayacak tasarımlar yaptık. Bir de bu okulların gelirleri yok, bunların kullanımıyla okula bir gelir de sağlayabilirler. Mimarının nasıl olacağını kimse yazmaz, mimari, mimarın dünya görüşü ve yaptığı işe bakışıyla ilgilidir.

**N.L.:** IPKB direktörü Gökhan Bey, 2016 yılındaki TSMD'deki sempozyumda sizinle beraber tekrar çalışacaklarını söylemişti. Yakın gelecekte böyle bir çalışma olacak mı?

**S.U.:** İdaremiz İstanbul Valiliği İstanbul Proje Koordinasyon Birimi ile çok iyi bir iletişim kurduk, birbirimizi anladık ve şimdi 45 Kamu Yapısı adında yeni bir iş yapıyoruz. Bunların bir kısmının projeleri tamamlandı ve ihaleleri yapıldı. Bir kısmının inşaatı devam ediyor. İki okulun yapımı tamamlandı. Kalanların proje çalışmaları devam ediyor. İş yaparken birbirini anlamak, inanmak başarının anahtarıdır.

**N.L.:** Bunlar da yine aynı üslupta mı ve yine aynı müşavir firma olarak mı girdiniz?

**S.U.:** Evet, aynı üsluptalar. Cepheleri aynı değil tabii ki bazı değişiklikler yaptık, iç mekanlara renk kattık ama nitelik olarak aynılar. Bunu başka bir iş ortaklığı olarak yapıyoruz.

**N.L.:** Eğitim yapılarınızda fikirlerinden ya da tasarımlarından ilham aldığınız mimarlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu fikir ve ilhamlar İstanbul'da 44 okul projenizde ne gibi mekanlara, nasıl yansdı?

**S.U.:** Oldu tabii, birçok mimarın eğitim yapısına baktık ve hepsini araştırmaya gayret ettik. Oralardan da okuduklarımızdan da edindiğimiz bilgi öğrenmenin artık sınıf-öğretmen-derslik dışında da olmasının anlamlı bir eğitim sistemi olacağı şeklindeydi.

**N.L.:** Dünyadan verebileceğiniz isimler var mı?

**S.U.:** Herman Hertzberger ve Günter Behnisch'in okulları ilham vericidir.

**N.L.:** Hertzberger'in gncel bir fikri var. Yapıların esnek olması gerektiđiyle alakalı, zellikle eđitim yapılarının. nk bir yapı gelecekte de o dnemin ihtiyalarını karřılayabilmeli. Dolayısıyla strktrde olabildiđince sade olunmasına gerektiđini belirtiyor. Projelerinizde byle bir fikir uyguladınız mı?

**S.U.:** Evet, rneđin sınıfları dolařım alanından ayıran blme duvarlar ve kapılar deđiřtirilebilir kaldırılabilir niteliktedir.



**Appendix B: Interview with Architect Tuba Yücel from *Prokon Engineering* on June 13, 2019**

**N.L.:** Öncelikle eğitim yapıları ve onu şekillendiren eğitim sistemi arasındaki ilişki ile ilgili görüşlerinizi almak istiyorum. Sizce eğitim sistemi mekanı oluştururken, aynı zamanda tasarlanan mekanın sistem üzerinde etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

**T.Y.:** Mekan sistemi etkiler, ne kadar çok sosyal mekan olursa ona vesile olursunuz. Bizde eğitim ders mantığında, biraz aşan okullar olsa da genel durum bu şekilde. En önemlisi teneffüste zaman geçirebilecekleri sosyal alanlar oluşturmak. Bu İPKB’de çok mümkün olmadı çünkü küçük arsalara çok derslikli okullar istendi. Mesela bir İmam-hatip lisesine 60 derslik sağlamak için 8 katlı okul yaptık.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de eğitim sistemindeki talim-terbiye eksenli anlayış, devlet okullarının tasarımlarında hiyerarşik bir düzen, denetimli koridorlar, sabit program elemanları ve monoton cephe düzenleri şeklinde mekana yansıyor. Bu durumu göz önüne alırsak geleneksel, didaktik bir eğitim sistemiyle eğitim verecek bir okulda modern, özgürleştirici mekanlar ne ölçüde nasıl tasarlanabilir?

**T.Y.:** Biz yeterli sınıfı sağladıktan sonra kalan alanları interaktif sosyal iç mekanlar yapmak istedik. Bazı okullarda girişlerinde ve farklı yerlerinde teneffüs alanı olarak galeri boşlukları yaptık. Fakat galeri boşluğu meselesi biraz sıkıntılı. Özellikle ilkokullarda çocuk düşmeyecek bile olsa görüntü ürkütücü olduğundan zaten 120 cm olan korkulukların üstüne bir sıra daha korkuluk atılabiliyor ya da panellerle kapatıyorlar. Dolayısıyla merdivenden çıkarken galeriyi göremiyorsunuz. Yine giriş hollerini büyük tutup oturma alanları yapmaya çalıştık. Bahçeleri de büyük tutmaya çalıştık çünkü tören alanı çok önemli ve havaya rağmen çocuk çıkmak istiyor. Okul bahçeleri MEB’de öğrenci başı 2 metrekaredir ama İPKB de 1’e kadar indik, onu koyduk ve uyguladık. Başlangıçta satranç ve gazebolar eklediysek de devamında kaldırdık, çünkü gazebolar yetersiz kalıyordu ve bahçeyi çok öldürüyordu. Yaptığımız en güzel şey ise tüm müşavirlikler olarak her okula bir adet çok amaçlı salon kazandırmak.

**N.L.:** İstanbul'da İSMEP kapsamında yaptığımız projelerinizden arasında İmam-hatip okulları da var. Bu okulların İmam-hatip olacağı yatırımcı tarafından tasarımın en başında belirtilmiş miydi? Belirtilenler için tasarımında göz önüne aldığınız farklı kriterler ya da parametreler oldu mu? İmam-hatipler konusunda yatırımcının talepleri değişkenlik gösterdi mi? (Mescit tasarımı, kız-erkek ayrı kat tasarımı vs.)

**T.Y.:** Mesela 60 derslikli ve 6 katlı Kağıthane İmam-hatip okulunda kız ve erkek öğrenciler karşılaşmasın, girişleri ayrı olsun istendi. L binaya kot farkından farklı girişler sağlandı ama yine ortak bahçeleri var. Bir diğer sıkıntı ise tuvaletlerin yönünün kibleye yakın olması oldu, sonra yönlerini değiştirdik. Yine İmam-hatiplerde klasik mimari üslup talebi de oluyor.

**N.L.:** İSMEP okul kataloğunda tarihi yapıların yanında yer alan iki projenizde klasik ya da tarihsel bir yaklaşım söz konusu. Semra Hanım'ın tarihi yapıların yanında yaptığı projelerde ise aynı üslubu devam ettirdiğini görüyoruz. Proje alanı tarihi yapılarının yanında olduğundan mı böyle bir mimari üslup talep edildi mi? Yoksa bu tamamen mimar olarak sizin yorumunuz muydu?

**T.Y.:** Farklı çizgiler, farklı talepler sonucu ortaya çıktı. Biz yoksa sit ve kurul hariç hepsine modernle gittik, modern yapmaya çalıştık. Okul olduğu anlaşılan L, U, V tipler. Yine bazı yerlerde belediye Osmanlı-Selçuklu istedi. İmam-hatipler cemiyetlere bağlı ve onlar da çok müdahil oluyorlardı. Kimisini ikna ettik kimisini edemedik. Endüstri Meslek Liseleri, sit ve kurul projeleri tip proje değillerdi ve yine 3 ve 4. paketler de tip proje değildi. Mesela Heybeliada Okulunda yaklaşık 20 cephe alternatif yapıldı ve Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu tarafından onayı bir sene civarında sürdü. Yine Mehmetçik Ortaokulunda ilk modern bir cephe yaptık kabul etmediler, cumba eklememiz istendi. Devamında cumba koyduk, saçakları uzattık, çatıyı da ahşap yapınca proje hemen geçti. Tarihi Yarımada'ya ise 4 nolu kurul bakıyor. Dilekçenizi verdikten 6 ay sonra size sıra geliyor ve yorumlardan sonra tekrar gitmek yine 6 ay. Sürecin uzunluğundan dolayı her seferinde başka hocalar gelmiş oluyor. Çok da katı kuralları var. Malzeme olarak tuğla-taş-ahşap üçlemesi kullanmak gerekiyor. Çatıda alaturka kiremit kullanmak zorunlu. Aynı zamanda tüm kırma çatılar betondan yapılmak da zorunda yangından dolayı.

**N.L.:** Yatırımcının ya da belediyenin taleplerinden kaynaklı, projelerinizde üslup sorunuyla yola çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Yani tarihi dokuda zorunlu yapı tektoniklerini (saçak, cumba, köşe çıkması gibi) bir mimar olarak daha farklı bir çizgiyle harmanlayıp yorumlamayabilirdiniz. Daha klasik ya da geleneksel bu tasarımlar nasıl ortaya çıktı?

**T.Y.:** İlçe belediye üsluba karışmıyor, sit alanı dışında da olmadı. İmam-hatiplerde de özel cemiyetlerin etkisi var dediğim gibi. Üslupla ilgili hiçbir talep olmadı.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de cumhuriyetle başlayan devlet okullarının tip proje üzerinden tasarımı aslında halen devam ediyor. Öncelikle şartnamede tip proje var mıydı? Eğer varsa tip projeden uzaklaşıp yer ait özgün tasarım yapma konusunda yatırımcının tutumu nasıl oldu?

**T.Y.:** İlk iki pakette tip proje şartnamede vardı, diğer ikisinde şartnameden kalkmıştı. Dolayısıyla ilk iki pakette MEB’in 2000-2004 EFİKAP zamanında oluşturduğu tip projelerle gidildi. Süreyi düşününce tip proje kullanmak çok pratik oluyordu. Çünkü İPKB 45 okulu 15-15-15 teslim olup ihaleye çıkarırdı ve süreler de 6’şar ay. Yani her 6 ayda 15 okul bitecek. Tip projeler de birebir kullanılmıyordu çünkü arsaya uymuyordu. Aks küçültme, aks ekleme, kat ekleme gibi müdahalelerde bulunuyorduk. Bir arsada kullanılan proje diğer arsada kullanılmıyordu. Adı tip projeydi ama bu projeler tip projeden çıkıyordu. İPKB de bu tip proje olayının mantıklı olmadığını gördü ve şartnameden tip projeyi çıkardı. Tip proje hız için iyiydi, her şeyiyle 6 ayda bitiyordu. Ne zaman tip proje yerine sıfır proje geldi o 6 aylık süre 1 yıla çıktı. Hem maliyet açısından hem idareye hem müşavire hem de süre açısından daha meşakkatli oldu. Tip projenin terkiyle biz de modernleştik. Arsaya göre, arsayı yorumlayarak proje yaptık, üçgen arsamız bile vardı. Tip proje yapmasak da sonrasında MEB’in standartlarından çok uzaklaşmadık. Çünkü dayandırdıkları gerekçeler güçlü. Ayrıca güzel yapıldığı, esnek yapıldığı, kolay yani lego gibi yapılabildiği durumlarda tip proje mantığına çok karşı değilim. Onun da bir nedeni var çünkü. EFİKAP döneminde yapılan okulları kimse beğenmedi, estetiği ve çizgisi daha farklı olabilirdi tabii. Ama tip proje gerekiyordu, sabah iki yerleşim öğleden sonra iki yerleşim çiziyorduk. Vaziyet yaptıkça yolluyorduk ve böylece

binlerce okul yapıldı. Prokonla beraber Yüksel, Tümaş, vs. herkes yapıyordu ve böylece bir ayda yaklaşık yüz proje çıkıyordu. Bu durum sıfır projeye 10 yıl sürerdi.

**N.L.:** Projelerinizde yatırımcının verdiği brief ve eğitim sektörünün tanımladığı sınırların dışına çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu esnekliğin ne gibi mekânsal karşılıkları oldu? Bu konuda yatırımcının yani İPKB'nin tutumu nasıldı?

**T.Y.:** MEB Yatırım Tesisleri Dairesi Başkanlığı 2000-2004 ihtiyaç programları ve kriterleri, biz buna hep uyduk su basman yapımın, eğimli klima çatı vs. gibi. Çünkü MEB'in standartlarının arkasında bir dolu neden var aslında. Fakat İPKB projeleri, yine TOKİ de öyle, MEB'den onay almıyor. Bu okullar aslında MEB'in standartlarının altında arsa sıkıntısından dolayı. Mesela revir yapıyorduk ama orada kullanacak hemşire veya doktor olmadığından fonksiyonu değiştiriliyordu. Zaten şehrin göbeğinde olduklarından gerekirse hastaneye götürürüz diyorlardı. Biz de son 2 pakette revirleri kaldırdık. Aslında revir olmayan okullarımız MEB'den onay alamaz.

**N.L.:** İnternet sitenizden edindiğim bilgilere göre 1'i devam eden toplam 4 ayrı proje başlığı altında İPKB için 100'ü aşkın eğitim yapısı yani okul yaptınız ve yapmaya devam ediyorsunuz. Müşterinin yani İPKB'nin size sunduğu olanaklar ve kısıtlamalar en başta nasıldı? Ve zamanla bu olanak ve kısıtlamalarda bir değişim oldu mu? (Şartnamede tip projeden vazgeçiş vs.)

**T.Y.:** İPKB'nin ilk müşaviri olduğumuz için beraber öğrendik. Orada çalışanlar da çok ufku geniş insanlar, yeniliklere açıklar. Kamuda çalışılabilecek en ufku açık birim İPKB diyebilirim sebebi de yurt dışı parasıyla iş yapılması. Ve devamında denetlemenin de yurt dışından olması. Bazı şeyler hariç çoğu şeye çok sıcak baktılar. Tip projeye yola çıkmalarının sebebi MEB de böyle yaptığı için ve yine depreme karşı yenilendiğinden süre çok önemli. Yarın deprem olabilir ve ne kadar kısa sürede ne kadar çok okul yenileyebilirsek iyi diye düşündüklerinden. İPKB kamu yapılarını, yani yurt, idari binalar, kaymakamlık, poliklinik, okul gibi bir araya getirip 13, 25, 40, 45'li gibi paketlerle ihaleye çıkıyor. Fakat hastaneler ayrı paket halinde ihaleye çıkıyor. Biz de toplamda 4 paket iş yaptık, kontrollük ve inşaat şeklinde. Hepsi bitti

birkaç sorunlu müteahhit haricinde. İlk paket ise 2005-2006 yıllarındaydı. Yine avamda çok çalışma kaldı 1 göz hastanesi, 1 sağlık merkezi gibi.

**N.L.:** Eğitim yapılarınızda fikirlerinden ya da tasarımlarından ilham aldığınız mimarlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu fikir ve ilhamlar İSMEP okul projelerinizde ne gibi mekanlara, nasıl yansdı?

**T.Y.:** Ortak alanları ve sosyal mekanları çok araştırdık. Engelli okullarını, işitme engelli, omurilik felçliler için, zihinsel engelli, bunları çok araştırdık ve yaptık. İşitme engelliler için yurt dışı tezleri okudum mesela her yer akustik olunca ters etki oluyormuş o yüzden akustik yalıtım sadece komşu, duvar ve zeminde yeterliymiş. Kapıları da fotoselli yaptık, diğer türlü kapıya gelince iletişim kesiliyormuş. Yuvarlatılmış köşeler, yumuşak PVC'ler yapıldı. MEB'e de önceden tip proje halinde engelli okulları da yapmıştık. En çok bunları araştırdık diyebilirim. Çocuğun kendine zarar vermemesi, pencere oranları, özel odada neler olmalı vs. Maalesef devamında bazı okulların dönüştürüldü mesela Ataşehir'deki Yunus Emre işitme diye başladı sonra otizme döndü. Oysa ki mekânsal ihtiyaçları çok farklı.

**Appendix C: Interview with Gökhan Elgin, the director of *Istanbul Project* Coordination Unit on January 20, 2020**

**N.L.:** IPKB kurumsal olarak İstanbul Valiliğine bağlı olduğundan onu bir kamu kuruluşu olarak tanımlayabilir miyiz? Yani IPKB kamuyu yansıtıyor mu, yoksa özel ve bağımsız bir idare mi?

**G.E.:** Tam özel ve bağımsız diyemeyiz. Ama tam kamu da sayılmaz çünkü biz genel bütçe dışıyız ve bütün kullandığımız para dış finansmandan geliyor. Dış finansman da ister istemez sizin kurumunuza hem başka gereklilikler, istekler hem de başka bir vizyon getiriyor. Yani gerek kalite gerek vizyon alanında sizin daha farklı olmanız gerekiyor. IPKB sonuçta kamuya iş üreten, İstanbul'da özel kurulmuş bir birim. Biz isteriz ki, bu yaptıklarımız örnek olsun veya buradan bazı çıktıları diğer illerde de veya diğer kamu yapıları da diğer idareler de kullanabilsin.

**N.L.:** IPKB sadece ISMEP adı altında mı projeler mi yapıyor? Yoksa başka faaliyetlerde de bulunuyor mu?

**G.E.:** Bizim sorumlu olduğumuz alan İstanbul'un depreme hazırlık projesi ISMEP. Bu alanda çalışmalar yapıyoruz.

**N.L.:** IPKB'nin fon kaynakları yurt dışındaki bankalardan sağlanıyor. Yani kredisi, bütçesi dışarıdan. Bu durum projeler için ne gibi avantajlar veya dezavantajlar oluşturuyor? Buna dayanarak kurumun global etkisinin diğer kamu kuruluşlarından daha fazla olduğunu söyleyebilir miyiz?

**G.E.:** Tabii ki, global ölçekte uluslararası çok büyük fon kuruluşlarıyla çalışıyoruz. Bunların içinde Dünya Bankası, Avrupa Yatırım Bankası, Avrupa Konseyi Kalkınma Bankası, İslam Kalkınma Bankası, Alman Kalkınma Bankası ve en sonunda da Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası var. Toplam yaklaşık 2.3 milyar Euro luk bir bütçe temin ettik. İstanbul'un depreme hazırlık çalışmalarında bu bütçenin çoğu kamu binalarının depreme karşı hazırlanmasına yani güçlendirilmesine harcanıyor. Güçlendirilmesi ekonomik veya teknik olarak da uygun değilse yıkıp yeniden yapımını gerçekleştiriyoruz. Uluslararası fon kuruluşlarıyla çalışmanın zorlu yönleri var ama

ben daha çok avantajlı yönleri olduğunu düşünüyorum. Çünkü dünyadaki bilgi birikimine, birçok ülkeyle beraber bizim ülkemizin mukayesesine veya dünyada bu konuda iyi bir şey varsa ona çok daha kolay erişebiliyoruz. Bu bize avantaj sağlıyor. Hem vizyon hem kalite hem de proje yönetme açısından bize kattıkları inkar edilemez. Zorlu, tabii kolay değil. Size bir para teslim ediyorlar, oradan belli işler istiyorlar ve sürekli burada değiller, 6 ayda bir gelip bakıyorlar. Bu arada da birçok belge, doküman, notlar, fotoğraflar vs. onları temin ediyorlar. Bizim ilerleme raporlarımız var, onu sürekli güncel tutuyoruz. Kapanış raporlarımız var, kredilerimiz kapandığında onlara bakıyoruz. Geldiklerinde yerine gidip bakıyoruz vs. ama ben bunları bir denetimden ziyade bir iş birliğinin parçası olarak yapıyorum. Belki de o yönden bana daha rahat geliyor, zor gelmiyor. Bizi de kurum olarak sürekli gelişmeye açık tutuyor.

**N.L.:** IPKB projelerinin onay mekanizması nasıl? Fon dışarıdan olduğu için denetleme de sadece yurt dışından mı oluyor? Bu denetimlerde gelen yorumlar nasıl?

**G.E.:** IPKB'nin en önemli başarısı denetim işi. Denetlemeyi biz uluslararası müşavirlik firmalarından temin ediyoruz. Bu da açık ihaleyle uluslararası ihaleyle oluyor. Genelde Türk firmaları ve Türk mühendis/mimarlık firmaları ağırlıklı. Ama zaman zaman onların iş ortaklığı olarak yabancı firmalar da olabiliyor. Biz aslında FIDIC dediğimiz uluslararası sözleşmelerin bir benzerini kullanıyoruz burada müteahhitlik olarak. Onun da kontrolü dediğim gibi uluslararası müşavirlik firmaları bizim adımıza sahada denetimini yapıyor ama onun çerçevesini çizen idaredir yani IPKB'dir. IPKB diyor ki şu kadar proje müdürüm olsun onun altında şefler olsun, kalite kontrol olsun, maliyeti kontrol eden olsun, teknikerler olsun, sahada şu kadar eleman olsun vs. gibi. Biz onları sağladığımızda iyi bir denetim yaptığımızı inanıyoruz. Zaten IPKB'nin kalitesi de bu iyi denetimden geçiyor diye düşünmekteyim ben. Bu da aslında sistemsel bir olgu. Yani uluslararası finans kuruluşundan siz para aldığınızda böyle bir denetleme yapmanızın da gerekliliği oluyor. Bu denetleme olmadan o parayı size vermiyorlar. Kendi denetlemeleriye 6 ayda bir. Ama bizim sahada sürekli denetleme elemanımız var. Mesela şu an 42 okul şantiyemiz var, hepsinin başında tekniker, mühendis, devamlı gezen elektrik, mekanik mühendisleri, malzeme onaylayanlar, kalite kontrolümüz sürekli sahada. Ve

onlar bize sürekli raporlanıyor ve hakedişlerde de onay olarak geliyor. Bizim kendi kontrol elemanlarımız da var onlar da sürekli olarak kontrol ediyorlar.

**N.L.:** Okul projeleri özelinde konuşacak olursak, okul yapıları hangi kuruluşlardan onay alıyor? Mesela MEB'den onay alıyor mu? ISMEP okul projeleri MEB'in standartlarına uygun mu?

**G.E.:** Biz yerel bir idareyiz dolayısıyla yerel idarede biz ilçeden başlıyoruz. Yani okul idaresinden oranın aile birliği, idari kadrosu, ilçe milli eğitim, oradaki inşaattan sorumlu şube müdürümüz ve ile kadar geliyoruz. Yani il yönetimi, il müdürü ve onun altındaki müdür yardımcıları, şube müdürleri dahil onların görüşünü alarak, onlardan da onay aldıktan sonra inşaata başlıyoruz. MEB'in asgari standartları var. Biz onları alıyoruz, yerelde yaptığımız yere uygun minimum standartları sağlayacak şekilde terzi dikişi projeler üretiyoruz. Sınıfın metrekaresi işte minimum şu kadar olacak gibi onlar mutlaka sağlıyor. Sonuçta MEB'den onay gelmiyor, biz onu ilde çözüyoruz.

**N.L.:** Okul projelerinde ihtiyaç listesi oluştururken kurum olarak bir rolünüz oldu mu? Mesela derslik sayısını kim neye göre belirledi? Fizibilite çalışması yapıldı mı? Ortalama nüfus artışına göre derslik sayıları hesaplandı mı?

**G.E.:** Onu tamamen MEB ile belirliyoruz çünkü o konuda uzman onlar. İlçede okul müdürüyle başlıyoruz, ile kadar bütün herkesle kademe kademe görüşülüyor proje yapılırken. Fizibilite vs. tamamen MEB'in bildiği iş, biz ona karışmıyoruz. Mimarların bu konuda serzenişleri var evet, ama Ankara'dan İstanbul farklı görünüyor. İstanbul'un dinamiği çok farklı. Yani yaptığımızda hiç boş kalan sınıf ya da okul olmadı, hepsi dolu. İstanbul'da okul konusunda bir sıkıntı var zaten bizler de onu çözmeye çalışıyoruz. Biz risk fırsattır diyoruz. Yani hazır yıkılmışken, o ilçeye, gerek duyulan ve arsaya sığabilecek en büyük ve en çok dersliği olan okulu yapmaya çalışıyoruz.

**N.L.:** IPKB'nin ana amacı olası bir depreme karşı can ve mal kaybını azaltmak ve bu doğrultuda ISMEP projeleri uygulanıyor. Okul projeleri özelinde konuşacak olursak, IPKB yeniden yaptığı okullarda başka ne gibi konulara önem veriyor?

**G.E.:** İlk başta depreme karşı dayanıklı olacak. Bu zaten olmazsa olmazımız. Biz sürdürülebilir bir konsept, enerji verimliliği, fonksiyonel olması, öğrencilerin eğitiminde modern eğitim alabileceği mekanlar yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Projelerimizde laboratuvarlar, sosyal donatılar yer yer spor salonları dışarıda sosyalleşebilecekleri alanlar vs. bunların hepsi düşünülüyor. Sadece depreme dayanıklı bina yaparız demiyoruz, geleceğin okulları olsun diye tasarlayıp yaptık, yapıyoruz. Çünkü ileride de biri gelip bizim okulumuzu yıkıp yeniden yapmasın. Okul tasarımında dikkat edilmesi gereken ne varsa içinde olsun istiyoruz.

**N.L.:** ISMEP projesi, Birleşmiş Milletlerin yürüttüğü Okul Güvenliği Programı'nda "Lider Ülke" olarak seçilmiş. Bu programa katılım projenin en başından beri hedeflenen bir durum muydu? Bu programa katılım süreci hakkınızda biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz?

**G.E.:** Yok, onlar buldular bizi. Biz katılmadık, onlarla beraber görüştüğümüzde gerek Dünya Bankası gerek Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından örnek model olarak sunuldu. Çünkü dünyaca çok tanınan bir proje ISMEP projesi.

**N.L.:** ISMEP proje süresi 2006-2021 olarak belirtiliyor. Aynı zamanda Asya Altyapı Yatırım Bankası ile yeni bir fon anlaşması yapıldı. 2021'e kadar tüm ISMEP projeleri bitecek ve devamında bu kurum çalışmalarını farklı bir proje adı altında mı devam ettirecek? Yoksa bu bütçe yine 2021'e kadar kullanılmış mı olacak?

**G.E.:** ISMEP adı ile 2025'e kadar uzadı.

**N.L.:** Sizce eğitim sistemi mekanı oluştururken, aynı zamanda tasarlanan mekanın sistem üzerinde etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Burada nasıl bir etkiden söz edebiliriz? Dönüştürücü mü destekleyici ve tamamlayıcı mı? Siz kurum olarak ISMEP okul projelerinizde bu konuda nasıl bir etki amaçladınız? Farklı okullarda farklı mimari çizgilerle aslında farklı etkiler amaçladığınızı söyleyebilir miyiz?

**G.E.:** Olmaz olur mu, mesela bizim okullarımızda başarı arttı, onu gözlemliyoruz. Yıkıp yeniden yaptığımız okullarda eğitim almak isteyen öğrenci talebi arttı. Çünkü çok modern oldular, bizim okullarımız özel okullardan iyi okullar oldu. Dolayısıyla

hem talep çok oluyor bizim okullarımıza hem de o okuldaki eğitim kalitesi yükseliyor. Bunu siz nasıl tanımlarsınız dönüştürücü mü destekleyici mi bilmiyorum ama aslında her birinden var yani. Bu tanımı tek bir şeyle yapamam ama okullarımız hem şehre bir kimlik kazandırıyor hem mimari açıdan bir değer yaratıyor hem de eğitimin kalitesini ve öğrencinin başarısını arttırıyor.

**N.L.:** Semra Hanım, iyi tasarlanmış mekanlarda okuyan çocukların başka mekanlara da eleştirisel bakacakları ve gelecekte daha iyisini talep edecekleri düşüncesinin okul tasarımlarında önemli bir faktör olduğunu belirtiyor. Tuba Hanım ise ISMEP kataloğunda, okul binasının tasarımının, öğrencilerin estetik değer yargılarının gelişmesinde ve davranışlarının biçimlendirilmesinde büyük rol oynadığını belirtmiş. Mimarların bu amaçlarını doğrulayan geri bildirimler aldınız mı?

**G.E.:** Mesela Semra Hanımın yaptıkları bakım gerektirmeyen okullar. Müdürlerle görüştüğümde okul masrafının olmadığını, aile birliğinden para toplamadıklarını, çok sağlam iyi malzemeye yapıldıklarını söylüyor. Hatta geçenlerde bir çocukla karşılaştım, Beykoz Rüzgarlıbahçe’de oturuyor. Orada da bir ortaokul yaptık. Ben hiç yaptığım işi söylemedim, dedim ki burada bir Rüzgarlıbahçe Ortaokulu varmış. Evet abi dedi. Ben de nasıl dedim. Nano-teknolojiyle yapmışlar, okul hiç bozulmuyor vs. dedi. Geri dönüşler genelde olumlu.

**N.L.:** 2005’te dönemin Milli Eğitim Bakanı, bakanlığın okul mimarilerinde köklü değişime hazırlandığını duyurmuştu. Devlet okullarının da dahil olduğu kamu binalarını milli izler taşıyan modern mimariyle yapmayı devletin görevi olarak tanımladı. Devamında okulların tasarımında geleneksel, klasik ya da başka bir deyişle Osmanlı-Selçuklu adı altında yeni bir ulusal mimari tarz ortaya çıktı. Aynı zamanda modern mimari iddiaları da devam etti. Türkiye’de eğitim yapılarında süregelen bu ikilem hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

**G.E.:** Aslında mimarlara, mühendislere yani teknik insanlara çok iş düşüyor. Tabii ki ülkemize özgün, belli değerler var. Osmanlıya da bakarsanız, Osmanlının ilk dönemi, orta dönemi vs. farklılaşan mimariler var. Sonuçta biz hem Asya’dayız hem Avrupa’dayız, Ortadoğu’dayız, Afrika’dan bile bir esinti olabilir. Bu birleştirici

coğrafyada, kendi öz değerlerimizle, geleneklerimizle barışık yeni bir mimari tarzımızın olması lazım diye düşünüyorum.

**N.L.:** Sizce onu koyabildik mi?

**G.E.:** Yok, koysak şehirlerimiz böyle olmaz herhalde yani. Çok işiniz var sizin mimarlar olarak.

**N.L.:** Peki IPKB olarak sizin kurum olarak bu konuda bir talebiniz oluyor mu?

**G.E.:** Anıtlara gidecek yerler varsa anıtların talebi oluyor. Yoksa biz mimara o özgürlüğü tanımak istiyoruz.

**N.L.:** Tarihi dokuda yapılan projelerinizi ‘milli izler taşıyan modern mimari’ olarak adlandırır mısınız?

**G.E.:** Olabilir çünkü iç tasarımı modern, dışı da daha o tarihi yapıya uygun. Orada da modern izler bulabilirsiniz. İkisinin birleşimi.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de cumhuriyetle başlayan devlet okullarının tip proje üzerinden tasarımı aslında halen devam ediyor. IPKB de başta şartnamede tip projeler ile yola çıktığı halde devamında tip projeden uzaklaşıp yer ait özgün tasarım yapma kararı aldı. Kurumu bu karara iten sebepler neydi? Bu süreç hakkında başta tutumunuz nasıldı ve devamında nasıl oldu? Tip projeden uzaklaşmak neler kazandırdı ve kaybettirdi?

**G.E.:** Tip projeden uzaklaşmamızın ilk nedeni projenin her arsaya uymaması. İkincisi İstanbul’da arsa çok değerli yani verimli kullanmanız lazım. Üçüncüsü İstanbul’un bir de kendine has bir dinamiği var. Mesela Üsküdar’da bir arsa boğazı görüyor ama tip projede ondan tam faydalanamıyorsunuz, ancak arsanın bulunduğu yere göre bir mimari tasarımla faydalanabilirsiniz. Ama en nihayetinde arsanın çok pahalı olması ve tip projelerle de arsanın çok verimli kullanılamaması sebebiyle ve bununla birlikte ekonomik ve maksimum faydayı yakalamak amacıyla tip projeden uzaklaştık. Bu benim en başından beri desteklediğim bir durumdu.

**N.L.:** IPKB olarak projelerin tasarım ve yapım aşamasında firmalara sunduğunuz olanak ve kısıtlamalar nelerdi? Ve zamanla bu olanak ve kısıtlamalarda bir değişim oldu mu? Mesela şartnamede tip projeden vazgeçiş beraberinde ne gibi avantajlar ve dezavantajlar sağladı? Sizin verdiğiniz brief ve eğitim sektörünün tanımladığı sınırların dışına çıkıldığı durumlar oldu mu? Olduysa, bu gibi durumlarda tutumunuz nasıldı?

**G.E.:** Kısıt, arazinin kısıtıdır, bizden bir kısıt olmaz. Dediğimiz gibi asgari standartlarımız var, arsanın kısıtları var, tarihi bir yere tarihi dokuya, anıtlara gideceğini biliyor. Bazen ifrazdır tefrittir yani arazinin kendi sorunları olabilir veya vakıf arazisidir. Bizim kısıtlarımız bunlar ama idare olarak bir kısıtlama yapmayız, biz çözüm için buradayız. Çünkü insan canıyla ilgili ona odaklı bir iş yapıyoruz. Bizim her yaptığımız güvenli okul oluyor, deprem riskinden arındırılıyor. Mesela 1000 öğrencinin deprem riskini bertaraf ediyorsunuz. O yüzden kısıt yaratmak bize düşmez, bizim onun önünü açmamız lazım.

**Appendix D: Interview with Architect Cumhuri Gürel from Cumhuri Gürel  
Architecture on August 11, 2020**

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de eğitim sistemindeki ‘talim-terbiye’ eksenli anlayış, devlet okullarının tasarımlarında hiyerarşik bir düzen, denetimli koridorlar, sabit program elemanları ve monoton cephe düzenleri şeklinde mekana yansıyor. Bu durumu göz önüne alırsak, geleneksel, didaktik bir eğitim sistemiyle eğitim verecek bir okulda modern, özgürleştirici mekanlar ne ölçüde nasıl tasarlanabilir?

**C.G.:** Devlet okullarından bahsediyorsak aslında herhangi bir yapıdan çok farklı bir tasarım ortaya çıkmıyor çünkü tasarım yaparken çok özgür değilsiniz. Okul aslında sadece derslikten ibaret değil ama hep şu kadar derslik, idari oda istiyorlar. Yani okul deyince koridor-derslik bekliyorlar. Bu okullarda elimizden geldiğince galeri mekanları, öğrencilerin nefes alabileceği yerler oluşturduk ama yine de sınırlı. Çünkü maliyeti ikiye, üçe katlar ve bunlar devlet yapıları. Belki o sıra devlet 1000 tane okul yapıyor, bunların da maliyetini düşük tutacak ki yatırım yapabilsin. Mesela 2004 yılında EFKAP’a MEB baktı ve Türkiye’nin her yerine okullar yaptılar o zaman. Fakat içlerine giriyorsunuz en ufak bir sosyal mekan yok, sadece derslik-koridor-tuvalet. Ama şimdi idare yeni nesil. Hem idare yani İPKB hem de Prokon’dan Tuba Hanım beni serbest bıraktı da böylece bir şeyler yapabildik.

**N.L.:** ISMEP kapsamında yaptığınız okul binası tasarımlarınızda belli bir amaç/düşünce/tutum ile yola çıktınız mı? Mesela Semra Hanım için, iyi tasarlanmış mekanlarda okuyan çocukların başka mekanlara da eleştirisel bakacakları ve gelecekte daha iyisini talep edecekleri düşüncesi okul tasarımlarında önemli bir faktör olmuş. Yine Tuba Hanım da ISMEP kataloğunda okul binasının tasarımının, öğrencilerin estetik değer yargılarının gelişmesinde ve davranışlarının biçimlendirilmesinde büyük rol oynadığını belirtmişti.

**C.G.:** Bir çocuğun gelişimini her şey etkiliyor. 4-duvar arasında yaşamakla kaliteli mekan arasında yaşamak hem gelişimini hem psikolojisi etkileyecek. Kaliteli mekan oluşturma çabası sadece okul için de geçerli değil. Ama çocukları koridor-derslikten oluşan bir kütlenin içine sıkıştırmak insanın vicdanını rahatsız ediyor hakikaten. İçinde kendini daha serbest hissedebileceği, sosyalleşebileceği bir mekan çok

önemli. Çünkü çocuklar mekan odaklı, hareketli ve algıları çok açık. Okul içinde yılları geçecek. Hayatının büyük bir bölümü okulda geçiyorsa, mutlu olabileceği, sosyalleşebileceği bir mekan olması lazım. Aynı zamanda hayata hazırlanacağı bilgileri alacağı bir yer okul.

**N.L.:** 2005'te dönemin Milli Eğitim Bakanı, bakanlığın okul mimarilerinde köklü değişime hazırlandığını duyurmuştu. Devlet okullarının da dahil olduğu kamu binalarını milli izler taşıyan modern mimariyle yapmayı devletin görevi olarak tanımladı. Devamında okulların tasarımında geleneksel, klasik ya da başka bir deyişle Osmanlı-Selçuklu adı altında yeni bir ulusal mimari tarz ortaya çıktı. Aynı zamanda modern mimari iddiaları da devam etti. Türkiye'de eğitim yapılarında süregelen bu ikilem hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Tarihi dokuda yaptığınız projelerinizi 'milli izler taşıyan modern mimari' olarak adlandırır mısınız?

**C.G.:** Bizimkileri adlandırırım evet. Bugün de cumba yaparım gayet keyifli mekanlar. 2004'teki furyada yapılan tasarımları öyle adlandıramam. Okul ve adliye binaları çok ağır cepheler, gereksiz cephe hareketleri ve süslemelere sahip. İçeriye de bakıyorsunuz hiçbir şey yok. Bizim bu okulların dış cepheleri biraz geleneksel duruyor evet. Ama unutmayalım ki mutlaka bizi sınırlayan bir şeyler var. Geleneksel yapıyla uyumlu cephe istiyorlar. Mesela ben Fatih'e yaptığım bu 3 okul projesini başka bir idarede gösterdim, çok modern buldular. Bir skala üzerinde herkesin yeri başka. Ben onu başka yere yapamadım yani, daha da geleneksel istiyorlar. Skalanın bir ucu ne istiyor, aynen eski gibi. O zamanlar mı yapıldı diyeceksiniz. Diğer taraftan modern ama kütle olarak uyumlu, biraz cephe hareketi olarak uyumlu ya da plan dili olarak uyumlu, o arada gidip geliyoruz. Genelde cumba mutlaka yapıyoruz. Onun dışında zemin katı biraz modern tasarlayıp üst kata doğru yumuşak bir geçiş sağlamaya çalışıyoruz. Sınıfa cumba da çok güzel oluyor. Ben yıllar önce Üsküdar Kız Lisesi var oraya gitmiştim, bir paşanın yalısı/konağı okula çevrilmiş. Üst katta bir sınıfa girdim, derslik müzik dersliği. Ben bu okula çevrilmiş konakta görünce beğendim. Sanki bir evde, salonda oturup ders işliyor gibi oluyor. Oturduğunuz dikdörtgen bir mekan düşünün ve birden ışıklı, pencereci bir cumba. Kullanıyorlar da mesela teneffüste kullanıyorlar ya da bir şey koyuyorlar, oturma alanı yapıyorlar, o nefes aldırıyor sınıfa. Çok şık da duruyor. 4 duvar değil biraz hareket var içeride. Biz de cumbalı sınıfları müzik vs. dersliğine denk getirmeye çalışıyoruz ama müdür

değiştirebiliyor. Cumbanın hem içeriden hem dışarıdan mekânsal bir karşılığı var, ikisine de bir şeyler katıyor. Cephe hareketleri de önemlidir. Cumbalarla biraz hareketlendirmeye çalıştık, bunu da modern bir şekilde yapmaya çalıştık. Benim bu okulların tasarımı konusunda içim rahat, bence günümüzde yapılabilir uygun bir tasarımıdır. Diğerlerine karşıyım ama bazıları 100 yıllık konakmış gibi yapı yapıyor, malzemeleri de o tasarımlara uymayan malzemeler ve alçıyla süsleme yapıyorlar. Bunlar yerine 50 yıl önceki eğitim yapılarını yapsak gerçekten çok daha güzel. En azından gözü rahatsız etmiyor, cephe sakin. Geleneksellik meselesine geri dönecek olursak, geleneksellik nedir bir kere. Selçuklu döneminde malzeme tuğla, Osmanlı döneminde ise taş. Bu tekniklerle ne yapabiliyorsun o. Aslından onlar o zamanın modernini yapıyorlar. Şu an malzeme olarak beton var, çelik var, ne istiyorsanız yapabilirsiniz. Mimari olarak sahip olduğunuz değerleri nasıl korursunuz? O halde yapının içinde ne yapıyordum onu düşünmek lazım. Okuldan ne beklersiniz, mimari olarak değerlerimi koruyayım derken? Mesela medreseye bakarsanız ortada avlu var, ortak mekan var yani. Geç dönem Osmanlı okulları da orta avluludur, çünkü onlar da medreseden dönüşmüştür. Bu bence çok güzel bir plan. Okuldan çıktığımız zaman caddeye atlamıyorsunuz ön cepheye geliyorsunuz, yine ortak toplanma alanınız var. Belki öyle bir plan şeması düşünülebilir. Yani içinde ortak mekanlar olan bir okul, belki o bizim değerimiz. Her yönetimde bu yaşanmıştır, her zaman da olur. Ama Osmanlı o yapıyı geleneksel diye yapmadı, modern diye yaptı. Osmanlı ben geleneklerimi koruyacağım deseydi o zaman hep Selçuklu tarzı yapması gerekirdi, Selçuklu da o zaman Orta Asya tarzı yapardı. Aslında hepsi modern yapmış, geleneğinizi farklı şeklide korursunuz.

**N.L.:** Sizin Fatih bölgesinde yer alan üç projenizin özellikle dış cephelerinden klasik/tarihsel bir yaklaşım okuyoruz. Semra Hanımın projeleri daha modern, Baran Beyinkileri de daha modern/geleneksel arasında cephelere sahip diyebiliriz. Yine mesela Heybeliada'daki projeniz daha modern çizgilere sahip. Proje alanı tarihi yarımada olduğundan mı böyle bir mimari üslup talep edildi? Yoksa bu daha çok mimar olarak bu bölge için sizin yorumunuz muydu?

**C.G.:** Bizden bir beklentileri var aman proje dönmesin diye. Eski yapı cephe tasarımının mimari öğelerini kullanayım ama bunu da öyle bir şekilde yapayım ki direk taklit olmasın, yani dengeyi sağlamaya çalışıyoruz. Bizim projelerimiz

kurullar beğenirse yapılıyor ki beğendiler de bizimkileri, hiç geri dönmedi. Fakat ben kurul üyesi olsam derim ki yapabildiğin kadar modern yap, o yapının yanına o yapıyı ezmeyecek, uyumlu bir tasarım yap.

**N.L.:** Yatırımcının ya da belediyenin taleplerinden kaynaklı, projelerinizde üslup sorunuyla yola çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Yani tarihi dokuda zorunlu yapı tektoniklerini (saçak, cumba, köşe çıkması gibi) bir mimar olarak daha farklı bir çizgiyle harmanlayıp yorumlamayabilirdiniz. Daha klasik ya da geleneksel bu tasarımlar nasıl ortaya çıktı?

**C.G.:** Ben restorasyon yapıyorum, restorasyon uzmanıyım. İşimin yarısı yapıları restore etmek ama yeni yapı yapacağımız zaman mutlaka modern yapmak isteriz. Bence mimari cephe öğelerini kullanmanın bir zararı yok, cumba kullanmanın ne zararı var mesela? Güzel tasarımlar olabiliyor. İstanbul Valilik binası var örneğin, yarışma projesiymiş. Geleneksel deyince cephede bırakıyoruz, o konuda haklısın. Ama işte tasarımın ana ögesi geleneksel bir yapı yapayım değil, geleneksel bir cephe yapayım. Ben arsanın ve yatırımın el verdiği en güzel okulu yapmak isterim oraya. Ama ilk aklımdaki cephesi uyumlu olsun değil, ilk tasarım kriteri plan ve iç mekan. Aslında ikisini beraber düşünmek lazım.

**N.L.:** Tarihi bölgelerdeki, sit alanlarındaki projeler aynı zamanda kurullardan da geçmek zorunda. Tuba Hanım ile görüşmemizde kendisi tarihi yarımada bakan 4 nolu kurulun oldukça katı kuralları olduğunu söyledi. Projelerinizin kurullarda (KUDEB) yaşadığı sıkıntılar oldu mu? Olduysa devamında projede ne gibi revizyonlar yapıldı?

**C.G.:** Olmadı. Heybeliada'dakini beğenmediler, 3-4 parçadan oluşan kütle için daha da parçalı istediler. Parçalama sıkıntısına rağmen 12 parça yaptık ve öyle kabul ettirdik.

**N.L.:** Gündemdeki bir diğer konu ise teknolojinin eğitimdeki yeri ile ilgili. Mesela Fatih Projesi kapsamında her okul için belli bir altyapı, her derslik için akıllı tahta, internet erişimi gibi hedefler var. Sizin ISMEP kapsamında yaptığınız projelerinizde bu çerçevede tasarladığınız bir okul oldu mu? İhtiyaç listesinde yer alan teknolojik gereksinimler (akıllı tahta gibi) tasarımınızı ve mekanları nasıl etkiledi?

**C.G.:** O da eksik bir tarafı, mimarla çalışmıyorlar o konuda. Mimari tasarımla birlikte gitmesi gerekir ama öyle olmuyor.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de cumhuriyetle başlayan devlet okullarının tip proje üzerinden tasarımı aslında halen devam ediyor. IPKB de başta şartnamede tip projeler ile yola çıktığı halde devamında tip projeden uzaklaşıp yere ait özgün tasarım yapma kararı aldı. Yine tarihi yarımada’nın sit alanı olmasından kaynaklı tip proje kabul görmüyor bildiğim kadarıyla. Tip projeden uzaklaşıp yere ait özgün tasarım yapma konusunda yatırımcının tutumu nasıl oldu? Ve bu durum sizi nasıl etkiledi?

**C.G.:** Tip proje varsa bizimle çalışmaya gerek yok, hem daha uygun fiyatla çizecek yerler bulurlar hem yine kendi ekipleri de var. Artık tip proje yapılmıyor çünkü yapıları yaptıkça, beğendikçe talep geliyor. Bir yapının içinde yaşamaları lazım, herkes güzel mekan ister aslında.

**N.L.:** Projelerinizde yatırımcının verdiği brief ve eğitim sektörünün tanımladığı sınırların dışına çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu esnekliğin ne gibi mekânsal karşılıkları oldu? Bu konuda yatırımcının yani IPKB’nin tutumu nasıldı?

**C.G.:** Biz biraz esnettik baktık karşı çıkan da olmadı, o zaman yaptık. Katlarda toplanma alanı olabilecek köşeler yapmaya çalıştık. Biraz koridorları geniş tuttuk, girişlere galeri boşluğu, mümkünse tek kollu yerleştirme, merdiven kovası yerine birbirini takip eden merdivenler yaptık. Yapabilsem her yere böyle mekanlar yapmak isterim daha keyifli çünkü. Sosyal mekanlar, eğitim mekanları, aydınlık mekanlar ve mimari olarak da kendini ifade eden öğeler. Işık da çok önemli, mimarideki en önemli öğelerden biri. Aydınlık bir mekanda oturmakla karanlık bir mekanda oturmak çok farklı ve çocukların orada hayatı geçiyor. Hiçbir şey yapamıyorsanız, ışık verin.

**N.L.:** Eğitim yapılarınızda fikirlerinden ya da tasarımlarından ilham aldığınız mimarlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu fikir ve ilhamlar ISMEP okul projelerinizde ne gibi mekanlara, nasıl yansdı?

**C.G.:** Eğitim yapılarında ilham aldığım bir mimar olmadı. Gelenekselin yorumlanmasıyla ilgili biraz Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Belki ölçüyü biraz kaçırmış da olabilir, o da ulusal mimarlık yaratma çabası ama etkileniyorsunuz çünkü güzel yorumluyor. Siyasi yaklaşımı doğrudur yanlıştır ama mimari yorumu kaliteli. Sedat Hakkı Eldem bence hepimizin beynine kazınmıştır. Gelenekseli yorumlayacağım dediğinizde ister istemez ondan etkileniyorsunuz. Mimar Kemalettin ise biraz daha sevimli yapılar yapıyor. Sedat Hakkı Eldem daha resmi. İşin ABC si o zaman başlamış.



## **Appendix E: Interview with Architect Baran Gökğöz from Vista Project on August 12, 2020**

**B.G.:** Öncelikle şunu belirtmek istiyorum, biz bu okulların ana tasarımcısı değiliz, ana tasarımcı bir İtalyan firma. Biz onların kaldığı yerden, yani konsept tasarımı yapıp onay aldıktan sonraki kısımda devreye girdik. Belediyeye ruhsat projesinin hazırlanması ve uygulama detaylarının çizimleri diyebiliriz. Bizim işe dahil olduğumuz noktada ana konsept, kurgu belirlenmiş, onaya sunulmuş ve onay alınmıştı. Sadece arada bazı okullar için, mesela Fatih bölgesindeki okullar daha çok öyle, belediye yönlendirmesi ile yeni tasarımlar yapıldı. “Bu tasarımlar buraya uygun değil, bu şekilde tasarım yapmanız lazım” şeklinde bir yönlendirme. Fatih bölgesindeki cepheler böylece belediyenin yönlendirmesiyle yapıldı. İtalyanların belirlediği ana konsept modern cephe kurgusu içeriyor ama Fatih Belediyesi o konsept onay vermediği için aynı bina kurgusu yeni cephelerle sunuldu. Yani ana bina şeması bize ait değil.

**N.L.:** Sizce eğitim sistemi mekanı oluştururken, aynı zamanda tasarlanan mekanın sistem üzerinde etkisi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Siz bu okul projelerinizde nasıl bir etki amaçladınız?

**B.G.:** Bence etkisi var. Bir sınıf olarak etkisinden bahsetmiyorum ama bir okul yapısı olarak mekan, çocukların eğitimine katkı sağlamak zorunda. Aslında bunu daha çok kapalı mekan gibi düşünmektense, kapalı-açık ilişkisi ve açık mekanlar olarak düşünmek daha doğru. Bir okulun çocuklara katacağı şey yalnızca bir oda sağlamak olmamalı. Aslında çocukların kendi deneyimlerini kazanabilecekleri mekanları ona sunmalı, bu koridorda da olabilir koridorun genişleyip açık bir avluya dönüştüğü yerde de olabilir kapalı avluda da olabilir. Dolayısıyla ben mimarinin eğitimin bir parçası olması gerektiğine inanıyorum. Daha doğrusu mimaride oluşturduğunuz mekanların eğitim tarafından kullanılabilir mekanlar olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Bizim genel yaklaşımımız böyle. Başka okul projeleri de yapıyoruz mesela İzmir’de yeni açılacak bir özel okulumuz var. Çocuklara bir iç mekan oluşturduk, bir iç mekan dış mekan arası kullanabilecekleri bir alan oluşturduk yani üstü örtülü etrafı kapalı ama yanları açık. Dersi dış mekana taşıyabilecekleri, dış mekanda kendi ilgi alanlarına kendi özel uğraşlarına vakit

ayırabilecekleri mekanlar bir de tamamen açık mekanlar. Bunların arasındaki geçişi yapmak, çocukların hem okula olan bağlılıklarını arttıracak hem de çocuğun kendi deneyimlerini kazanması için iyi bir imkan sağlar diye düşünüyoruz. O yüzden bence okul mimarisi eğitimin bir parçası olarak düşünülmeli. Hem Fatih ilçesi hem İstanbul özelinde mekanlar çok kısıtlı. Öyle alanlar var ki sadece yapı yaklaşma sınırları içinde kütleyi oturtturarak istenen ihtiyacı sağlayamıyorsunuz bile. Mesela 16 derslik isteniyor ama o kütlenin tamamını kullansanız bile 12 derslik yerleştirebiliyorsunuz. Dolayısıyla bu mekânsal ilişkileri, açık kapalı mekanları kurgulamak bu okullarda pek mümkün olmadı.

**N.L.:** Türkiye’de eğitim sistemindeki ‘talim-terbiye’ eksenli anlayış, devlet okullarının tasarımlarında hiyerarşik bir düzen, denetimli koridorlar, sabit program elemanları ve monoton cephe düzenleri şeklinde mekana yansıyor. Bu durumu göz önüne alırsak, geleneksel, didaktik bir eğitim sistemiyle eğitim verecek bir okulda modern, özgürleştirici mekanlar ne ölçüde nasıl tasarlanabilir?

**B.G.:** Bu yine biraz önce bahsettiğim şeylerle bağlantılı olabilir. Özel okul olarak tasarladığımız ve arsanın imkan verdiği ölçüde açık alan kurguladığımız yerlerde şu tür şeyler yapmayı özellikle seviyoruz; sınıfı direk dışarı açabilmeyi istiyoruz. Bunu İzmir’de bahsettiğim okulda ana okulu kısmında okulu da ikna ederek yapabildik. Bunu yapabilmek için öncelikle okul kütlelerini çok alçak kurgulayabilmek gerekiyor. Hem alçak kurgulayıp hem de yayılabilmek gerekiyor. Bunun için de araziye ihtiyaç var. Türkiye’de genel olarak arazi sıkıntısı olduğu için, İstanbul özelinde daha da fazla arazi sıkıntı olduğu için bunları orada gerçekleştirmek pek mümkün değil. Orada böyle daha iç mekanla kurgulayarak yapmak lazım. Yine İzmir örneğinde anaokulunun bahçesi için kurgulanan mekan gelip yükselerek çim bir amfiyle binanın üstünü kaplıyor. Anaokulu sınıfları pivot kapı ile bahçeye açılıyor. Yine beden eğitimi, atölye sınıfları için de pivot kapılar kullandık. Pivot kapılar kapandığında yan yana 3 tane cam kapı, açıldığında ortadan dönerek açılıyor ve sabit kalıyor. Yani sınıfı direk dış mekana taşımaya imkan sağlıyor. Okulun sahibi olan vakıf da o deneyimlere önem veriyor. Kapalı yüzme havuzu kapalı spor salonu, çok amaçlı salon gibi kütleler var. Bunları yer üstüne taşıdığımızda çocuklara açık alan kalmıyordu, dolayısıyla biz bunların hepsini yer altına aldık. Alta aldığımız kütlelerin üstünü bahçe olarak kurguladık. Çim rampa çocukların özgürce

koşturmalarına izin veriyor. Bu bir özel okul olduğu için, okulun sahibi olan vakıf ile bu fikirleri konuşup ikna etmemiz daha kolay oldu. Dolayısıyla biz burada mekanları çocukların eğitimlerine katkı sağlayacak bir şekilde, onların istekleri ile bizim düşündüğümüz şeyleri bir araya getirip yapma şansımız oldu. Ama ISMEP projesi kapsamında bunlar mümkün olmadı, hem bu kurgular önceden kararlaştırıldığı için hem de mekânsal olarak izin vermediği için yapılamadı. Mümkün olduğunca eğitimi deneyimlemeye çevirmek lazım. MEB'in de amacı o gibi görünüyor yani deneyimle öğrenmenin daha kalıcı olduğu bir gerçek.

**N.L.:** ISMEP kapsamında yaptığınız okul binası tasarımlarınızda belli bir amaç/düşünce/tutum ile yola çıktınız mı? Mesela Semra Hanım için, iyi tasarlanmış mekanlarda okuyan çocukların başka mekanlara da eleştirisel bakacakları ve gelecekte daha iyisini talep edecekleri düşüncesi okul tasarımlarında önemli bir faktör olmuş. Yine Tuba Hanım da ISMEP kataloğunda okul binasının tasarımının, öğrencilerin estetik değer yargılarının gelişmesinde ve davranışlarının biçimlendirilmesinde büyük rol oynadığını belirtmişti.

**B.G.:** ISMEP'te daha çok ihtiyaçlara karşılık vermeye ve bunu en uygun şekilde nasıl kendi mimarimizle birleştirebiliriz diye çalıştık. Ama bizim Fatih'teki projelerimiz küçük okullardı. Bizden önce karar verilmişti yine kurgu. En küçük okul Vasıf Çınar hariç. Konsept aşamasındaki arazi aslında daha küçükmüş, bir kısmı başka yerlere aitmiş. Arazi küçüldü ve o konsept çöpe gitti, biz de yeniden yerleştirmek zorunda kaldık. Zor bir araziydi, ancak yerleştirebildik.

**N.L.:** Fatihteki 5 okulunuzdan 1'i İmam-hatip orta okulu. Bu okulun İmam-hatip olacağı yatırımcı tarafından tasarımın en başında belirtilmiş miydi? Belirtildiyse tasarımında göz önüne aldığınız farklı kriterler ya da parametreler oldu mu? İmam-hatipler konusunda yatırımcının talepleri değişkenlik gösterdi mi? (Mescit tasarımı, kız-erkek ayrı kat tasarımı, yemekhane vs.)

**B.G.:** Bütün hepsi belli değildi, birkaç tanesini en başta biliyorduk, diğerleri de süreç içinde dönüştü. Mescit normal okullarda da var zaten, ekstra yemekhane oluyor.

**N.L.:** 2005'te dönemin Milli Eğitim Bakanı, bakanlığın okul mimarilerinde köklü değişime hazırlandığını duyurmuştu. Devlet okullarının da dahil olduğu kamu binalarını milli izler taşıyan modern mimariyle yapmayı devletin görevi olarak tanımladı. Devamında okulların tasarımında geleneksel, klasik ya da başka bir deyişle Osmanlı-Selçuklu adı altında yeni bir ulusal mimari tarz ortaya çıktı. Aynı zamanda modern mimari iddiaları da devam etti. Türkiye'de eğitim yapılarında süregelen bu ikilem hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Tarihi dokuda yaptığınız projelerinizi 'milli izler taşıyan modern mimari' olarak adlandırır mısınız?

**B.G.:** Bu ikilem aslında eğitim yapıları değil, günümüz mimarisiyle bütün binalarda yaşanan bir şey. Selçuklu mimarisi olarak adlandırılıp aslında nereye işaret edildiği, içeriği bilinmeyen bir yön var. Fatih belediyesine bu projeleri görüşmeye gittiğimizde, bize şöyle dediler: bizim burada bir tarzımız var, bir cephe konseptimiz var, buna uymanızı isteyeceğiz. Cephe konseptimiz bu diye bize bir katalog gösterdiler. Precast beton kataloguydu bu. Herhangi bir tasarım katalogu değil, herhangi bir firmanın söve imalatı modelleri, silme modelleri böyle diye gösterdiği bir imalat kataloguydu. Belediye klasik cephe istediğinde neyi kastediyorsunuz sorusunun cevabı bir precast beton imalat katalogu göstermeleri oldu. Bütün yarımada'nın yapısını yönlendirecek belediyeden bilinçli bir şey gelmedi bize. Dolayısıyla bu ikilem tüm ülkede var, eğitim yapılarını da içeriyor tabii. O yüzden aslında zor bir süreç. Bizim yaptığımız tasarımlar da klasik izler içermiyor pek. Belki oranlar olarak klasik izleri içeriyor olabilir ama yapı dili olarak klasik diyemeyeceğimiz izler. Bunu nasıl hem kendimizin hem onların beğenebileceği noktaya getirebiliriz diye düşünerek bir ara yol bulmaya çalıştık aslında. Yine oranları kullanmaya çalıştık, pencere oranları, kat içindeki açıklık oranları, kat silmesi, çatı altındaki ufak tefek oyunlarla biraz daha belediye ve bizim aramızda bir şey yapmaya çalıştık. Çoğu okulda cephede çalıştık. Hazır planların uygulamaya çevrilmesini ve ruhsat projesinin hazırlanmasını yaptık. Fatih belediyesi o ruhsat projesini cephesi yüzünden kabul etmeyince alternatifli cephe sunumları yaptık.

**N.L.:** Sizin Fatih bölgesinde yer alan beş projenizin özellikle dış cephelerinden modern/geleneksel arası bir yaklaşım okuyoruz. 1 tanesi ise biraz daha farklı diğer 4'ünden, renk ve pencere açısından. Proje alanı tarihi yarımada'da olduğundan mı

böyle bir mimari üslup talep edildi? Yoksa bu daha çok mimar olarak bu bölge için sizin yorumunuz muydu?

**B.G.:** Modern dilimiz ile belediyenin istediğinin arasını bulmaya çalıştık. Mesela Vasıf Çınarın pencereleri biraz klasik mimariye gönderme olsun diye yaptığımız bir şeydi. Ahşap kaplamalar da öyleydi. Renk seçimi imalat sırasında oldu, biliyorsunuz müşavir firma eşliğinde inşa ediliyor. Süreci Han teknik ile projenin sonuna kadar yürüttük.

**N.L.:** Tarihi bölgelerdeki, sit alanlarındaki projeler aynı zamanda kurullardan da geçmek zorunda. Tuba Hanım ile görüşmemizde kendisi tarihi yarımada bakan 4 nolu kurulun oldukça katı kuralları olduğunu söyledi. Projelerinizin kurullarda (KUDEB) yaşadığı sıkıntılar oldu mu? Olduysa devamında projede ne gibi revizyonlar yapıldı?

**B.G.:** Kurula alternatif cephe tasarımları ile projeleri sunduk, alternatiflerden biri seçilerek döndü, o da uygulamaya gitti.

**N.L.:** Gündemdeki bir diğer konu ise teknolojinin eğitimdeki yeri ile ilgili. Mesela Fatih Projesi kapsamında her okul için belli bir altyapı, her derslik için akıllı tahta, internet erişimi gibi hedefler var. Sizin ISMEP kapsamında yaptığınız projelerinizde bu çerçevede tasarladığınız bir okul oldu mu? İhtiyaç listesinde yer alan teknolojik gereksinimler (akıllı tahta gibi) tasarımınızı ve mekanları nasıl etkiledi?

**B.G.:** Sınıf içinde akıllı tahta ve projeksiyon vardı genelde. Bunlar biraz mühendislik altyapısı ile alakalı. Mekânsal olarak bizi çok etkileyen bir şey olduğunu hatırlamıyorum.

**N.L.:** ISMEP kapsamında yıkılıp yeniden inşa edilen okullar arasından Kazım Karabekir İlköğretim Okuluna güneş panelleri, güneş ağacı ve solar performans izleme sistemi kuruldu. Daha sonra sizin tasarladığınız Atatürk Fen Lisesi ilk LEED platinyum sertifikalı okul olarak eğitime başladı. Bu projede LEED'in gerektirdiği faktörler eğitim mekanına nasıl yansdı? Fatihteki okullarda sürdürülebilirlik konusunda özel bir çalışma yapıldı mı?

**B.G.:** Ana tasarım yine İtalyan firmaya ait, biz uygulamasını yaptık. LEED bir süreç yönetimi, arsa seçiminden başlıyor. İnşaat süresince alınması gereken önlemler var. Projeye yansımaları bir format halinde projeciye geliyor danışman firmalar aracılığıyla. Bize tanım olarak gelince projeye yansıtmanız çok da zor olmuyor. Çatıdaki suyu alıp onu belli bir yere götürüp şartlandırarak bahçe sulamasında kullanma ihtiyacı belirlendikten sonra çözmesi çok da zor değil. Yine güneş panelleri olacak, onu yerleştirmek problem değil. Bize bu talepler geldi, bunların bir puantajı var. Hangisini ne kadar kullanabilirseniz o kadar puan alıyorsunuz. Yapılabilecek olanları biz projeye yansıtık. LEED'i biz uyguladık, mekanda bir etkisi olmadı. Biz de tasarımı beğenmiştik zaten mümkün olduğunca tasarımlarını koruduk. Doğal havalandırma anlamında Fatihteki okulları da içeren İtalyanların oluşturduğu şöyle bir konsept var. Sınıfların havalandırılması normalde nasıl yapılıyor, ders bitiyor pencereler açılıyor. Teneffüs süresince havalanıyor ve sonra kapatıyorsunuz. İtalyanların önerdiği sistemde pencere doğramalarının üzerinde alüminyum ızgaralar var. Ama bir ızgara olması havanın içeri girmesi için yeterli değil. İçeride havayı çeken bir baca olduğu zaman, yani negatif basınç olduğunda buradan taze havayı içeri çekiyorsunuz. Dolayısıyla bizim bütün sınıflarımızda bu baca sistemi var. Bu baca sisteminin içinde bir tane mazgalı var, bu kattan bu hacimden çektiği havayı bir üst katta ana bacaya yönlendiriyor. Yani burada sürekli baca etkisi yaratan ve havayı çeken bir doğal havalandırma sistemi kurmuş olduk İtalyanların önerdiği sistemle. Bu baca buradan havayı çekiyor, bu doğramaların üzerindeki ızgaralardan da sürekli temiz hava giriyor. Bu sınıfın kullanım sırasında bile sürekli temiz havanın girmesini sağlıyor. Bu bizim çok desteklediğimiz bir fikirdi. Sadece hava akımı kullanarak doğal bir havalandırma sağlanıyor. Tabi bunun ne kadar efektif olduğunu yerindeki örneklerden sorgulamak lazım. Havanın da akışından dolayı ses yapmasın diye içinde yalıtım malzemeleri vardı. Bu düzgün yapılmayan bir okulda bir sorun oldu. Yalıtımı düşmüş, bacanın hava akımı kapatmış dolayısıyla o baca çalışmıyordu. Sonra tamir edildi. Bacanın genişliği 30x40 cm iken ana baca 30x85 cm.

**N.L.:** Türkiye'de cumhuriyetle başlayan devlet okullarının tip proje üzerinden tasarımı aslında halen devam ediyor. İPKB de başta şartnamede tip projeler ile yola çıktığı halde devamında tip projeden uzaklaşıp yere ait özgün tasarım yapma kararı aldı. Yine tarihi yarımada'nın sit alanı olmasından kaynaklı tip proje kabul görmüyor

bildiğim kadarıyla. Tip projeden uzaklaşıp yere ait özgün tasarım yapma konusunda yatırımcının tutumu nasıl oldu? Ve bu durum sizi nasıl etkiledi?

**B.G.:** Tip projeye ben söylem olarak da karşıyım. İnsanları tiplendiremeyeceğimiz gibi mekanları, binaları da tiplendirmek mümkün değil. Burada tiplendirme en fazla şu olabilir. Bir yapı dili belirleyip, o yapı dilini kendi yaptığınız projelerde kullanabilirsiniz diye düşünüyorum. Ama eğer binayı oluşturmaksa bu her arazinin kendi ihtiyacına kendi özelliklerine göre binanın farklılaşması lazım. Malzeme mesela tip olabilir, çünkü aynı iklim bölgesindeyiz, İstanbuldasınız. Gerçi İstanbulun kendi içinde de değişebiliyor ama o da malzemeyi kullanmaya imkan veriyor tip olarak. Ya da mesela kat yüksekliğini tip olarak kullanmaya gidebilirsiniz. Renkler vs. onlar tiplendirilebilir ama binayı tiplendirmek bence mümkün değil.

**N.L.:** Projelerinizde yatırımcının verdiği brief ve eğitim sektörünün tanımladığı sınırların dışına çıktığınız durumlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu esnekliğin ne gibi mekânsal karşılıkları oldu? Bu konuda yatırımcının yani IPKB'nin tutumu nasıldı?

**B.G.:** İşvereni ya da şartları zorlayabilsek bizim talebimiz hep şu olurdu. Bu okulların hepsine açık mekanlar ekleyelim. Mümkün olduğunca. Eğer açık mekanlara imkan vermiyorsa da okulların içinde kapalı ama geniş alanlar belirleyelim, yapmayı çok isterdik. Ama bu fiziki şartlarla, İstanbul'daki arazilerle bunları yapmak hiç mümkün olmadı. Bütün araziye ancak bu şekillerde yerleşilmiş muhtemelen. İç avlulu bir sistem kurabilsem ya da U şeklinde bir sistem kurabilsem biraz açık alan sağlayabilirim çocuklara ama o zaman da önceden belirlenmiş olan ihtiyacı karşılayamıyorsun.

**N.L.:** Eğitim yapılarınızda fikirlerinden ya da tasarımlarından ilham aldığınız mimarlar oldu mu? Olduysa bu fikir ve ilhamlar ISMEP okul projelerinizde ne gibi mekanlara, nasıl yansdı?

**B.G.:** Sedat Hakkı Eldem'in tasarımlarından yola çıkmaya çalıştık. Tarihi Yarımada içinde yapacağımız okullarda nasıl bir şey uygulanabilir diye düşündüğümüzde Eldem'in yorumlamalarından yola çıkabilir miyiz diye baktığımızı hatırlıyorum.

Aynı şeyi biz de yakalayabilir miyiz diye bir deneme yaptık, sonuçları da bu okullar oldu işte.

