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Ideological and architectural transformations in education buildings: A Turkish Case (1997-2022)

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Keywords

Architecture; Education buildings; Ideology; Transformation; Türkiye.

Abstract

This article examines the ideological and architectural transformations in public education buildings in Turkey between 1997 and 2022. It aims to fill a gap in the literature by exploring the impact of ideological frameworks on the design of education buildings and by focusing the architectural transformations including form, program, scale, and site. The study focuses on education system changes in 1997 and 2012 as pivotal moments, linking these changes to broader ideological shifts. Utilizing a qualitative and historical research strategy, the article evaluates materials within an ideological context and interprets architectural projects that are not archived officially. This study reveals that the architectural and ideological transformations in Turkish education buildings from 1997 to 2022 reflect a dynamic interplay of traditional and modern influences, demonstrating the impact of political and social ideologies on the design and function of these public spaces. This approach reveals the interplay between ideology and architecture in education buildings during this period, highlighting the unique insights of this study.

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Highlights

- The education system changes in Turkey have led to the reshaping of education buildings in terms of form, program, scale, and site.
- The clash between secular and conservative ideologies has influenced the aesthetic and spatial design of educational buildings.
- Projects that emphasize a traditional lifestyle in functional areas and are adorned with symbols claimed to be traditional in certain practices have enabled schools to turn into ideological tools.

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Eğitim Yapılarında İdeolojik ve Mimari Dönüşümler: Türkiye Örneği (1997–2022)

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Anahtar Sözcükler

Mimarlık; Eğitim binaları; İdeoloji; Dönüşüm; Türkiye.

Öz

Bu makale, 1997 ve 2022 yılları arasında Türkiye'deki kamu eğitim yapılarında meydana gelen ideolojik ve mimari dönüşümleri incelemektedir. Makale, ideolojik çerçevelerin eğitim yapılarının tasarımı üzerindeki etkilerini keşfederken form, program, ölçek ve yerleşim gibi mimari dönüşümlere odaklanmaktadır ve böylece literatürdeki bir boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, 1997 ve 2012 yıllarındaki eğitim sistemi değişikliklerini önemli birer dönüm noktası olarak ele alıp, bu değişiklikleri daha geniş ideolojik kaymalarla ilişkilendirmektedir. Niteliksel ve tarihsel bir araştırma stratejisi kullanan bu makale, araştırma malzemesini ideolojik bir bağlamda değerlendirmekte ve resmi olarak arşivlenmemiş mimari projeleri yorumlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, 1997'den 2022'ye kadar Türkiye'deki eğitim yapılarında meydana gelen mimari ve ideolojik dönüşümlerin, geleneksel ve modern etkilerin dinamik bir etkileşimini yansıttığını ortaya koymakta; politik ve sosyal ideolojilerin eğitim yapılarının tasarımı ve işlevi üzerindeki etkisini göstermektedir. Bu yaklaşım, ele alınan dönemde eğitim yapıları üzerinden ideoloji ve mimari arasındaki etkileşimi gözler önüne sererek, çalışmanın özgün bakış açılarını vurgulamaktadır.

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Öne Çıkanlar

- Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemi değişiklikleri, eğitim yapılarının form, program, ölçek ve yerleşimini yeniden şekillendirmiştir.
- Laik ve muhafazakâr ideolojiler arasındaki çatışma, eğitim yapılarının estetik ve mekânsal tasarımı üzerinde etkili olmuştur.
- Kullanım alanlarında geleneksel bir yaşam tarzına vurgu yapan ve kimi uygulamalarda geleneksel olduğu iddia edilen sembollerle donatılan projeler, okulların ideolojik birer araca dönüşmesini sağlamıştır.

İletişim

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INTRODUCTION

Traditionality and modernity, which are value-laden understandings and attitudes, as well as being objective concepts associated with certain periods, both have basic common features within themselves, although they show some differences in various times and societies. Traditionality which is representing a pre-modern world is built on the concepts of order, hierarchy, security, meaning and duty. On the other hand, modernism which emerged with movements such as Renaissance, Reformation, Humanism and Enlightenment and came after the traditional one is based on the concepts of change, equality, freedom, power and right respectively (Arslan, 2019). Traditionality and modernity are completely different and incompatible worldviews of the bases of these concepts. In terms of the Republic Period, the roots of the conflict between traditionality and modernity go back to the Westernization movements of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. This open or hidden conflict between traditionalists based on traditional Islamic culture on the one hand, and modernists based on a secular Western culture on the other hand determined the policies of the whole Republic Period. As a matter of fact, while traditionalists limited modernization to military, scientific and technological fields and opposed a moral understanding and lifestyle associated with the modern West, modernists advocated modernization in all spheres of life such as philosophical, political, cultural, legal and other areas. With the establishment of the Republic modernization has become a defining feature for the country Turkey in the direction of Kemalism (Ünder, 2018, p.51). However, Islamism which argues that modernization represents an obstacle to a traditional religious worldview and therefore a movement against modernization, has proposed another kind of modernization to be realized in an understanding that is in line with the requirements of modernization, but under the guidance of religion. As a result Islamism was presented as a religious return to traditions and also as a modernization project, and eventually it became an effective ideology in Turkey (Kutluer, 2001, p.65).

The most prominent feature of the Republic Period is that the conflict of traditionality and modernity has always been experienced in all social institutions, and this has inevitably been continued in the most severe way in the field of education, through children and young people who will shape the future of the country. This conflict comes to the fore with system changes, in addition to the educational programs that the governments put forward according to the type of people they want to raise in order to reproduce their ideology. These system changes, based on an ideological background, require new types of physical spaces.

This study, which covers the public education buildings designed during the last twenty-five years of the Republic Period, approaches the subject in an ideological context, and focuses on the architectural transformations of education buildings in aspects such as form, program, scale, and site, by evaluating the system changes that took place in 1997 and 2012 as turning points. Following the 28 February Process, the most apparent reason for the nationwide transition to the eight-year continuous and compulsory education system in 1997 was to prevent students from being directed towards religious education at an early age by closing the lower secondary stages of imam hatip schools, and to strengthen the secular education system. In 2012, the transition to the twelve-year

gradual and compulsory education system reversed the educational outcomes of the 28 February Process and led to the reopening of the lower secondary stages of imam hatip schools. The 1997 change necessitated the nationwide implementation of the previously trialed new primary (1-8 grades) school type, while the 2012 amendment eliminated this 1-8 grade primary school type, resulting in the redesign of old-style primary (1-5 grades) and lower secondary (6-8 grades) school types as it was before 1997. This article is unique in terms of accessing the architectural projects which are not kept in an official archive, and considering the education buildings of the examined period in a context that has not been studied enough.

While this article exhibits qualitative research characteristics in terms of temporal focus, it is close to historical research in terms of data sources and data collection techniques. Indeed, this research uses the permeability that exists between historical and qualitative research strategies, as Groat and Wang (2013, p.224) emphasize. In this respect, it exhibits an interpretive and narrative attitude specific to the historical researches, while it examines a contemporary period through written and drawn documents.

Recognizing the lack of an official archive for the architectural projects under study, this research undertook the creation of a comprehensive archive, compiling all projects of various types and stages approved from 1997 to 2022, sourced from personal records of the Ministry of National Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*, MEB) officials. This study aims to contribute to the literature by presenting these projects in a research strategy whose historical character is prominent and, then to conclude with an architectural evaluation with the context of the ideological attitudes. This effort is essential for understanding of the architectural transformations including form, program, scale, and site in education buildings during the specified period.

MODERN WORLDVIEW WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF KEMALISM

Atatürk's views are grounded in the philosophy of the Enlightenment. He developed his own understanding of nationalism through the nation-state phenomenon based on this philosophy. He displayed a national attitude in educational practices based on this understanding (Taşdelen, 2019, p.216). Atatürk benefited also from positivism of the Enlightenment, which is based on facts, considers metaphysical and unscientific explanations to be theoretically impossible and useless, and finds questions that cannot be tested by experimentation meaningless. Positivism shows itself in Atatürk's worldview through his emphasis on the concept of science and his prioritization of science in education, as in other fields (Tezcan, 2011, pp.16-17). While forming his own thoughts, Atatürk also benefited from the pragmatism of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. From this perspective, Atatürk believed that the fundamental task of education was to train individuals who could contribute to the increase of production and manufacturing, while ensuring that children are capable of being productive in social and economic life. This was because he recognized the need for rapid modernization and industrialization to place Turkey on par with Western nations. This required a workforce skilled in industry and technology, besides agriculture. Atatürk's emphasis on production and manufacturing had extended beyond economic growth, and it had aimed to foster a self-reliant, independent, and socially cohesive society. This approach was not only a response to the immediate needs of his time but also a strategic move towards the long-term development and

independence of the country. Atatürk (1997, p.419) had articulated this vision of education, stating the necessity of "raising the technical personnel required for the great development war of the country and its new structure, and creating individuals and institutions that will understand, explain, and perpetuate the ideology of the country from generation to generation". Indeed, Atatürk is a pragmatist in terms of considering objective benefit and the ideal truth in every activity of daily life and a positivist in relying on science to explain life (İnal, 2008, pp.73, 84-86). Atatürk also opposed bigotry, fanaticism, dogmatism, empty beliefs, and supernatural ideas (Tezcan, 2011, p.18), and revealed this rationalist approach with the principle of secularism. These speculative attitudes that shape or overlap with Atatürk's thoughts are the concepts of the modern world.

The education system of the Republic, as in all other fields, is based on the ideas of Atatürk and Kemalism as an ideology shaped by his principles and actions. This educational system, structured in such a manner, established its roots in the country throughout the period until the transition to a multi-party political life (Kaplan, 2019, pp.133, 161). In the final years of the single-party rule, concessions from revolutions were made in education, and deviated from the line of Kemalism for political interests during the 1950s. However, by the 1960s, a liberal and secular education approach was adopted in the 1961 Constitution, which had a Kemalist ideology. With the 1971 constitutional amendment, the understanding of freedom in education was abolished, and anti-secular practices in education continued during this period as they had before. Despite this, while the aims of the National Education Basic Law (1973) were stated, the emphasis on loyalty to the Atatürk's revolutions and Turkish nationalism was included in the first place, and the emphasis on Atatürk was expanded with the amendment made in 1983 (Kaplan, 2019, pp.262-266). In fact, the 1982 Constitution declared Kemalism as an official ideology with its own approach and including national education (Kaplan, 2019, p.306). Nevertheless, the 1980s contradict the official ideology expressed in the constitution as a period in which imam hatip schools were accepted into the general university system and religious courses were made compulsory in the classical school system (Kaplan, 2019, p.271). The government programs of the 1990s, like those of their predecessors, pointed to the commitment to Atatürk's principles along with national and moral values (Kaplan, 2019, pp.311-323). However, in practice, steps that were not in line with these principles continued to be taken (Tanilli, 2016, pp.105-106). Despite the contrary practices and misinterpretations, Kemalism as the founding ideology of the state has determined the basic line of the national education system, and even the governments, which include political parties that are opposed to Kemalism with their speeches and actions, have not been able to remove this ideology from party programs and educational programs.

The Kemalist national educational ideology, which had determined the educational direction of the Republic Period until 2000s, differs from the education policies of other ideologies in the period when it was formed in two main points. First of all, other ideologies of the same era were based on a monist principle, such as the Italian state in fascism, the German race in Nazism, the working class in communism and religion in theocracies, the Kemalist education thought was adopted multiple principles (Aytaç, 1984, p.20). As a matter of fact, education in Kemalism is national in accordance with the structure of the Turkish nation, revolutionary in ensuring the spread and protection of principles by following the path shown by science, democratic in accordance with the Republic regime, secular in terms of being away from empty beliefs and supernatural ideas. It

is also populist at the point of spreading education to the broad masses, and it has statist features in terms of the existence of an independent state in order to make all these things possible. The second sharp distinction of Kemalism from other ideologies in terms of education is that the aim of these ideologies, which were all totalitarian, is conditioning the people they want to raise according to a one-dimensional idea determined by themselves, while the ideal human model that Kemalism wants to achieve through education is based on science and freedom of thinking. In this way, Kemalism is prevented itself from falling into a strict doctrinism (Aytaç, 1984, p.20) and being stuck in dogmatism. After Atatürk, Kemalism developed in the form of adhering his path, following his attitude and defending his principles (Çeçen, 2006, p.20).

THE TRADITIONAL WORLDVIEW WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ISLAMISM

One of the effective ideological movements alongside Kemalism during the Republican Period in Turkey is Islamism. Origin of Islamism is the idea that the Ottoman Empire started to lose its cultural identity as a result of imitating the West in cultural matters with the Tanzimat, and as a reaction and remedy against this, the ideas of reintroducing traditional Islamic principles to Ottoman society, which the Tanzimat had secretly rejected. (Mardin, 1985a, pp.345-347). Although the foundations of the movement went back to the Tanzimat Period and the ideas in this direction were supported by Abdulhamid, Islamism became an ideological movement in the atmosphere of freedom of thought that emerged after the 1908 Revolution. Islamism in the early stages argued that Islam did not constitute an obstacle to progress in the field of culture and science, but rather proposed a progressive society system. It also attributed the reason for the decline of Islam and the Ottoman Empire against Western civilization to the inertia of Muslims and said that the exit would be with Islamization (Mardin, 1985b, p.1936). Islamism, the proponent of these assertions, as in every movement of religious thought, was based on tradition (Fırıncı Orman, 2019, p.252).

After the proclamation of the Republic, the revolutions, especially the abolition of the caliphate, the unification of education and the abolition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Şeriyye ve Evkaf Vekaleti*), and finally the acceptance of the principle of laicism, had been developments related directly or indirectly to religion and Islamism (Özcan, 2001, pp.62-65). As a result of the policies in the direction of these developments, Islamism was suppressed during the single-party period of Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, CHP), and from the multi-party period starting with 1946, it had the opportunity to be represented within the political parties located on the center right (Şaraplı, 2021, p.90-91; Ünder, 2018, p.51).

Islamism of the Republic Period until 1970, continued to exist in a cultural dimension through the contributions of various writers and thinkers, and in a social dimension through the influence of dominant religious sects in the country. From this date on, political Islamism has found its place alongside cultural Islamism and social Islamism (Akdoğan, 2005, p.621). Indeed, Islamism began to be represented by political parties that openly defined themselves as Islamist, starting with the National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi*, MNP). Islamism continued to be represented on the political ground by the parties, which were following each other in ideological context and all were closed as the result of their anti-secular activities (Hale and Özbudun, 2010, pp.3-5; Şaraplı, 2021,

p.103; Ünder, 2018, p.51). After the closure of these parties one after another, the political representation of Islamism passed with some structural changes to the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, AKP), which has been in power since the 2002 general elections (Çigdem, 2005, p.29). However, the current ruling party has rejected the ideological roots, which had been embraced by the previous Islamic parties as a strong political expression of Islamism. Although it comes from the same tradition, the party has defined itself as a conservative democrat since its establishment, and has added conservatism, liberalism, national will, and democracy to its ideology. However, the emphasis on the goal of "raising religious generations", articulated especially after the political power gained in the 2011 elections, has increased discussions regarding the party's ideological orientation.

Although it is based on an Islamist tradition as its cadres have an Islamist background and Islamist emphasis is frequently used in party discourses (Yılmaz, 2005, pp.604, 616), the party in power does not consider itself Islamist (Çiğdem, 2005, p.30). Instead, the party and the ideology it represents, which emphasizes the conservative democratic identity it produced (Akdoğan, 2005, p.631), in the final analysis, is the result of the cultural, social and political transformation of Islamism (Bilici, 2005, p.800).

Due to the narrowing of the political space for Islamism by the political environment of the late 1990s, it became necessary for the ruling party to move away from this concept. Consequently, just as Islamism positioned itself within nationalist and conservative ideologies in the early years of the Republic, the ruling party positioned its ideology within the concepts of conservatism, in which certain religious demands were meant, and democracy, in the sense of implicitly transforming the Kemalist regime (Duran, 2005, p.155). This situation is also a reflection of the tension that Islamism experienced during the establishment stage of the Republic regime in the conflict of traditionality and modernity (Çigdem, 2005, p.28; Kaya, 2018, s.41). While doing so, the ruling party focuses on neoliberal and democratic values such as limited government, rule of law, individual centrism, free market economy, strong civil society, universal human rights, dialogue, and tolerance, in addition to conservatism that it embraces with an Islamic content and spiritual significance (Akdoğan, 2005, p.627; Hale and Özbudün, 2010, pp. 20, 29). Thus, the ruling party claims that it does not exclude modernity, in contradiction with its actions during its rule. On the other hand, just as Islamism meets on a common ground with postmodernism, which gives the same value to religious and intuitive knowledge as scientific knowledge in the criticism of modernity (Bilici, 2005, pp.801-802), the ruling party gets closer to the postmodernism and instrumentalizes it while defending the traditional worldview.

As a postmodern identity integrated with neoliberalism by the party in power (Bora, 2021, pp.562-563; Kaya, 2018, p.50), the educational response of its political ideology in the conservative democratic line (Yılmaz, 2005, p.615) has been the changes and transformations made by the governments of the ruling party in the field of education since they came to power (Ömürlüoğlu, 2020, p.81). As a result, the Turkish education system has entered into a neoliberal transformation involving the privatization and globalization of education according to the needs of the market, and a religious transformation in the line of conservatism that the ruling party has used with a spiritual meaning (Balcı, 2021, pp.117-118; İnal, 2018, pp.36-37; Özmen, 2018, p.65).

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TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION BUILDINGS: 1997-2012

In 1997, the education system in Turkey changed, and eight years of continuous and compulsory education was implemented starting from the 1997-1998 academic year. Although this practice had been in government programs since the 1970s, it had not been implemented throughout the country (Kaplan, 2019, p.316). But by 1997, eight years of continuous and compulsory education was applied as one of the decisions that forced to the government by the National Security Council (*Milli Güvenlik Konseyi*, MGK) meeting on February 28, in which the army displayed an attitude against reactionism and fundamentalism and reminded that the goal of national education is not political Islam but the ideal of the Republic (Akşin, 2003, p.173; Tanilli, 2016, p.107).

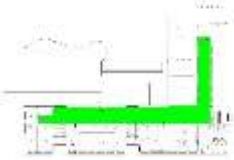
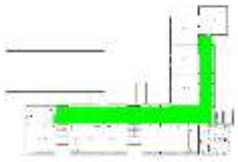
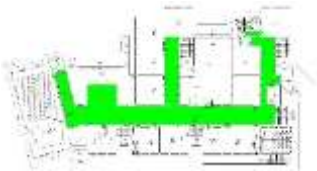
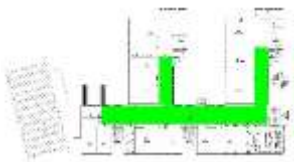
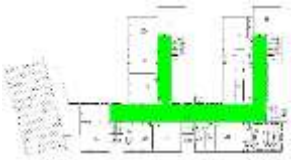
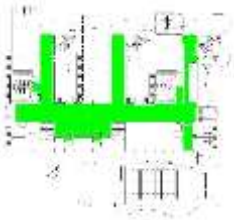
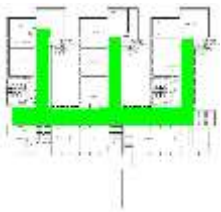
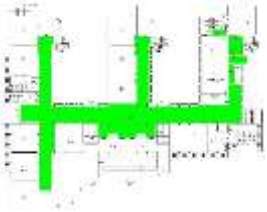
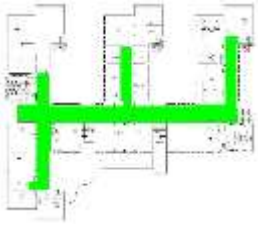
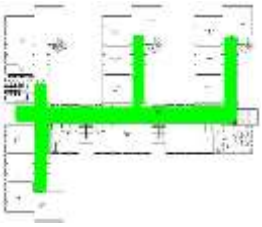
The new practice which caused the closure of lower secondary stages of vocational high schools and mainly the lower secondary stages of imam hatip schools, made it necessary to transform old-style primary (1-5 grades) and lower secondary (6-8 grades) school buildings, while at the same time brought up a new type of schools including both the primary and lower secondary stages. As a result, new types of primary (1-8 grades) schools to meet the physical needs of the new education system had to be designed and implemented in a very short time. Although there were some administrative conflicts with the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (*Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı*, BİB) before, especially since the late 1990s, the prevailing approach in Turkey had been that the design and implementation processes of public-school buildings were carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*, MEB) and with type projects (Baloğlu, 2019, pp.7–8). The first attempt of the MEB to meet the new needs by abandoning the old-type projects was the new primary (1-8 grades) school projects, the design principles of which were determined by the MEB and which were designed by various universities. Thus, in 1998, the architectural departments of Gazi University, Istanbul Technical University, Mimar Sinan University, Middle East Technical University, Yıldız Technical University and Erciyes University designed primary schools of various types and sizes and some of these projects were built (Gedizlioğlu, 2003, p.53). During this period, although 1998-type 8, 16, 24, 32 and 40-classrooms primary schools, regional boarding primary schools and primary schools with boarding houses were designed, no records were kept of where they were built. Indeed, in terms of the schools built by MEB, an inventory record of sufficient scope had not been kept since the first years of the Republic. On the other hand, contrary to what has been practiced for many years since the foundation of the Republic, those who contributed to the preparation of the building programs and architectural projects were mentioned in the catalog published by the MEB, in 2000. Thus, the architects who designed the 1998-type projects had been recorded[1].

[1] The architectural project team of Erciyes University consists of Y. Bahri Ergen, Yurdanur Sepkin, Öner Olcay, A. Mustafa Ayten and K. Hakan Yazar. The architectural project team of Gazi University consists of Esen Onat, Hüsnü Can (civil engineer), Zeynep Onur, Hakan Sağlam, Göktürk Gültek, Selçuk Uysal, İlhan Kesmez, Şehnaz Rastgeldi, Merve Akansel and Gülsu Ulukavak. The architectural project team of Istanbul Technical University consists of Mine İnceoğlu, Gülen Çağdaş, Ahsen Özsoy, Nur Esin Altaş, Gülçin Pulat Gökmen, Lerzan Aras Kocagil, Fatma Erkök, Mete Tapan, Cem Erözü, Emre Yavuz, Arzu Erdem, Çiğdem Eren, Nurbin Paker, Hüseyin Kahvecioğlu, Hülya Turgut, Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu, Dilek Yıldız, Pelin Dursun, Hülya Yürekli, Ferhan Yürekli, Sinan M. Şener, Elmira Şener and Ömer Erem. The architectural project team of Mimar Sinan University consists of Cengiz Eruzun, Kemal Çorapçıoğlu, Etem Tuna, Orhan Şahinler, Recai Ersin Aynan, Murat Eriç and Halit Yaşa Ersoy. The architectural project team of Middle East Technical University consists of Necdet Teymur, Mualla Erkılıç, Berrak Seren, Ali Cengizkan, Aydan Balamir, Abdi Güzer and Fatih Öz. The architectural project team of Yıldız Technical University consists of Hakkı Önel, Işık Aydemir, Altan Akı, Güven Şener, Feride Önal and Tan Kamil Gürer. The members of the mentioned project groups designed the relevant projects together or in their own subgroups (MEB, 2000, p.399).

The projects that found the widest application area within the 1998-type primary school projects have been those made within Gazi University. Under this framework, five primary school projects and two regional boarding primary school projects have been designed. All these projects are in the form of derivatives of the same plan schemes. Indeed, all the plans proposed for primary schools have a main mass and some branches connected to this mass. In each of these branches, there is a corridor that faces the outside and thus receives daylight throughout, and there are classrooms, workshops or laboratories lined up on the other side of the corridor. In the primary schools with two 8-classrooms, two 16-classrooms and one 32-classrooms designed by Gazi University project team, the branches added to the main mass vary from one to four depending on the number of classrooms, which are given in building programs (Figure 1) (Table 1).

Figure 1. GU.1998-type primary schools (1-8 grades) a-b) GU 240 IO 1.3 for 240 students c) GU 480 IO 3.3 for 480 students d-e-f) GU 960 IO 4.3 for 960 students (MEB, 2000, pp.22, 28, 60, 66, 102).

Table 1. GU.1998-type primary school (1-8 grades) plans[2] (Adapted from MEB, 2000).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
GU.240 IO 1.3 primary school			
GU.240 IO 2.2 primary school			
GU.480 IO 2.3 primary school			
GU.480 IO 3.3 primary school			
GU.960 IO 4.3 primary school			

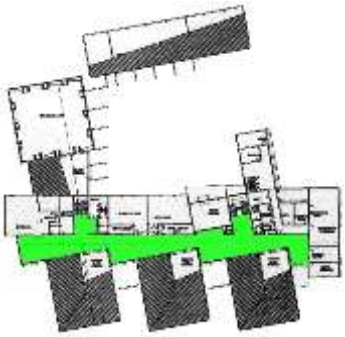
The main mass is enlarged and designed with an open courtyard in the regional boarding primary schools with 32 and 40-classrooms, which are essentially built on the same plan scheme with a similar understanding of primary education schools. In addition, the classrooms were lined up along the corridor in the main building in the larger school type, thereby increasing the student capacity. In both types of projects, in addition to the education block, there are multi-purpose hall, gym, student dormitory, housing for adults and dining hall blocks in the campus. The multi-purpose hall is connected to the main building by a walkway on the ground floor.

In the same period, nine separate studies were presented by Istanbul Technical University (ITU). As a result of forming six different project groups for these studies, unlike those at Gazi University,

[2] GU.240 IO 1.3 primary school (1-8 grades) for 240 students, GU.240 IO 2.2 primary school (1-8 grades) for 240 students, GU.480 IO 2.3 primary school (1-8 grades) for 480 students, GU.480 IO 3.3 primary school (1-8 grades) for 480 students, GU.960 IO 4.3 primary school (1-8 grades) for 960 students (Onat et. al., 1998).

projects that were not variations of each other have been produced. The projects designed at ITU are primary schools and regional boarding primary schools with 8, 16, 24, 32 and 40-classrooms (Table 2).

Table 2. Selected ITU.1998-type primary school (1-8 grades) plans[3] (Adapted from MEB, 2000).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
ITU.240 IO primary school			
ITU.480 IO primary school			
ITU.720 IO primary school			

Within the scope of the project development activities of the MEB, three different types of primary schools with 8, 24 and 32-classrooms were designed at Mimar Sinan University, and a primary school with 8-classrooms and primary schools with boarding houses including 16, 24 and 32-classrooms were designed at the Middle East Technical University. In addition to these, the Yıldız Technical University had made two regional boarding primary school projects with 16 and 24-classrooms, and Erciyes University had also made two regional boarding primary school projects with 24 and 40-classrooms. Thus, with the studies in 1998, 27 projects were developed for 1 to 8

[3] ITU.240 IO primary school (1-8 grades) for 240 students (İnceoğlu et. al., 1998), ITU.480 IO primary school (1-8 grades) for 480 students (Tapan et. al., 1998), ITU.720 IO primary school (1-8 grades) for 720 students (Turgut et. al., 1998).

grades primary education, 14 of which were primary schools, 10 of which were regional boarding primary schools and 3 of which were primary schools with boarding houses (MEB, 2000, p.5).

Following the transition to the eight-year compulsory education period in primary education, new type projects were started to be designed following the 1998-type primary schools as a result of the Regulation on Buildings to be Constructed in Disaster Zones (1998), the Thermal Insulation Regulations for Buildings (2000) and the Fire Protection Code of Buildings (2002) entered into force and thus losing the ability to implement old-type projects. In this context, 41 new projects of MEB.2000-type, mostly consisting of high schools and vocational high schools, have been developed by the companies providing consultancy to the Ministry with the Physical Contribution to Education Project (EFIKAP) implemented by the MEB (MEB, 2005, p.139) (Figure 2).

Figure 2. MEB.2000-type upper secondary schools a) MEB.2000.05 with 12-classrooms b) MEB.2000.07 with 16-classrooms c) MEB.2000.08 with 16-classrooms d) MEB.2000.09 16-classrooms e) MEB.2000.11 with 24-classrooms f) MEB.2000.12 with 24-classrooms (Sourced from personal records of the MEB officials).

With the general elections that took place in 2002, the period of the conservative democratic governments has begun. The first project work carried out in this period was the MEB.2004-type projects put into practice by the MEB. This project group, consisting of 35 new projects, mainly covering primary schools and special education schools, had been a continuation of the previous project group, by completing the missing school types in the MEB.2000-type project group, mostly consisting of high schools and vocational high schools (MEB, 2005, p.139) (Figure 3).

Figure 3. MEB.2004-type primary schools a) MEB.2004.40 with 8-classrooms b) MEB.2004.49 with 24 classrooms c) MEB.2004.50R with 32-classrooms (Sourced from personal records of the MEB officials).

Up to the year 1997, it is observed that primary, middle, and high school buildings were designed with a maximum of 24 classrooms. However, during the period of 1997-2012, school types accommodating 32 and 40 classrooms for higher student capacity were also developed. At this point, in addition to capacity increase, a change in understanding is also observed. Accordingly, while classrooms were previously planned for 50 students, the system change in 1997 adopted an approach of designing classrooms for 30 students. Implemented without a reduction in the total construction area, this approach has consequently led to an increase in the per-student school space. Despite this, in practice, it is known that there were still overcrowded classrooms.

After the system change, the approach to the number of floors in schools had been maintained as it was in previous years, and schools of 1998, 2000, and 2004-types had been designed with a basement and ground floor, and up to three floors above. The only exception to this situation was a 1998-type primary school project, which included an extra floor. Excessive vertical circulation in schools, especially at the primary level, leads to inefficient use of break times and also poses security concerns. However, in Turkey, due to economic factors such as the lack of sufficiently large plots allocated for educational spaces in urban planning and the need to keep construction costs within small budgets, projects suitable for smaller plots, consisting of 3-4 stories, have been developed instead of 1-2 story projects that require more extensive land.

These projects, which were developed without considering the land factor as a natural result of being type-projects, had been designed to be implemented all over the country. When deciding which type-projects had been implemented on existing plots, capacity values were prioritized rather than land and location data. It should be noted that within the 1998-type projects, there were regional boarding primary schools designed for areas with villages where it was not economically feasible to build a standalone primary school due to low population, and primary schools with boarding houses that provided residential education opportunities for children who faced difficulties attending day schools due to various social and familial reasons. However, due to change of social and economic structures, these two types of school projects were not repeated in subsequent years; instead, boarding houses for students were designed to meet specific needs as they emerged.

The 1998-type school projects, which were the first projects developed in the period of 1997-2012, differ from the previous and subsequent type projects in the way they were obtained. Indeed, type-projects had usually been carried out within the relevant units of ministries in the past, and later they have been acquired by contracting to consulting firms. However, the execution of 1998 type projects by project teams formed within the architecture departments of various universities revealed an experimental approach in terms of the design of school projects in the Republic Period. Thus, it had been offered a wide variety of design and functional understanding. For example, in the ITU.240 IO project, the classrooms, instead of being lined up along a main corridor as usual, had formed clusters around small common areas, which were designed as a core and connected to the main corridor. Another example, in the ITU.720 IO project, spacious internal gardens and courtyards were the prominent features of the design, serving as spaces that provide suitable areas for students' socialization as well as extracurricular activities. In the case of the ODTU.240 IO project, consists of two separate blocks and proposes alternative layouts for different plot sizes, thus allowing for a flexible design in terms of land use (Figure 4).

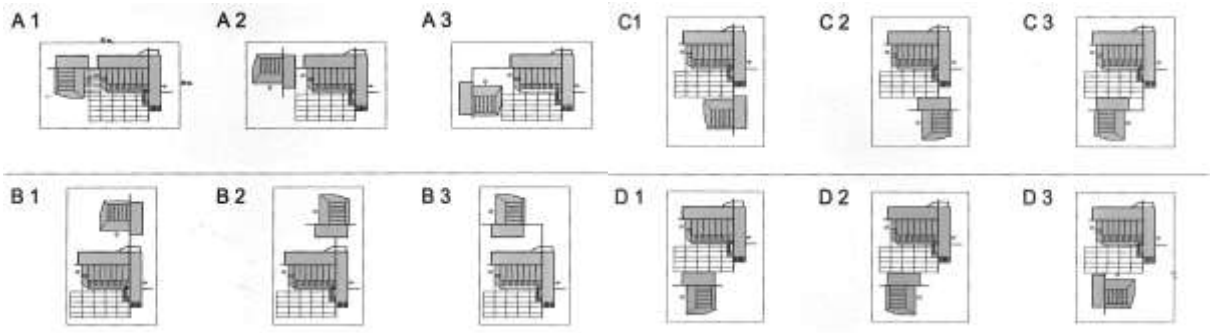
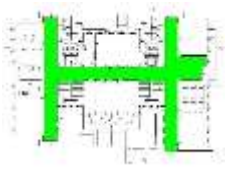
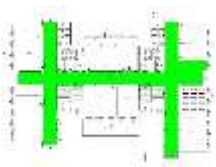
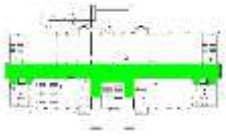
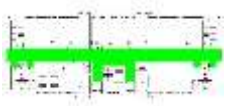


Figure 4. ODTU.240 IO primary school (1-8 grades) for 240 students, site planning alternatives considering topography, access routes, orientation, and slope of land (MEB, 2000, p.44).

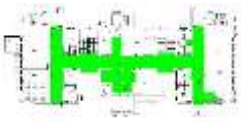
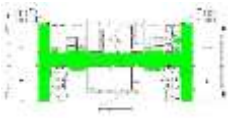
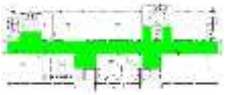
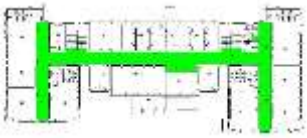
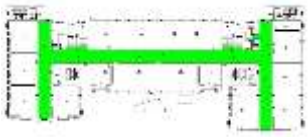
Following the trials in 1998, the claim of MEB.2004-type projects was not only corridors and classrooms, so that they provide spaces that students will want to be in fondly (MEB, 2007, p.38). On the other hand, the MEB.2000 and MEB.2004-type plans, due to corridors in horizontal circulation and enclosed stairwells in vertical circulation, offer architectural solutions contrary to the project's claim. Project schemes also exclude elements such as inner courtyards, corners reserved for student groups, activity areas, learning streets and squares, which are places that will coincide with the claim of the project. Thus, the corridors and stairs cannot go beyond the circulation functions and do not show features that can be included in the education and socialization processes of the students (Table 3 - Table 4).

Table 3. Selected MEB.2000-type upper secondary school plans[4]
(Adapted from personal records of the MEB officials).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
MEB. 2000.01			
MEB. 2000.05			
MEB. 2000.12			

[4] MEB.2000.01 upper secondary school with 8-classrooms (Köprülü and Ceyhan, 2000), MEB.2000.05 upper secondary school with 12-classrooms (Şengonca et al., 2000), MEB.2000.12 upper secondary school with 24-classrooms (Karaman et al., 2000).

Table 4. Selected MEB.2004-type primary school[5] (1-8 grades) plans (Adapted from personal records of the MEB officials).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
MEB. 2004.45			
MEB. 2004.48			
MEB. 2004.49			

Along with MEB.2004-type schools, a superficial but ideological break was experienced for the first time in the design of education buildings of the Republic Period. With the understanding that Peker (2015, pp.13-19) put forward as revanchist architecture in the sense of reckoning with the founding ideology, decorations claimed to be Ottoman-Seljuk inspired have begun to be made on the facades of school buildings, as well as in other public buildings. Indeed, the ruling party identified these embellishments with the ideology it represents and used this symbolic power. At this point, the government has considered architecture, which it sees as a device in displaying its ideology in the public sphere and dominating this area with its ideology, at the level of facade decoration. As a result of this, just with a political decision, but without the knowledge of the relevant administration, Ottoman-Seljuk decorations were added to the facades of the projects, the design of which had been completed before. The resulting projects were announced by the MEB with the theme of Education Buildings from Tradition to the Future (Osmanpaşaoğlu et al., 2012, p.51). This ideological attitude of the government of the ruling party was implicit in the decisions of the 18th National Education Council held in 2010, with the expression that the type projects developed for school buildings had to be reflect the characteristics of Turkish architectural art and had to create a national identity in students by architectural designs decorated with various aesthetic motifs (MEB, 2011, p.707). In addition to the Ottoman-Seljuk understanding, these buildings, which tend to traditional Turkish architecture with wide eaves, buttresses and bay windows, and

[5] MEB.2004.45 primary school (1-8 grades) with 8-classrooms (Tunçay and Ülger, 2004a), MEB.2004.48 primary school (1-8 grades) with 16-classrooms (İtez and İtez, 2004), MEB.2004.49 primary school (1-8 grades) with 24-classrooms (Tunçay and Ülger, 2004b).

also to Hittite architecture, as claimed (MEB, 2007, p.38) are relying on older examples instead of reflecting the period they belong to (Figure 5). These buildings presented as a solution for school designs that were claimed to be without identity, impersonal and corrupt in terms of building aesthetics since the first years of the Republic (MEB, 2004). However, these buildings have always been controversial in architectural circles. Instead, this solution has been only one of the actions of establishing an ideological domination on the cities and appropriation of public spaces by using religious and national images, as in similar applications of the governments (Zamani and Mehan, 2019, p.487).

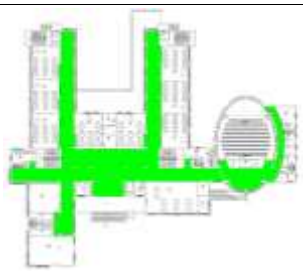
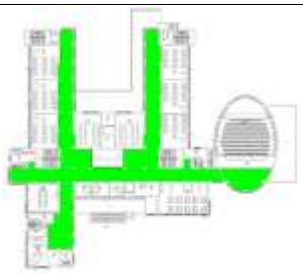
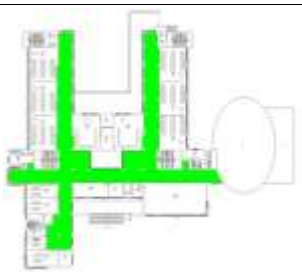
Figure 5. MEB.2004-type primary school facades claimed to be traditional Turkish, Ottoman-Seljuk and Hittite architecture a) MEB.2004.48 project with 16-classrooms (İtez and İtez, 2004) b) MEB.2004.50R project with 32-classrooms (Tunçay and Ülger, 2004a) c) MEB.2004.52 project with40-classrooms (Tunçay and Ülger, 2004b)

TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION BUILDINGS: 2012-2022

During its initial years in power, the party had gained the support of liberal circles through its liberal policies and steps towards democratization within the framework of the European Union membership process. Subsequently, the party had secured the backing of capital and media circles with its economic reforms and privatization movements. Following the 2007 presidential election and the 2008 closure case, the political power of the party had been further solidified. As a result of controversial legal processes in the late 2000s, the weakening of the military contributed to the increase in the party's power (Ataay, 2020, 261-266; Hale ve Özbudun, 2010, 130-131; Kabasakal, 2020, 90; Timur, 2015, 30, 47-51). The ruling party's political power, which was provided by these developments, coupled with its significant victory in the 2011 general elections, has allowed the party to make a drastic change in national education. This change has been experienced in primary and secondary education, and as of the 2012-2013 academic year, a twelve-year gradual and compulsory education system, in which primary schools, lower secondary schools and higher secondary schools are four years each, has been adopted. Thus, imam hatip lower secondary schools, which had been closed with the previous eight years of continuous and compulsory education system, has been reopened with the new education system (Okçabol, 2013, pp.237–239).

The restructuring of the national education system as a result of the ideological conflict that has been going on since the foundation of the Republic, has created a need for new school types that will meet the new physical conditions for primary schools, lower secondary schools and imam hatip lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools, imam hatip and other vocational secondary schools. Thereupon, the MEB had made projects of MEB.2014-type, consisting of kindergartens, primary schools, lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools, additional classrooms and student dormitories, by carrying out project tenders (Table 5).

Table 5. Selected MEB.2014-type school plans[6] (Adapted from personal records of the MEB officials).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
MEB. 2014.32 LI			
MEB. 2014.24 IHL			
MEB. 2014.32 IHL			
MEB. 2014.24 IHO			
MEB. 2014.08 IO			
MEB. 2014.06 AO			

[6] MEB.2014.32 LI secondary school with 32-classrooms (Ürger and Özer, 2014), MEB.2014.24 IHL imam hatip secondary school with 24-classrooms (Öztürker and Altay, 2014), MEB.2014.32 IHL imam hatip secondary school with 32-classrooms (Dilsiz and Dilsiz, 2014), MEB.2014.24 IHO imam hatip upper primary school with 24-classrooms (Türkoğlu and Tek, 2014b), MEB.2014.08 IO lower primary school with 8-classrooms (Türkoğlu and Tek, 2014a), MEB.2014.06 AO preschool with 6-classrooms (Tuncer, 2014).

The most remarkable change in the design of projects of the MEB.2014- type has occurred due to the number of classrooms in schools, which is a result of the new education system. This has resulted in an increase in the total number of classrooms and student capacities, as well as the sizes of multipurpose halls, sports halls and other common spaces associated with this capacity. Under the new system, there are four grades planned for both primary school and middle school, whereas previously there had been five grades for the first level and three for the second level of primary education.

In addition to this change resulting from the restructuring of the education system, a regulatory amendment that makes it necessary to build a place of worship in schools has also been an element that affects spatial setup in MEB.2014-type projects. The provision in the Regulation on Secondary Education Institutions, which was previously stated as "appropriate places to meet the worship needs can be reserved upon request" (MEB, 2013, s.v.99), was changed to "a suitable place with natural lighting is reserved for worship needs in the school" with an amendment made in 2014 (MEB, 2014, s.v.99). Thus, prayer halls (*mescit*), which are located in imam hatip schools and used for practicing religious rituals as a part of teaching, have become compulsory in all schools in the secondary education.

While almost all of the MEB.2004-type projects were designed in a single consulting firm, the fact that almost each of the MEB.2014-type projects were designed by different architects led to a diversity in architectural understanding (Figure 6). In this diversity, although the ideological intervention of the previous period was not seen in the designs, the ideological attitude based on tradition was maintained thanks to the sticking of the motifs claimed to be inspired by Ottoman-Seljuk in some cases (Figure 7).

Figure 6. MEB.2014-type schools a) MEB.2014.24 IHO-type imam hatip lower secondary school project with 24-classrooms (Türkoğlu and Tek, 2014) b) MEB.2014.16 LI-type upper secondary school project with 16-classrooms (Koç, 2014) c) MEB.2014.16 IO-type primary school with 20-classrooms (Başar, 2014)

Figure 7. Revised MEB.2014.16 LI-type upper secondary school with 30-classrooms a) entrance facade b) facade decoration.

Another comprehensive education move that emerged after the system change in 2012, had been to relocate city schools outside of urban areas and gather them within campuses, in line with the government's privatization and marketization policies in education (Okçabol, 2013, p.262). The first legal regulation for Education Campuses Project (Figure 8), which predicts bringing together the upper secondary schools that have different education programs such as Anatolian high school, science high school, social sciences high school, imam hatip high school, vocational high school and general high school (Çelik and Güleç, 2014, p.103), was made in 2009. Thus, it was possible to establish a single administration in order to make more than one educational institution in the same area and to meet the common needs of these educational institutions, thus paving the way for the establishment of education campuses by MEB. Then, with the regulations in 2011 and 2012, the necessary legal background was prepared for these campuses to be made with public private partnerships (PPPs) and in built-operate-transfer (BOT) model. Following these regulations, national architectural design competitions were held and architectural projects were obtained for a total of thirty-three educational campuses, with the first stage consisting of eight, the second stage consisting of twelve, and the third stage consisting of thirteen (Büyükcan and Yelken, 2015, pp.11–12). However, this initiative, which was based on the restructuring of the education area according to the market system and the privatization of the service areas on the campuses, could not be realized as the MEB abandoned the project.

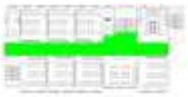
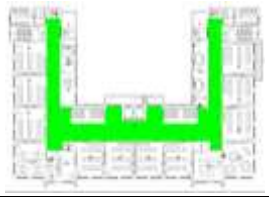
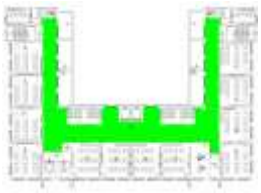
Figure 8. Education Campuses Project a) Education Campus in the Milas district of Muğla (Derman, 2013) b) Education Campus in the central district of Aydın (Eyce et al., 2013) c) Education Campus in the Fırıncı district of Malatya (Uludağ and Uludağ, 2013) d) Education Campus of Afyonkarahisar (Öztepe and Öztepe, 2013).

After the completed MEB.2014 projects and the Education Campuses process, which could not put into practice, MEB.2017 projects were prepared, consisting mainly the buildings outside of schools such as teacher's lounges, guidance and research centers (RAM), multipurpose halls, indoor sports halls, public education centers (HEM), dormitories and boarding houses and science and art centers, in addition to some kindergartens and special education schools. During the following period, although school projects made by various consulting firms were announced by the MEB as of 2020, a recent project group has created by canceling some of these projects, most of which were in the form of preliminary projects, and making revisions in some others, and by adding new ones. The MEB.2022-type of projects, which emerged as a result of this process and consisted of primary, lower secondary and upper secondary school buildings as well as dormitories, have been announced by the MEB in the second half of 2022 (Figure 9).

Figure 9. MEB.2022-type schools a) MEB.OO.24.BZ3.22x42.BT.2022-type lower secondary school project with 24-classrooms (Beker et al., 2022) b) MEB.İO.20.BZ3.25x38.BT.2022-type primary school with 20-classrooms (Özer and Üsküdar Özer, 2022) c) MEB.İO.32.BZ3.21x65.BT.2022-type primary school with 32-classrooms (Yıldızlı, 2022) d) MEB.Lİ.20.BZ2.20x41.BT.2022-type upper secondary school with 20-classrooms (Dimicioğlu, 2022).

The plan schemes of MEB.2022-type schools, unlike the variety of plan schemes in MEB.2014-type schools, are mostly composed of the main circulation axis in the center and classrooms and other spaces that are lined on both sides of it, resulting in more monotonous plan schemes (Table 6). In this plan layout, the stairwells are on the inside and located in a closed form. These plans that lack flexible design, allow education to be provided only in classrooms with their current form. However, in contemporary educational approaches, the idea of evaluating the common areas of the school as a learning and socializing environment is emphasized, and flexible space designs are provided in terms of new educational practices. In the case of MEB.2022-type projects, a partial exception to this situation occurs in the 32-classroom lower secondary school project and the 40-classroom imam hatip upper secondary school, which is a derivation of this project. In these two school projects, while the main staircases are leaned against the exterior facade with a view towards the schoolyard, an activity area has been planned on the side of the staircase facing the interior.

Table 6. Selected MEB.2022-type school plans[7] (Adapted from personal records of the MEB officials).

Project name	Ground floor plan	First floor plan	Second floor plan
MEB. İO.8. …2022			
MEB. İO.16. …2022			
MEB. İO.24. …2022			
MEB. OO.8. …2022			
MEB. OO.24. …2022			
MEB. İHL.40. …2022			

Both the MEB.2014 projects, which replaced the previous period's projects, and the MEB.2022 projects, which replaced the MEB.2014 ones, have been developed on some fundamental decisions that have been in effect since 2000. Accordingly, among the projects after 2012, there are schools with high capacities, offering 32 and 40 classrooms. Additionally, the number of students assigned per classroom has again been set at 30. Just like the student capacities, the total construction areas

[7] MEB.İO.8.Z1.21x54.BT.2022 primary school with 8-classrooms (Bozyel, 2022), MEB.İO.16.BZ2.20x43.BT.2022 primary school with 16-classrooms (Soyal, 2022), MEB.İO.24.BZ3.25x39.BT.2022 primary school with 24-classrooms (Özer and Üsküdar Özer, 2022b), MEB.OO.8.Z1.21x47.BT.2022 middle school with 8-classrooms (Ekici et al., 2022), MEB.OO.24.BZ3.22x42.BT.2022 middle school with 24-classrooms (Beker et al., 2022), MEB.İHL.40.BZ3.41x60.BT.2022 imam hatip high school with 40-classrooms (Yıldızlı, 2022a).

of the schools are equivalent to the previous period, and in determining the number of floors, the previous approach is continued, designing buildings with a maximum of 3 floors, excluding the basement and ground floor.

Here, within the increasing diversity of projects and in line with the required capacity, school projects selected by the administrations are implemented without keeping a record of which is built where. Each implementation involves adapting the Ministry's type-projects to the relevant plot of land. Therefore, there are as many land solutions as there are school building applications.

With a regulation change in 2014, the prayer hall (mescit) which was mandatory for the secondary education, was also made mandatory for all levels, including kindergartens with another regulation published in 2017 stating that "each institution must have sufficient ablution rooms and separate prayer halls for men and women in a suitable area with natural lighting" (MEB, 2017, s.v.5ç). Thus, in MEB.2017 and then MEB.2022-type school projects, ablution rooms and prayer halls have become mandatory elements of planning in all schools, as subject to the provisions of the relevant regulation.

Another feature of the school projects of the period after 2012 is the absence of urinals in the men's toilets. However, in the Educational Buildings Minimum Design Standards Guide published in 2015, it was stated that there should be urinals in both student and teacher toilets, in addition the mounting levels of the urinals were given (MEB, 2015, pp.35, 56, 135). Although urinals were included in the men's toilets in the projects of MEB.2014 and before, the fact that the urinals had been removed from the designs in the MEB.2017 and subsequent MEB.2022 projects indicate a change in understanding. Indeed, certain circles see the use of urinals as a Western action and do not find it suitable for the Islamic lifestyle.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The conflict between traditional and modern worldviews, which are irreconcilable to each other, has been taking place since the establishment of the Republic. This conflict, as with all social institutions, has manifested itself in education and brought about some structural changes in the education system. The roots of this last process, which the government has maintained, go back to political Islamism, which has always been a vibrant vein in the Republic Period. As a matter of fact, political Islamist tendencies have taken part in various governments since the 1950s. This ideological understanding had placed at the center of government policies with the change of power in 1996, and become extreme. As a result of this, the 28 February Process, which resulted in a change of government, was experienced, and the eight-year continuous and compulsory system was passed in the field of education along with some decisions that the army forced on the government.

Along with the eight-year continuous and compulsory education, primary schools covering the first five years and lower secondary schools covering the next three years have been replaced by primary schools that would provide an eight-year education. As a result, new school projects have been designed to meet this need. Although these 1998-type projects carried out by the architectural departments of various universities under the coordination of the MEB began to be implemented

all over the country, some regulation changes that took place in the same years caused these projects to lose their applicability, and a re-projecting activity has been initiated by the MEB. Within this framework, MEB.2000 and MEB.2004-type school projects have been designed.

This period has witnessed a neoliberal change in the education system according to the needs of the market on the one hand, and a religious transformation on the axis of conservatism, attaching a spiritual meaning to, on the other. In order to meet the school needs that emerged during this change and transformation, it has oriented heavily on type project applications. There is a significant increase in the number of type school projects designed during this period compared to previous periods. It is possible to base this situation to two basic reasons. The first of these is the fact that the party's claim to abandon the uniform public works model and go for a flexible structure in school construction has been put into practice in a sense, and the second is the regulations introduced by laws and regulations.

The MEB.2000-type projects which made before the 2002 elections, and as its continuation the MEB2004-type projects completed during the government of the ruling party, are the results in the need to the projects arising from regulations issued between 1998-2002 on earthquake, thermal insulation, and fire protection.

Besides, changes in the education system have brought new projects to the agenda. Indeed, in 1997, a change in system with an ideological background took place, and then new types of schools have designed. In 2012, a new change has occurred towards reckoning ideologically with the system change that took place in 1997, and as a result, new projects have designed.

As a result, it is seen that the projects produced in the 1997-2022 period are the result of some political developments and ideological attitudes in general framework (Figure 10). 1998-type school projects were designed as a requirement of a new education system. After that, MEB.2000-type projects were made and MEB.2004-type projects were accomplished as a continuation and complement of these projects. Again, following a system change, MEB.2014-type projects were designed. Finally, the most recently designed MEB.2022-type projects have replaced the MEB.2014-type projects. In addition, the MEB.2017-type projects, which consist of a small number of school buildings for special education, but mostly the non-school buildings, have been the complement of the MEB.2022-type project group. On the other hand, the Education Campuses Project, which is based on the ruling party's idea of privatizing and reorganizing education according to market conditions, has not been implemented.

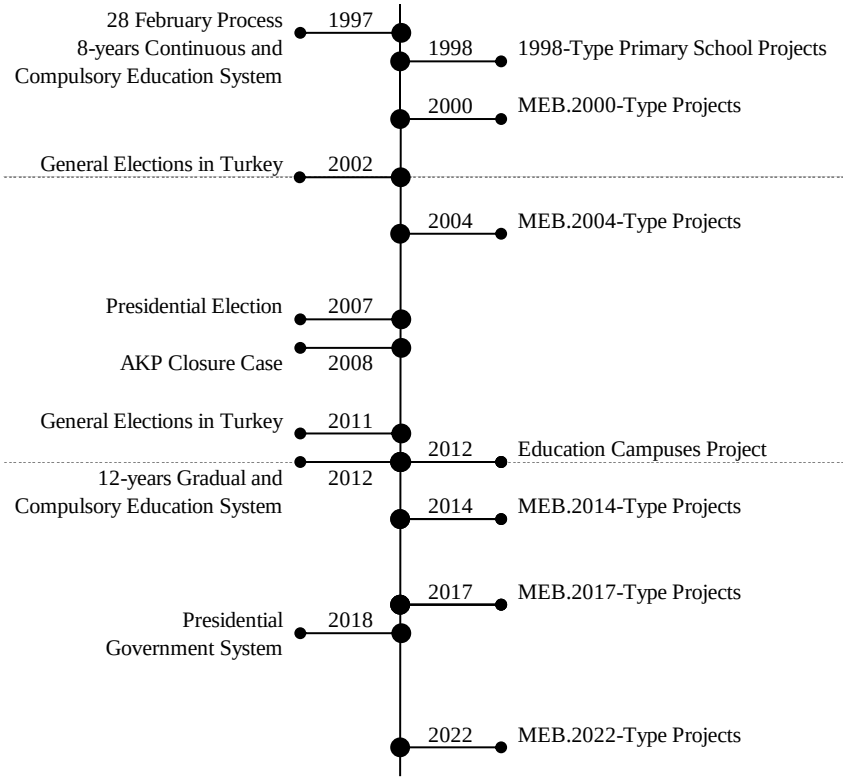


Figure 10. Developments in Turkey and the projects of education buildings (1997-2022)

Education buildings that were made in the 1997-2022 period do not differ from the type projects of the 1960s in terms of the layout schemes in which the classrooms are in the foreground, and do not bring significant innovation in terms of the essence of their designs. An exception to this in the 1997-2012 period has been the 1998-type school projects designed by architecture departments of universities, in which some include open and closed courtyards, educational streets and squares, and others experiment with innovations in facade and mass formation. These projects, put forward by each architectural group with their own approach and whose architectural success could be debated, were not long-lasting and were abandoned after the design of MEB.2000-type projects. Also, the exception in the projects of the 2012-2022 period was the MEB.2014-type projects, which experimented designs such as classrooms arranged in honeycomb clusters instead of the traditional corridor alignment, and included internal gardens and courtyards. With the introduction of the MEB.2022-type projects, which have replaced the previous ones, there has been a return to the traditional and monotonous approach regarding the corridor-classroom relationship.

With the 1998-type projects, there was an increase in the number of classrooms in school designs, and while schools were typically designed with 8, 12, 16, 20, and 24 classrooms before, starting in 1998, larger schools with 32 and 40 classrooms also began to be planned. Despite this increase in the size of schools to meet high capacities, the number of students per class has decreased from 50 to 30. Thus, there has been an increase in the useful school area per student. In terms of building scale, the approach to building height has continued as it has been since the 1960s, and with only a few exceptions, schools have been planned with a maximum of four floors, including the ground

floor. Essentially, this number of floors, although not the preferred choice in school design, has resulted from flawed urban planning decisions and economic reasons.

Due to the nature of type projects, school projects made in the 1997-2022 period do not establish a context with the plots where they will be built. However, each project undergoes revisions according to its implementation site. As a result, each school to be constructed requires a separate land solution. Therefore, there has been no significant change in design approach in terms of land context for school projects before and after 1997.

Following the 1998-type projects, the schools designed during the first decade of the party in power, although subject to the system change in 1997, they have imprints of an ideological understanding that would become evident with the system change in 2012. After architectural trials in 1998, especially during the era of the governing party, designs were sometimes put forward with an understanding that imitated old Turkish houses, sometimes with an Ottoman-Seljuk claim, and sometimes with contemporary approaches, indicating a confusion in terms of architecture in school designs of the period. This confusion also reflects Turkey's struggle between traditionality and modernity. Additionally, especially following the system change in 2012, practices such as making mandatory the ablution rooms and prayer halls in all levels of schools starting from kindergartens and the abolition of the use of urinals in the toilets promote an Islamic lifestyle to children and provide the physical environment to reflect the influence of religious values. Thus, as the education system is being religiously oriented through curriculum changes, this transformation is also being supported architecturally, and the school buildings at all levels, like other public buildings, are being positioned as tools to convey certain ideological messages.

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Araştırma etik standartlara uygun olarak yapılmıştır.

All procedures followed were in accordance with the ethical standards.

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