

LIMITS TO THE CREATIVE CLASS: CREATIVE CITY AND
DEPROFESSIONALISATION OF YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İSMAİL ÖMER TOPRAK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN POLICY PLANNING AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS

MARCH 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**LIMITS TO THE CREATIVE CLASS: CREATIVE CITY AND
DEPROFESSIONALISATION OF YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY**

submitted by **İSMAİL ÖMER TOPRAK** in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of **Master of Science in Urban Policy Planning and Local
Governments, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical
University** by,

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. E. Attila AYTEKİN
Head of Department
Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL
Supervisor
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Kemal BAYIRBAĞ (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çolpan YALDIZ
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: İsmail Ömer TOPRAK

Signature:

ABSTRACT

LIMITS TO THE CREATIVE CLASS: CREATIVE CITY AND DEPROFESSIONALISATION OF YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY

TOPRAK, İsmail Ömer

M.S., The Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL

March 2022, 113 pages

The contradictory location of intellectual labor today brings before us a picture in which they are being dragged into two contradictory directions. On the one hand qualified/educated labor widely experiences some form of deprofessionalisation and precarization in different sectors. On the other hand, there occurs another debate that ignores all this reality. It is emphasized by the predictions of creative class over cities that the same qualified labor has become the engine of urban growth in today's world. This imagination insists that attracting qualified workforce into the cities is now the prerequisite for urban growth. The conditions we face pose a difficult question as to how we can relate these two different worlds depicted to the world we experience. Departing from this point, this thesis aims to give a partial answer to this question by revealing these contradictory conditions created by neoliberal policies and urbanization agendas while focusing on the working life conditions of young architects who have recently graduated from different universities in Turkey. This thesis emphasizes that while deprofessionalisation is a norm in the world of new graduates of architecture, nevertheless the hope of becoming a member of strata of so-called creative class is a driving force among the young professionals and in that respect such

a prospect could play a vital role in the reproduction of educational and professional fields which produce deprofessionalisation and precarization.

Keywords: Creative Class, Deprofessionalisation, Precarization, Young Architects, Architecture Education

ÖZ

YARATICI SINIFIN SINIRLARI: YARATICI ŞEHİR VE TÜRKİYE’DE GENÇ MİMARLARIN MESLEKSİZLEŞMESİ

TOPRAK, İsmail Ömer

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL

Mart 2022, 113 sayfa

Entelektüel emeğin bugün içerisinde bulunduğu çelişkili durum onun iki zıt yönde çekildiği bir resmi önümüze getiriyor. Bir taraftan nitelikli/egitimli emek farklı sektörlerde mesleksizleşmeyi ve prekaryalaşmayı büyük ölçüde deneyimliyor. Diğer yandan ise bütün bu gerçekliği görmezden gelen bir başka tartışma yapılıyor. Yaratıcı sınıflar öngörüsü ve kentler üzerinden aynı nitelikli emeğin bugünün dünyasında kentsel gelişmenin lokomotifine haline geldiği vurgulanıyor. Bu tahayyül nitelikli işgücünü kentlere çekebilmenin kentsel gelişmenin ön koşulu haline geldiğini ısrarla savunuyor. Karşı karşıya olduğumuz koşullar resmedilen bu iki farklı dünyayı deneyimlediğimiz dünyayla nasıl ilişkilendireceğimizi zorlu bir soru olarak önümüze getiriyor. Bu tez Türkiye’de farklı üniversitelerden yakın zamanda mezun olmuş genç mimarların içerisinde bulunduğu çalışma hayatı koşullarına odaklanarak bu soruya kısmi bir yanıt vermeyi amaçlarken neoliberal politikaların ve kentleşme pratiğinin bu ikili yarattığı koşulları ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmada yeni mezun mimarlar için mesleksizleşme deneyimi bir norm haline gelmiş olsa da yaratıcı sınıf kesiminin bir üyesi olma umudunun hala kendileri için itici bir güç olduğu; bu anlamda böyle bir beklentinin mesleksizleşmeyi ve prekaryalaşma sürecini üreten eğitim ve meslek

alanlarının yeniden üretilmesinde son derece önemli bir rol oynadığı vurgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yaratıcı Sınıf, Mesleksizleşme, Prekaryalaşma, Genç Mimarlar, Mimarlık Eğitimi,

to my mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I am extremely grateful, and would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül for his invaluable advices, guidance, continuous support and patience to me writing this thesis. His immense knowledge and plentiful experience have encouraged me in all the time of my academic research and daily life. I would also like to thank committee members Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Kemal Bayırbağ and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çolpan Yıldız for letting my defense be a moment to remember for me, and their brilliant comments and suggestions.

Secondly, I would like to thank Beyza Özgöde, whose presence in this life makes me feel so lucky and ecstatic every single day. My appreciation goes to her blessing support even when that can only be called the worst of times. I remember that all I could do through the hardships in life was look at her and thank God, thank every god there is, or ever was, or will be, and the whole universe.

I am grateful to my dear friend Merve Hatiçođlu for her warmest friendship and everlasting support since we met. It has been a joyful journey thanks to her. Also, special thanks to Duygu Kabak for her never-ending effort to back me up in such a short time we know each other. I also appreciate their great friendship and cherished time spent together with Atakan Kaya, Mehtap Yurdakul and Yağmur Alp. It was a weird but memorable one.

I would also express my gratitude to my dear sister, Ayşe Hilal Toprak for her tremendous support and encouragement in this long and difficult road.

Finally, I am eternally grateful to my lovely mother Demet Toprak and father Bünyamin Toprak for making me feel great by being there all along. Knowing that they are always with me is indescribable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Thesis Structure	3
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – A FANCY APPEAL FOR THE CREATIVE LABOR.....	7
2.1. An Inspiration for the Theory	9
2.2. Creative Class Thesis	10
2.3. Deprofessionalisation	14
2.4. The Creative Dilemma.....	21
3. ARCHITECTURAL DOMAIN AS A FIELD FROM YOUNG ARCHITECTS’ POINT OF VIEW.....	24
3.1. Forms of Capital	27
3.1.1. Informational Cultural Capital	28
3.1.2. Social Capital Accumulation: Network Relations Among Young Architects	29

3.1.3. Symbolic Capital.....	30
3.2. Habitus	31
4. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	34
4.1. Architecture in Neo-liberal Era.....	37
4.2. Alternatives to Exceed the Limits	43
5. CASE STUDY: YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN CREATIVE CITIES.....	48
5.1. Architecture Education.....	50
5.2. Architecture Practice in the Market: Two Distinct Pictures	56
5.2.1. School to Work Transition.....	57
5.2.2. Labor Market Conditions	58
5.2.3. Labor Exploitation in Architecture Offices.....	65
5.2.4. Is this architecture at all? An Evaluation for De-professionalizing Young Architects	67
5.2.5. Perception of Basic Problems in the Field	76
5.2.6. Future Plans of The Young Architects.....	80
6. CONCLUSION.....	87
REFERENCES.....	91
APPENDICES	
A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE	100
B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	101
C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU.....	113

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Marks of Professionalism	16
Table 2: Professional Characteristics	20
Table 3: Sectorial growth between the years 2000 and 2015.....	42
Table 4: Myths and realities about the practicing architect	45
Table 5: Numbers from Architecture Faculties.....	64

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Number of New Architecture Departments in Turkey	65
--	----

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today's world drags the intellectual labor into two contrasting directions. On the one hand, we live in a period in which qualified and educated labor becomes devaluated and deprofessionalisation goes to be experienced extensively. The precariat refers not only to unskilled labor but also to a great portion of university graduates now. On the other hand, there appears another debate which ignores all that reality. With the creative class and creative cities arguments; it is stressed that the skilled labor has become the main engine for urban growth. Bringing the skilled and creative labor into urban areas is now considered as prerequisite for attracting capital. The conditions we face today bring along the tough question of 'how to associate the world we experience with these two distinct worlds pictured?'. This thesis aims to give an answer to this question to a certain extent by looking into working life conditions of newly graduates of architecture in Turkey.

The notion 'Creative Cities'; which has been an agenda aimed at so-called knowledge workers with creative abilities in post-industrial society at the beginning of twenty first century, called out for a new paradigm in understanding the new characterization of the immaterial labor with reference to sole individual creativity. The newly emerged creative mass with the rapid advent of technological innovations and changing conditions of labor has been glorified for being the promoter of economic growth in urban areas as they bring this creativity to that very places, regions and cities. People working in the creative sectors are taken for granted that they are, as a class, in a position to be the motor of urban growth and development; and should be attracted, invited to those cities to this end. The appeal for reaching out to creative people and develop and implement policies in local, central and regional levels has been an agenda for city managers in various places of the world so far, as a part of transformation of neo-liberal labor processes.

Whereas it is an important effort pointing out a distinctive group of people with unconventional form of labor, necessities, life style, expectations from life and distinct motivations; what is missing in this rhetoric is the defectives of the general setting of neo-liberalism on the young lives; those who constitutes this so-called class as being creative individuals. Everyday struggles of relatively middle-class young people prone to be creative labor both in the school and in transition to work life shows that they are facing an increasingly complex global economy and demanding social structures. The illusion that the education is a solution to whatever problems exist does not really work in neoliberal setting in which the myth of hard work, effort and individual responsibility are praised. The restructuring of labor market in accordance with neo-liberal principles; giving way to labor market flexibility, temporary working, low-paid jobs etc. in the sectors creatives cluster, seemed to be in a contradiction with the desire of creative city and its implications.

What I would like to question in this thesis is that how the issues of deprofessionalisation faced by creative occupations could exist on the predicted development line pointed out by the ‘creative cities’ argument put forward by the creative class thesis. With that purpose the inquiry will be held on to see in what ways the pledge of creative class thesis coincides with the notion of ‘creativity’ and those who are thought to have it within the boundaries of neo-liberal model of growth and development in urban area. The extent that the call which denotes with ‘creative city’ to policy makers and initiatives grasps the conditions of labor market comprehensively is crucial here. With this purpose, it is the most appropriate way of inquiry of and revealing the reality existing in society to hear the young people voices who are being regarded as the creatives of future. Regarding this, the field research conducted in this thesis will be composed of architects as they are constituting the great part of the members of the creative class conceptualization. In various ways, on the one hand, the discipline of architecture is very likely to be in tune with what the creative class arguments do indicate; that the architects newly graduated or to be could be thought as individuals who are supposed to carry their skills, talents and creativity to the cities. On the other hand, the profession of architecture; involving the most remarkable precarious conditions of work in creative sectors in Turkey, is in a dramatically incompatible position with all these envisagement of creativity for it comes by a frustrating process of school to work transition in many aspects as the young architects

are increasingly facing the danger of being deprofessionalised under the conditions of workplace and labor processes within it. In that regard what is going to be argued in this thesis is that creative cities argument and the applied policies guided by this envisagement are legitimized under the neoliberal urban politics as a new urban growth dynamics considering the creative labor as the motor behind this project. On the other hand, paradoxically, the same neoliberal urbanization policies in the production of urban space/built environment bring about the issue of deprofessionalisation in professional practice for young architects. Thus, the promised working and living conditions of creative class thesis are way too far from what the young architects experience. This thesis will emphasize that while deprofessionalisation is a norm in the world of new graduates of architecture, nevertheless the hope of becoming a member of strata of so-called creative class is a driving force among the young professionals and in that respect such a prospect could play a vital role in the reproduction of educational and professional fields which produce deprofessionalisation and precarization.

1.1. Thesis Structure

In the following two chapters the theoretical discussions and foresights on the policy implementation the creative class thesis, which basically implies the necessity of inviting creative labor into cities with the purpose of accelerating the urban development of growth; will be revealed and inquired critically with reference to various works in the literature to put forward the foundation and objective of this assertion and the criticism directed towards these arguments. Chapter 2 is going to be structured around the phenomenon of creative class with various attributes to people with creative skills and the objective of creative-industries-based new economic development with policy measures rationales theoretically. Detailed discussion of the defining features of creative individuals in terms of human capital will be held with the conceptual analyses about the term 'creativity' implicates. Doing so, various arguments made by those who champion creative industries policies on the creative labor, creative class and the working conditions in such sectors will be discussed with reference to difficult condition of corroded labor market.

It is quite important to unveil; by the means of findings of field study, the effects of these conditions on young lives with reference to debates existing in the literature. The theoretical discussions in the literature and concepts regarding the unique role neoliberal processes has been playing on the transformation of labor market especially and its consequences will be discussed. With the proceeding of globalization paving the way for much more flexible labor relations resulted in insecure forms of labor in number. How neoliberal understanding of regulating labor gave way to competitive individuals and qualified this notion of competitiveness as an obligatory feature of labor market will be discussed throughout the thesis in the light of the theoretical arguments put forth to understand the environment in which young people acts. In that regard, the exclusion of young lives from labor market is a crucial issue to grasp how the working lives of them relates to the conditions of ‘neoliberal individuals’. Hence, it is going to be argued how the neoliberal policies stirs up young people face with precarious labor conditions that has been created by that flexibility in labor processes while discussing the damaging impact of these policies of privatization, competition, deregulation, choice, individualism and commodification.

Then, in the Chapter 3, the theoretical and conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory and his conceptualization of capital as a key concept in constructing distinct social fields will be covered. Considering the architectural domain as a field how symbolic capital plays an important role in the process of de-professionalization for young architects in the market and how it affects the way they resist and their capacity in struggling with this process will be revealed in the light of these discussions.

Chapter 4 will be covering the evaluations in the literature regarding the changes in the process of coming to post-professional era in the architectural profession. By revealing the structural transformations of the notion of profession, it will be tried to better understand how young architects are affected by this transformation. Discussions on how the neoliberal urbanism shaped the condition of architecture profession today in the literature will be carried along in this chapter. Current situation of architecture as a profession and its practices will be touched upon referring to post-professionalism literature.

In Chapter 5, the lives of young architects will be revealed in various aspects to understand the daunting impact of neoliberal project regarding the labor market conditions in which the so-called creative class thesis argues these people should flourish concerning their creative abilities and talents. For this purpose, the interviews with semi-structured questionnaire conducted with architects who are newly graduated, working in an office, unemployed or working as a freelancer will be presented. Through these interviews, comparingly with the promises in enrichment of creative labor, contradictions and the offerings will be delivered in the case of Turkey. The discussion will indicate that the experiences of those who could be regarded as creative people after being graduated from university; as a result of flexible, temporary, irregular, low-paid and precarious labor processes within neoliberal economic order today, could not be compatible with the efforts to take appropriate policy measures for the dream of creative cities and those endeavors to produce value from that labor for the city. Besides; already ignored issues of identity which is affected by disruptive consequences of prevailing school to work transition processes and painful working life will be argued to picture the de-professionalization experience of the creative labor. It is going to be argued that how the autonomy problem, which entails the issue of self-actualization that the so-called creative people desire most and injured by de-professionalization experiences, relates itself to the processes of capital accumulation in the field of architecture. Frustration observed among these young people could be better understood thoroughly concentrating on the matter of autonomy in workplace. Considering the limited room given for these people within the labor processes to do architecture in practice, possibilities and failures of the creative class thesis are going to be inquired. The theoretical discussions are going to be held with regards to the case studies in conducted in architecture sector and young architects.

The inquiry of the effects of neo-liberal transformation of labor process will necessarily be conducted specific to labor market flexibility which has close links with precarity, de-professionalization experienced by the creatives and autonomy issues as well. With respect to this, those who work as freelance architects and their experiences as a so-called alternative pathway for creative labor will be included in the case study.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes this thesis with the summary and an overall evaluation of the analyses carried out thus far. Accordingly, through the findings in the field research

and within the theoretical framework obtained by re-evaluating the limitations and the beleaguered aspects of the creative city concept; implications will be made according to the needs and demands of this notably fragile group of people.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – A FANCY APPEAL FOR THE CREATIVE LABOR

It has been over fifteen years when the notion of ‘creative class’ was proposed and its implications regarding the urban growth have been first put forth by (Florida, 2002) ; which is important with regards to the fact that this has opened a new space for academic debates over the effort pointing out a distinctive mass of people with unconventional form of labor, necessities, lifestyle, expectations from life and distinct motivations. Thenceforward, arguments on the concept of ‘creative class’, ‘creativity’ and the potential of this new mass on urban growth and development have flourished. Creative class thesis, which has been the source of new roadmap for urban growth promises, was involved in policy-making processes, even at the national level and was favored as a local and regional development dynamic. On the other hand; there were studies that drew attention to the precarious, low-paid and exploitative working conditions that are created by neo-liberal economic policies within the labor processes of the so-called knowledge-based professions. In addition, and relatedly to all these corrosive processes the experience of deprofessionalisation and deskilling in creative industries have not been a particular matter of concern in the literature. In this thesis the tacit circumstances for concurrence of the two conceptions; one that is the predicted growth setting put forth by creative class thesis and the other as deprofessionalisation faced by creative class members, will be inquired.

As mentioned in introduction chapter, in this thesis; how the issues of deprofessionalisation faced by occupations could exist on the predicted development line pointed out by the ‘creative cities thesis’ emerged with the invention of creative class will be inquired. Doing this, the main focus group of occupants will be the architects in Turkey. For that purpose; the concept creative class and its implications on regional and local governance will be examined with reference to scholarly debates

over it in this section first. Then the theoretical framework on deprofessionalisation thesis will be put forward to see historical position of creative class within the labor market. The chapter will by and large cover the significant subjects which would help reveal the contradictions exists in the factual condition within which urban areas are being called for attracting people who are already being deskilled/deprofessionalised.

The idea, that the cultural and creative industry has been an important source of human capital in urban development, has been on the agenda since the beginning of the 21st century. Moving back to the appearance of the concept of creative class; the notion of creative industries has first emerged in the eighteenth century when the ideas of creative arts and culture industries were intertwined with the addition of the phenomenon of consumer (Hartley, 2005). Adorno (1975); while defining the concept of culture industry, regarded the word industry in the context of the standardization of cultural goods and rationalization of distribution techniques, and he stated that with the understanding of income-generating cultural goods, the market values of cultural pieces of work come to the fore rather than their artistic value. The activities embodied with creativity and creative skilling substantially, where these skills have the potential of generating wealth, appear as the simplest definition of creative industries (Erik Braun, M. Lavanga, 2007). Having its roots within the general framework and implications of 'human capital theory' the creative class thesis was put forth first as a novel idea in *The Rise of The Creative Class* by Florida in 2002. Praising this creativity in a manner; it was stated by Richard Florida (2004) that the creative class played a major role in the growth and development of cities as 'geography' lost its meaning as a result of globalization. What was signified in Florida's creative class thesis in brief is that the openness to creativity and diversity could give way to economic growth in the region (Florida and Gates, 2001).

While sharp criticisms came from the academic circles to the predictions of Florida, which started new discussions in the literature; there were also those who supported the idea that the role of the class he points out in regional development cannot be underestimated. Florida's argument signified the investment in both place and creative people. Thereafter, a growing body of literature has burst as the idea of application of human capital thesis to regional development policies and various attempts were

uttered to flourish number of creative people after the creative class argument was made.

2.1. An Inspiration for the Theory

Being an inspiration for creative class theory; the human capital theory, in its essence, argues that the long-term economic growth is acquired through educated individuals and their increasing rates of return (Becker, 1962, Rosen, 1976). The investments in skilled, educated and trained human capital, as argued in the studies (Becker, 1964; Barro, 1991; Rauch, 1993) confirmed to have a positive impact on the economic development on a national level. Human capital theory has been a guideline for particular policy objectives on local and national level, which was appealed by institutional agents by implicating specific defining features of the theory. For instance; OECD defines the term as ‘productive wealth embodied in labor, skills and knowledge’ referring to well-educated persons with trained capacity of knowledge and skills. Such, this has been a ground for the advices in necessity of highly skilled industries with the purpose of attracting human capital into areas where economic development needs to be organized. The relationship between human capital and that it correlates to urban growth has also been argued as a proof (Barro, 2001; Zucker, Darby, and Brewer, 1998). Urban growth, with many field researches conducted, has shown to be in line with the areas where well-trained people concentrate. The urban success, in this sense, was argued to be in good relationship with human capital as high skilled people may come up with more new ideas (Glaeser, 2003). What is signified here as ‘high skilled people’ refers to people with higher education in general; which is also the mostly focused feature of creative individuals within the creative class (Florida, 2002; Florida, 2004b). This is where the notion of creative class matches with the implications offered by human capital thesis. High levels of education or human capital are two basic features of occupational roles assigned this class to have assumed to embody.

Here it should be noted that despite the obvious similarities with ‘human capital theory’; Florida rejects the critics arguing that the creative class is just the same way of considering the urban success with just another argument and modified approach to human capital. He argues that human capital thesis reduces urban growth to counting

people who have college degree while indicating that those who holds college degree and creative class members hardly overlap (Florida, 2002). He offers the creative class thesis as an additional improvement on traditional education-based measure of human capital thesis (Marlet and Woerkens, 2007). However, human capital theory does not hinge on the importance of higher education only in the process of city growth. The theory draws attention on various constituents with which people could contribute to economy of a region. It might be a mistake to regard these theories two disparate approaches to urban economic growth ignoring the similarities.

2.2. Creative Class Thesis

The main argument of Florida's theory is that it is the best alternative way to contribute to the urban economic growth based upon knowledge production assuming that those who has that creative labor constitutes a novice class order. Arguing that the concentration of creative labor force and knowledge-based professionals in cities is the best way to achieve urban economic growth; Florida refers to need for realization of, as a new social class, the creative class. It is stated that cities that cannot attract the creative people, cannot provide working conditions for the members of creative class and cannot facilitate these conditions will never achieve the expected economic growth and development (Florida, 2012). Put simply, Florida's book seemed to be a sort functional solution to powerful economic and social changes and the transformation processes in the world which were argued by followers of human capital theory. What is attributed to this creativity is that its functionality in creating meaningful new forms required by economic development (Florida, 2002). Building the creative class thesis, Florida applies it an occupational approach as he argues that the class membership follows from individuals' economic functions. Dividing the creative class envisagement into two occupationally designated groups; Super-Creative Core consists of those who produce new forms or designs that are widely useful and readily transferrable (Florida, 2012). Engineers, artists, architects, designers, university professors, editors, writers and scientists constitute the core creative class which is the highest order of creative work for him. Second group is labeled as 'creative professionals' in which the members work in a wide range of knowledge industries. With their high degree of formal education, occupants in financial service, the legal

and health care professionals, and business managers do engage in creative problem solving. In his words on creative professionals;

What they are required to do regularly is to think on their own, apply or combine standard approaches in unique ways to fit different situations, exercise a great deal of judgement, and perhaps even try something radically new from time to time.
(Florida, 2012; 39)

Florida makes a distinction between the conventional 'Working Class' and 'Creative Class' assigning former a role of working mainly with physical bodies and the latter with their minds (Florida, 2012). Agreeing with the arguments that nations are shifting to knowledge-driven economies, he attributes a great importance to knowledge workers; for whom the shift is from manual work to non-manual work (Drucker, 1959), in post-industrial era for attaining the creativity. For the definition of the 'creative class', Florida elaborates on the unique place this class imagination occupies in the economic structure. Apparently, the classification built among the members of creative class hinges on the assumption that knowledge work requires creative thinking for non-routine-problems. Thus, creative class thesis emphasized the value obtained through the immaterial labor processes implicit in the knowledge work. Florida, with reference to the argument that the means of production is no longer capital nor labor; it is knowledge, conceptualizes today's economy as 'creative economy' and argues that it is creativity rather than knowledge. Qualifying the creativity as an ultimate output of knowledge and information, the creative class thesis takes a stance regarding the economy ignoring other components of labor process and attaching importance on merely inputs. Defining Creative Class occupations; the involvement of high-level cognitive skills, complex problem-solving competences and independent judgement capacities of individuals have been considered (Florida, 2002;). Thus, besides the occupational intention Creative Class theory lays stress on the essence or the content of the work in distinguishing itself from traditional class and work conceptualization.

In an effort to investigate the distribution of the Creative Class members geographically various measures were held by Florida in his researches in cities and regions. Place's economic prospects, it is claimed, have a direct connection to this new geography of class (Florida, 2012). What is suggested by the Creative Class thesis is that cities that fail to attract, gather and concentrate the creative members of society

fall behind the potential economic prosperity and growth. This so-called new agenda for cities to have a smooth way of development economically, for Florida (2012) is driven by the rise of human creativity as the key feature in regional economy. Such, attaching the human creativity to the human capital and its contribution to urban development; based on this economic foresight, it is argued that the aggregate effort of such creative class has become the primary driver of urban growth.

After putting the fortune of cities forward in development pathway with urgent reference to creativity, creative class thesis ventures on to investigate the so-called properties these urban places ideally would carry and provide for attracting people to provide creative clusters. It is offered that the key to understand this new economic geography of creativity is what is called 3T's of economic development which are technology, talent and tolerance. For Florida, this sort of conceptualization of interdependence of 3Ts explains why some cities fail and others develop economically. Referring to Schumpeter and Karl Marx's recognition in advances in technology and its role in capitalism to revolutionize itself; it is argued that new improvements and inventions within technological advancements make economies and societies work in an efficient and productive way (Florida, 2012). The statistical data collected in various regions of US; Florida says, shows correlation between technological improvements and economic development besides the geographical concentration of technology in these areas. Talent, the second T, refers to skilled, ambitious, well-educated and entrepreneurial people as pointed in human capital theory. There appears a close association between Creative Class clusters and what Florida calls Talent Index¹. Finally, the tolerance refers to openness to diversity in a place in cultural terms though. Cities welcoming to immigrants, bohemians, gays and artists do correlate with places that experience high-quality economic development (Florida, 2012). Such places which have low entry barriers for newcomers would gain a creativity advantage. These three vital elements in envisioning the cities to make effort for point the role of places as incubators of innovation, creativity and new creative industries. As argued in Florida's words:

Not only do people remain highly concentrated, but economy itself — the high-tech, knowledge-based, and creative content industries which drive so much of economic growth — continues to concentrate in specific places...

(Florida, 2012)

From the perspective of social capital and human capital thesis; the location of companies and industries for the regional growth has been an issue. In line with this, Allen Scott (2006) draws attention to cities that are in competition and cooperate that complement each other's products; referring to the importance of local governments that are responsible for promoting development and growth in cities. However, according to Florida (2004a), how people do locate themselves in a place has been ignored. Individual's location decisions appear in creative class thesis as a phenomenon to dwell upon and as a factor that is to be considered by regional and local policymakers in an effort for creative city in urban development endeavors. For this purpose, it seeks answers for the reasons for creative people clustering in certain places. Innovative, diverse and tolerant places are largely preferred by creative people, in which it is feasible to power regional economic growth for them in an environment surrounded by 3Ts. Amenities and environments built with regards to these notions are considered as powerful attractors of creative workers by creative capital theory. What is highlighted here is the assumption that creative people take particular lifestyles into consideration while evaluating the job availability and careers to make locational decisions. The new lifestyle on the agenda for creative class theory refers to what Florida eventually calls for 'Bohemia'. Bohemia has long been in the spotlight for its role played in modern societies. As Ceasar Grana (1964) puts it, bohemians do value more libertine lifestyles and desire self-actualization over work. In line with that stand, Bell (1976) argues that the lifestyle has taken the precedence over work in individual satisfaction. He puts this change in his words;

Modern culture is defined by this extraordinary freedom to ransack the world storehouse and to engorge any and every style it comes upon. Such freedom comes from the fact that the axial principle of modern culture is the expression and remaking of the 'self' in order to achieve self-realization and self-fulfillment.

(Bell, 1976)

Another claim made by Bell (1973) in this line of argument predicts that there emerges a group of knowledge workers who will be required to create scientific and technological means of post-industrial society¹. Orientation of market and state to this

¹ See more detailed evaluations on post-industrial society in *The Coming of Post-industrial Society* by Bell, D. (1973)

new group is argued to end up in rendering them prime consumers; which make their presence felt through their spending power and preferences (Pratt, 2008). In creative class thesis, close to Bell's argument, it is the social and economic impact through which these creative individuals make their presence felt and creditable. Drawing on Grana's bohemianism's specific ethics and distinctive aspects; Young (1971) notes that bohemians break up with the traditional 'protestant ethic' of capitalism favoring more libertine lifestyles opt for enjoyment and self-actualization over work.

The recognition such a lifestyle and individual behavior in modern society, for Florida (2004), could pave the way for alternative, bohemian types of people to be integrated into economies as the importance of creativity, knowledge, innovation and entrepreneurial skills has increased. At this point, the creative cities thesis demands for an effort to integrate bohemian culture and symbols into place through alternative and eccentric amenities and environments. Putting the innovation into the focus of the formulation; creative city as a policy approach looks for the ways in which solution for the everyday problems of cities are portrayed (Landry, 2008). Thus, the basis of the call for innovative economic activities and the creative city theory is the assumption that there is a strong connection between bohemian centers and creative clusters. Cultural and lifestyle factors are suggested to be significant components of location decisions for creative talents, measured by what Florida calls Bohemian Index². Besides this, many other empirical data measured by various instruments demonstrate the correlation in between geography of creativity and 3Ts which promotes the arguments in creative class thesis. These are; Talent Index which measures highly educated people, Melting Pot Index which is based on population of foreigners to examine the openness and diversity with Gay Index and the Tech-Pole Index to measure high-tech industry concentrations (Florida, 2004).

2.3. Deprofessionalisation

As a sort of hopeful invitation for creative occupations and a call for policy makers, the creative class thesis and its implication the creative city project forecasts the creative clusters in urban area a new way of economic development in a sense that

² Bohemian Index refers to measures of cultural and lifestyle amenities 'in that it represents a direct measure of producers of creative assets.

creative professions would be willing to locate themselves. The search for the certain lifestyles, environments and working conditions that best fit with creative occupations has been major impetus in laying out urban localities to attract these professions. However, the issue of deprofessionalisation, as a dramatic stream burst in labor processes, experienced by creative class members are somehow ignored while such arguments are set forth. Then, the aspects of deprofessionalisation and labor processes with their theoretical evolution and today's condition should be evaluated and outlined with reference to theoretical ground in interpreting creative class thesis. Thus, we could make way for apprehending the convenience of the link between occupational aspects and the arguments mounted in creative class thesis. The deprofessionalisation trend, as a great challenge in people's working life, throughout reviewing the theory will be revealed and discussed considering the creative promises abovementioned.

Firstly; the concepts of occupation and profession and the split between them should be considered briefly here. There have been arguments on the characteristics of professions that differentiate them from occupations (e.g. Pavalko, 1988; Ballantine, 1997). Flexner, in differentiating it from traditional understanding of occupations, argues that the criteria of professions are that; they are intellectual in character, they derive from science and learning, they are altruistic in motivation, they are autonomous self-organizations, they work up to practical end and they possess an educationally communicable technique (Flexner, 2001). Among various formulations, piecing them together, Roberts and Donahue (2000) puts six factors distinguishing professions and occupations (Table 1).

Table 1: The Marks of Professionalism

Factors	
Mastery of specialized knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Master a body of theory and knowledge • Develop specialized competencies through extensive training
Autonomy and control of one's work and how it is performed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have freedom and power to control their own work behavior and conditions • Resist to supervision by people outside the profession
Motivation for intrinsic rewards and interests of clients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest identity larger in the vocation • Precedes service as central motivation over monetary gains
Commitment to the profession as a career	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commit to work life-long • See work as an end with intrinsic rewards
Sense of community and collegiality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Form an association to hold profession at its minimum standard
Self-monitoring with a code of professional ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulates itself to increase trust from clients and public

Source: Roberts and Donahue (2000: 366-368)

These identifying characteristics of professions and such framework further provides an understanding that Florida's occupational analysis indicates professions essentially even if the term occupation used in creative class thesis.

Processes of achievement to those characteristics by profession has become an issue since 1950s.³ The concept of professionalization refers to the process and the ways in which occupations have evolved into professions. Scholars like Foote (1953) stressed the importance of formal higher education as the only way of professional socialization and scientific training. Historical development process of professions has been argued to unfold by many theories in different dimensions. There appeared different stories in development of professionalization by many scholars some portraying the process as

³ For a general review in development of sociology of professions in the literature see 'Meslek Sosyolojisinde Teorik Yaklaşımlar' by Elyesa KOYTAK

more strictly universal story (e.g. Caplow, 1954) and some insisting on variety of possible lines of progress (e.g. Millerson, 1964). Wilensky (1964) undertakes a research to find out the narrative of professionalization process and puts the steps of professionalization in order looking at the milestone events in various American professions case-by-case while rejecting compulsory and spontaneous line of development of professionalization, as argued by former studies in field. He argues that professions began as people start doing full time the thing that needs doing. This brought forth the new schools to meet the need for training, with which higher standard of professions have been generated through commitment to the profession. Then professional associations enabled more active professional life, and this leads to an explicit attempt to separate competent from incompetent with increasingly violent confrontations both with insiders and outsiders.

Consequently, rules generated by these events coalesce in a formal ethics code. It is, for sure, a somehow generalized story of professionalization according to Wilensky as he admits that the actual sequences vary and there are probably deviations from his overall story. However, what is important here is the achieved legal autonomy and authority as a protection with state licensure and regulations. Thereafter, the institutional aspect of professionalization and its relation to complex social and political contexts took the attention in professionalization studies and organizational structure has been main object of inquiry.

The unidirectional pattern of development claims has been challenged by many other theorists as well, especially in theories of proletarianization and deprofessionalisation referring to corruption of professional legitimacy and autonomy. It is argued that narratives of professionalization assume it as a general process and ignores history of its own. The increasing intervention and involvement of state into work organizations and core of professions has shaped the professionalization development in certain ways. Recent studies, and those which set the ground for deprofessionalisation processes, on these professions mainly address the complex roots of organizational structures and boundaries carried over by NPM principles in workplace; and the infusion of businesslike management practices, measures of performance and the values like competition, efficiency and effectiveness into work organizations (Wennström, 2016).

Deployment of NPM principles on organizations placed heavy limits on professional autonomy. Valerie Fournier (1999), in her study on boundaries between professional groups, mentioned that these current trends of change in organization structures challenge the legitimacy and foundations of professions as divisions that lie at the heart of the establishment of professions get blurred. Besides, the concern of decreasing respect and status conferred to physicians and teachers have been presented in various studies (Fournier, 1999). The market logic and its operation through the organization of professions have been argued involved processes that corrode professional power.

A critical approach to the subject came from Andrew Abbott, who contributed to the professionalization literature and placed the professions in a systematic framework to some extent. Abbott (1988), in his criticism of professionalism literature; does not find it proper that the discussions in the relevant literature are limited to the examination of the organizational structures of the professions and the development processes of these structures. He argues that the assumption that the structure is more important than the actual work done is misleading. Paying little attention to actual work and expertise by sociological study on professions, he claims, lead to ignore internal differentiation in professions. In that manner, according to him:

[P]rofessionalization was at best a misleading concept, for it involved more the forms than the contents of professional life. It ignored who was doing what to whom and how, concentrating instead on association, licensure, ethics code. In fact, not only did it miss the contents of professional activity, but also the larger situation in which that activity occurs.

(Abbott, 1988)

The relation between professions and the work done is complex; the tasks, professions and links between them are in a constant change (Abbott, 1988). This relationship and its characteristics are bound directly to development of professionalism along with organizational structures and changes occurred within these structures.

Besides the professionalization studies; in which the professionalization development and processes are discussed, and social and cultural implications put forth, deprofessionalisation trend in the lives of professionals became apparent as an opposing process to professionalization. Marie R. Haug (1972) in her work on the predictions on the future of professions in post-industrial society has made a forecast

about professional authority and possible struggles in the control of monopoly over knowledge. The deprofessionalisation, rather than professionalization, was put forward as a fate of professions by her. She defines the concept, stressing the issues of autonomy and authority over clients, as a loss of unique skills, monopoly over certain area of knowledge, public belief in their service ethos and expectations of work autonomy and authority over client (Haug, 1972; 1988). Work autonomy, professional autonomy in other words, refers to freedom to define the nature of profession with regard to its proper content, formal education, ethics and ability to influence the forms of work (Frostenson, 2015). Deprofessionalisation, as a continuing process affecting professions, is the dissolution of professions with regards to their expertise, autonomy, authority, specialized knowledge and scientific foundation. Three main reasons in scholarly studies are presented as; increasing use of technological innovation, routinization of working life and encompassing of bureaucratic structures over professional autonomy (Koytak, 2020). Professions like physics, teaching and social work were examined in various studies in the sense that their professional authority continuously disappear since (Freidson 1980, 1988; Larkin 1983; Kindiak & Randall 2008). Professions such as doctor, teacher and law have been discussed extensively in the relevant literature as the preliminary working groups of professionalization process. As institutionalization progresses in these areas and the peculiar accumulation of knowledge requirements of these professions, they have become prior objects of investigation. On the other hand, it was the organizational regulations and changes in these professions that led to an intense discussion of the debates on deprofessionalisation.

The effects of changes carried out on professionalization trend in professions and identifying characteristics of professions have been pieced together by Trappenburg and van Beek (2019) in Table 2. It is argued here that transformation these four identifying characteristics in transitions between professionalization and deprofessionalization processes might take place in different ways. However, it is fairly a convenient outline as a summary in a sense that it incorporates certain clues about the practical inferences of deprofessionalisation.

Table 2: Professional Characteristics

Characteristic of profession	Professionalization	De-professionalization
1. Occupation performed by paid employees	From charity work to paid occupation	From paid occupation to self-help, family help, volunteering
2. Specialized knowledge to be taught in specialized schools	Development of special schools, research related to professional object	Shift to on-the-job training for less qualified employees; shift to general competencies
3a. Individual autonomy	Acquire room to maneuver for workers, establishment of disciplinary boards	Adoption of standardized procedures
3b. Collective autonomy as professional group		Move towards orientation on organization rather than professional group
4. Service ideal/ethical code	Establishment of code ethics in which profession formulates its mission	Move towards targets and norms dictated by non-professional and/or clients

Source: Trappenburg & van Beek (2019; 678-680)

When the implications are observed as a consequence of deprofessionalisation process with regards largely to work autonomy, it is clear that professions lose their control over work actually done in various degrees as their professional autonomy is endangered. As the way a work done is pushed towards the boundaries of standardized procedures, professional organization would become no longer a ground for unique labor processes that indicate specialized knowledge and training. The monopoly over specialized knowledge hold by professionals erodes eventually since the relation between the actual work and professional is resolved within the process.

2.4. The Creative Dilemma

Juxtaposition of creative class thesis and deprofessionalisation phases would make way for making implications on contradictions implicit with predictions on urban economic development suggested by creative class thesis with regards to corroding labor processes prevailing in the lives of creative professionals. Essentials of urban policy proposals to make cities unique locations of creative labor argued by creative class thesis mainly calls attention to skilled creative individuals. Several descriptions on embracing creative individuals and on the mainsprings for the achievements of forms of creative city have been put forward in the search for local economic development in the context of so-called new economy along creative class thesis mentioned above. Assumptions on dispositions and desires about life of creative individuals are seemed to channel these descriptions and presuppositions schemes built for amenity projections. However, there appears another aspect of labor process in which people experience eroding their professional skills; creative abilities in that case.

The two distinct pictures; one that extolls the creative occupations and bohemian working life and the other presenting the degradation and deskilling in labor process, especially in the lives of creative young is of main importance for understanding neoliberal restructuring of subjectivities today. The conditions and mechanisms lying within this contradictory situation is going to be investigated questioning the work life of the creative mass to see how neoliberalism finds ways to be deeply entrenched and utterly pervasive in their daily lives regarding the. While the deprofessionalisation and deskilling experiences which have become one of the basic qualities of labor process have the potential to cause a great discontent among creative occupations is obvious on the one hand, the notions of creativity, competition, and bohemian lives underlies the enthusiasm of people to keep striving in this sector on the other. Thus, it reminds us the necessity to examine the how individuals position themselves in such a contradictory situation by referring to how neoliberalism shape and impose on their subjectivity. As mentioned earlier, the conflict explicit between creative class premise and deprofessionalisation sequences experienced in the work life of professionals is the issue to be questioned in the present study.

Predictions on creative people's interest on bohemian lifestyles in city seem to have been rendered by these assumptions. However, regarding the creative essence of the professions Florida indicates as a sole foundation for urban economy context is a misleading picture. That the individual competences are not very sufficient for individuals to be integrated into creative economy is proven as is the case with deprofessionalisation experiences. The instrumental policies offered in creative class thesis seemed to have overlooked and missed to catch the issues of eroding autonomy on the work which is taking place in creative labor processes. Building on such bohemian lifestyles by regarding creative class members a creative consumer as an agent of change is in a contradictory position with autonomy issues experienced in production aspect of labor process. What should be in question here are the factors that play a major role shaping the individuals' attitudes, positions and strategies of coping within such dilemma. Regarding the individuals who are the subject of this contradiction, whether their position is contradictory in itself or not; such questioning requires considering transforming potency on both individual and society, and also the tacit consequences of these transformations and restructuring.

Careers of creative professionals and clashes with the implications of deprofessionalisation process. Florida's hypothesis lies strictly on the requirements of amenities and environments with particular consumption patterns to be built in city according to predicted demands of creative class. This is not to say the creative class thesis neglects the production aspect of the issue completely. However, Florida's narrow vision to production, argued by Pratt (2008), places undue stress on individual notions of production that is isolated from other businesses institutions and society.

The contradiction between these two theses might occur from the methodological flaw in tracing what creative class members need and seek for. The dualism recognized in the efforts of Florida above in tracking the demands of creative labor leads to misconceive the key issues in the lives of them, and is why the inquiry of the loss of autonomy in the processes of deprofessionalisation is lacking in the instrumental policies offered to make cities creative through attracting creative people. The consumption-based exploration in revealing individual lifestyles carries the risk of missing the implications in production. The relationship and the duality between

consumption and production has been reviewed by Karl Marx. In his emphasis on the two as co-dependent processes;

Production thus not only creates an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object. Thus, production produces consumption (1) by creating the material for it; (2) by determining the manner of consumption; and (3) by creating the products, initially posited by it as objects, in the form of a need felt by the consumer. It thus produces the object of consumption, the manner of consumption and the motive of consumption. Consumption likewise produces the producer's inclination by beckoning to him as an aim-determining need.

(Marx, 1973:99)

Based on Marx' argument on production as a necessary complement of consumption, Pratt (2008) stresses on how consumption-based creative projection is corrosive to production-based versions in his critique of creative class thesis. He suggests that the 'real challenge is to find an accommodation between production and consumption; rather than seeing them as opposites we should see them as part of the same process.

As the certain occupation's jurisdiction or area of responsibility and the autonomy of professionals in their control over work is reduced and as the duties become less specialized that necessitate less unique knowledge today, creative class thesis and its elided creative cities projections become a controversial issue with regards to continuing deprofessionalisation processes. This duality created by contradictory experiences with the supposed foresights of creative class and cities require a diligent attention inquiring the lives and working conditions of these individuals.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURAL DOMAIN AS A FIELD FROM YOUNG ARCHITECTS' POINT OF VIEW

As conditions lying behind that contradiction are to be questioned in this study, after putting the conceptual arguments and theoretical approaches to creative class thesis and deprofessionalisation thesis in the previous chapter; the theoretical and conceptual framework of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and his conceptualization of capital as a key concept in constructing distinct social fields will be covered in this chapter. Habitus, as another key concept in Bourdieu's theorization of the social field will be touched upon lastly.

Field, as a key concept in Bourdieu's analysis of social space, denotes the areas in which the actors held competitive positions in their struggle for different kinds of capital accumulation (Swartz, 1998). It consisted of positions occupied by those actors or agents who relentlessly struggle to keep or improve that certain position. Bourdieu defines the field as follows:

[A] network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97).

Considering social life as a game, Bourdieu's conceptualization of field is an argument for a methodology '... that would bring together an inter-dependent and co-constructed trio – the field, capital and habitus – with none of them primary, dominant or causal.' (Thomson, 2012, s. 67). It is a conceptual construct in which there appears a ground for relational thinking (Swartz, 2013). As a structured space organized around specific

types of capital or combinations of it, fields consist of players (people or institutions) striving for accumulation of certain type of capital. In such a playground, as Thomson argues;

[P]layers who begin with particular forms of capital are advantaged at the outset because the field depends on, as well as produces more of, that capital. Such lucky players are able to use their capital advantage to accumulate more and advance further (be more successful) than others.

(Thomson, 2012)

Frequently referring to a football game Bourdieu sets the links between the field and the game that is played.

In order to play the game, players have set positions – when the football field is represented in visual form, it is with the set positions marked in predetermined places. The game has specific rules which novice players must learn, together with basic skills, as they begin to play. What players can do, and where they can go during the game, depends on their field position.

(Thomson; 2012: 66)

What Bourdieu wants to bring out with such a construct is to reveal unseen patterns of interest and struggle in a relational way. It seeks for the answers to questions of ‘why do you play the game? or ‘how do you play it?’. Despite the fact that there are many ways to operate within distinct fields, they are bounded by general laws. The fields are shaped differently according to the game that is played on them. Actors, while trying to integrate themselves into a certain field, considers the rules of game played.

Swartz’s (2013) analysis of structural properties of fields summarizes Bourdieu’s conceptualization in a comprehensive way. Firstly, as mentioned above, fields are arenas of struggle for legitimation in struggle for control over valued resources. This struggle might also appear over the definitions of what is considered the most valued resources in fields. These resources are conceptualized as forms of capital the as the actors in the field are in struggle to accumulate. Secondly, in Swartz’s inquisition, fields consist of dominant and subordinate position determined by the types and amounts of capital. Those in dominant and subordinate positions pit against in a field struggle. For Bourdieu, positions are shaped to a degree with the habitus actors bring with them, yet they are determined by the ‘...unequal distribution of relevant capitals.’. In such an environment, that is field, the actors position themselves and derives their

distinctive properties in relation to all other elements. As Swartz cites from Bourdieu (1971) as an example:

[Intellectual field] cannot be reduced to a simple aggregate of isolated agents or to the sum of elements merely juxtaposed is, like a magnetic field, made up of a system of power lines. In other words, the constituting agents or system of agents may be described as so many forces which, by their existence, opposition or combination, determine its specific structure at a given moment in time. In return, each of these is defined by its particular position within this field from which it derives positional properties which cannot be assimilated to intrinsic properties.

(Bourdieu, 1971: 161)

What Bourdieu remarks in his field analysis is that the strategies held by the groups to enjoy capital accumulation are dialectically related (Swartz, 2013). Speaking of three types of field strategies, he tries to infer this relation. Conservation, succession and subversion are three of the strategies held to be pursued in the field. In such a togetherness within a certain field dominant groups, in their struggle with subordinate ones, consider conserving basic principles that helped constituting their status. Eventual changes in the principles might injure their dominance on the capital. Succession is for the new entrants in their struggle to improve their position. Lastly, the subversion refers to the practice of challenging the legitimacy of dominant group. Considering these different types of field strategies, Swartz puts that ‘... fields impose on actors specific forms of struggle.’ thirdly. It emphasizes that both dominant establishment and the subordinate positions share the acceptance that the field is worth pursuing a struggle. This shared and tacit acceptance embedded in the field is ‘doxa’ and it helps different groups understand why they are in the field, what is valuable and what types of capital are available within the field (Kaya, 2014: 402). ‘Entry into a field requires the tacit acceptance of the rules of the game, meaning that specific forms of struggle are legitimated whereas others are excluded.’ (Swartz, 1998: 125). Bourdieu refers this acceptance as ‘illusio’. For him, entering into a field by accepting and relying on the rules of game played is supported by the illusio as it has actors ask what their interest in joining the game. Illusio ‘... is to be invested, taken in and by the game. As he explains it:

So as to avoid excluding themselves from the game and the profits that can be derived from it, whether we are talking about the simple pleasure of playing, or of all the material and symbolic advantages associated with the possession

of symbolic capital, all those who have the privilege of investing in the game (instead of being reduced to the indifference and apathy of apoliticism) accept the tacit contract. implied in the fact of participating in the game, of recognizing thereby that it is indeed worth playing.

(Bourdieu, 1991: 180)

As implied by abovementioned statement, to be interested is to accord a given social game that what happens in it matters, that its stakes are important and worth pursuing. Such an insight of decision to be a part of the struggle in the field does include a sort of calculation of possible gains in terms of the types of capital accumulation.

3.1. Forms of Capital

Conceptualizing the architectural domain as a field, it is important to understand how the actors position themselves within the boundaries of a certain field. In a hierarchical relation among the actors within the field different forms of capital play a unique role in determining their capacity playing the game. Capital, in Bourdieu's field analysis, is '...accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor' (Bourdieu, 1986). The term itself reflects the accumulated resources obtained within different fields and also connotes the convertibility of different forms of it in a general sense. This implies to a social space in which 'wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits...' (Moore, 2012). Significance of the notion in his conceptualization of fields and how they work is expressed in Bourdieu's words as follows:

It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore *disinterested*. In particular, it defines as disinterested those forms of exchange which ensure the *transubstantiation* whereby the most material types of capital – those which are economic in the restricted sense – can present

themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa.

(Bourdieu, 1986: 241-42)

Capital presents itself in three fundamental guises of which are economic capital (money and assets), cultural capital (e.g. forms of knowledge; taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences; language, narrative and voice); and social capital (e.g. affiliations and networks; family, religious and cultural heritage) (Thomson, 2012). As a fourth guise of it, symbolic capital presents things which stand for all of the other forms of capital and can be exchanged in other fields. Symbolic capital is to be considered as a form of capital in Bourdieu's field analysis which is a social 'energy' other three forms it shapes, rather than a distinct form of capital. In the social world all three of these forms of capital possessed by the actors could become an oppressive tool in their struggle within distinct fields. The particular forms of capital might give those have it an advantageous position as the field depends on that capital. 'Such lucky players are able to use their capital advantage to accumulate more and advance further than others.' (Thomson, 2012: 67)

Conceptualizing architecture profession in Turkey as a field; this part will be evaluating different forms of capital available for architects to accumulate as they join the game.

3.1.1. Informational Cultural Capital

Bourdieu formulates cultural capital with the purpose of extending the logic of economic analysis to include noneconomic goods and services. 'His concept of cultural capital covers a wide variety of resources including such things as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about the school system and educational credentials.' (Swartz, 1998). The cultural capital takes a central place in Bourdieu's sociology referring to it as a principle sets a hierarchization (Bourdieu, 1996). It might occur in the guises of as 'religious capital', 'bureaucratic capital', 'political capital', 'educational capital' and so on.

By considering culture as power, Bourdieu calls attention to 'subtle and pervasive ways in which language, knowledge, and cultural style shape interactions. It improves our understanding of the processes through which social-background effects are

translated into unequal school performance and subsequent career chances.’ (Swartz, 1998: 287). Cultural capital exists in three forms: ‘...in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.’ (Bourdieu, 1986). Focusing on educational processes that the young architects are going through; institutionalized state comes forward in inquiring the interviews held in this thesis. The reproduction of class hierarchies existing in the employment of people who leave the hierarchy between educational institutions in privileged and disadvantaged occupational positions, and the mechanisms by which this overlap is possible, is investigated by examining this state of cultural capital (Göker, 2014).

3.1.2. Social Capital Accumulation: Network Relations Among Young Architects

Participating in personal networks, acting with the perception of ‘togetherness’ and being beneficiary of the network relations within the borders of the field are vital points consider; as they are apparently the outcome of all this exploitation practices. The working conditions of young architects in architectural offices and the strategies they have developed against them are of critical importance in terms of both questioning the solidarity practices in the field and questioning how valid these strategies are in playing the game.

The concept of social capital as a power that can be transformed into economic capital for the actors keep struggling for attaining a position in the field and in capital accumulation processes; also points to a network of relations ready to be brought into play as a protection strategy for young architects who are about to be pushed out of the game or those who are in difficulty finding a solid place for themselves.

Bourdieu defines social capital as:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing

of the collectively owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

(Bourdieu, 1986)

Social capital is acquired through the established links between the agents, through group memberships, and network of connections in different number and sizes. It must be kept in mind that it is never completely independent from other forms of capital since these relationships could variably exist in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges maintaining them. As such, “The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his (agent) own right by each of those to whom he is connected.” (Bourdieu, 1986).

3.1.3. Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu states that, to three basic forms of capital as economic, cultural and social, ‘... we must add symbolic capital, which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognizes its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation.’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:). Though it might be considered as concerning reputation, honor or prestige, symbolic capital refers to what could be thought of as a conversion of three forms of capital in a way that they are legitimated and recognized, rather than being a different form of capital. Symbolic capital as Swartz (2013: 112) defines is a form of ‘metacapital’; of which the volume is designated by other forms of capital actors possess. “It could be gained by the help of cultural capital or could also be the result of an acquired social capital as a membership in an exclusive club or guild.” When a form of capital is recognized, actors convert or transform it into symbolic hierarchies, the ranks, orders and grades, that is, symbolic capital (Göker, 2014).

[R]ecognition of the most absolute legitimacy is nothing other than an apprehension of the everyday social world as taken for granted, an apprehension which results from the almost perfect coincidence of objective structures and incorporated structures.

(Bourdieu, 1991: 238).

As seen above, the exercise of power; having its roots in the acquired forms of capital, including economic power, requires a recognition from the agents operating within the field. What provides this justification for the certain forms of capital is symbolic capital. The symbolic form of capital to an extent determines the way economic, social and cultural forms are gained and realized in turn. This will be elaborated in detail through the next chapters where the young architects in the case study and their understanding of and the position in the field are inquired as to see how their failure in accumulating other forms of capital results in lack of their symbolic capital ultimately.

3.2. Habitus

Another vital concept in Bourdieu's field conceptualization in resolving the relation between the agents and the structure is what he calls 'habitus'. It can be said that Bourdieu's theory of action claims to resolve the duality of individual and society, which he considers to be one of the most fundamental problems in the Western intellectual tradition. Taking the question of 'What gives action its regularity?' as a starting point, his theory of practice sharply criticizes various forms of subjectivism and objectivism that seek answers to that question. This conceptual formulation basically considers the individual and society as two dimensions of the same social reality and builds a relation between them (Swartz, 1998). This relationality in Bourdieu's formulation gives us clues that the actions of the individual can be explained by overcoming the agent/structure duality. In other words, a purely structuralist or purely subject-based approach to the action of the agent would be unhealthy. Bourdieu (1990, 65) considers the question 'How can behavior be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?' as a conceptual dilemma and uses the concept of 'habitus' by taking 'field' into account as well.

The function of this concept, which Bourdieu used or formulated to overcome the subject/object dichotomy, was expressed by Paul Dimaggio (1979) as one that provides a relation between objective structure and individual activity. This practical theory states that the importance of the agent should be remembered against the models that develop models about the structural rules accepted to be existing in society. Into the purely structuralist models that tend to conceptualize the agents' behavior and

actions as if they were under the control of a rule or norm; he tries to integrate the individual as a strategist. It is important at this point to replace the rule with strategy (Bourdieu, 1977). By including this strategy language in the structuralist model, he tries to reintroduce the agent. According to him, action cannot be fully comprehended within the framework of observance of norms or rules. Whether or not the actors abide by the norms depends on their interests. According to Bourdieu, all actions are self-interested, but behaviors are still somehow not free from normative constraints (Swartz, 1998). Expressing that preferences do not arise directly from the objective structures in which they occur or from the prevailing rules, patterns or restrictions, Bourdieu brings up the "practical dispositions" that guide the concept of habitus. According to him, actors are not merely subjects who obey or submit to the rules; they are strategists who evaluate and react to opportunities or obstacles. These strategist actors are also connected to social structures through the habitus. A frequently used definition of the concept of habitus by Bourdieu is as follows:

[S]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structured structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

(Bourdieu, 1990: 53)

The concept contains an internalized system of dispositions that generates action. In other words, habitus is a constructive structure, a habit-forming force that generates action. Concept; together with the socialization experiences that make up this structure, gives weight to the practical nature of human behavior based on dispositions. While explaining these socialization experiences, Bourdieu states that the dreams and practices of individuals or groups tend to coincide with these forming conditions of their habitus. The agent makes use of habitus when making judgments about what is reasonable or illogical in terms of his social position. This leads us to the idea that action arises from and becomes regularized with basic dispositions through socialization experiences. By redefining the actor within the social structure in which he experiences socialization, the agent internalizes the objective structures around him and observes regularities in his behavior that correspond to this structured structure. On the other hand, Bourdieu argues that habitus transforms necessity into virtue by directing individuals' obedience to the order. Internalized possibilities legitimize

economic and social inequality by providing unquestioning acceptance of basic living conditions.

Underlining that individuals who internalize similar life possibilities share the same habitus, Bourdieu says that the actions of members of the same group or same class are always more and better in harmony than the agents know or desire (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus gives people a sense of where they belong and where they do not (Swartz, 1998). The concept, on the other hand, indicates that in the social world, individuals react to the current situation based on their past experiences and they have expectations for the future in the same manner. As Bourdieu (1984) mentioned, positions within objective structures have a determining effect on an individual's actions and their access to resources. The position of individuals in the production processes and labor markets in an effort to participate in business networks has an impact on their opportunities to access and benefit from resources. For instance; the ties of family members in the social structure, apart from the individual himself, have a significant impact on the job search processes.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will take a look at the evaluations in the literature regarding the changes in the process of coming to post-professional era in the architectural profession. By revealing the structural transformations of the notion of profession, it will be tried to better understand how young architects are affected by this transformation. Deprofessionalization experiences among young architects today will be better inquired with reference to the corrosion that the profession itself passed through.

The practice of architecture as a profession today has been dissolving with the intrusion of neoliberal policies affecting it in many ways. Parallel to this, privatization in public services paved the way for the diminishing in the architecture's public role and transformation into a '...business being brought under the control of private construction companies, real estate developers, and contractors.' (Sadri, 2018). As Hossein Sadri (2018) implies; 'the transformation of architecture in the post-modern era, particularly under the effects of the neoliberal policies, created radical shifts in the profession and its capabilities, structure, function and relationships with the other agencies of the modern society and state.' He states that the basic priority of an architect today is to protect the interests of private enterprises. Before speaking of neoliberalism's adverse impact in transforming the profession of architecture, the neoliberal context should be first put in understanding its effects on urban space.

The restoring conditions for capital accumulation and the new ways for restructuring of international capitalism has been brought by the neo-liberalism emerged in the late 1970s (Harvey, 2005). David Harvey (2005: 2) defines neoliberalism as: "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an industrial framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free

trade”. With the state’s transition from publicly planned motivations to market-oriented and competitive ones, it is characterized by ‘economic globalization and global capital mobility, liberalization of market and business activities, privatization, devolution of central government, imbalanced economic growth, and increasing social inequalities.’ (Fard, 2018). The shift from state to private market strategies and mechanisms glorify entrepreneurialism, administrative competence, privatization, international capital mobility and economic freedoms in all spheres of social life as well (Dumenil and Levy 2004; Harvey 2005; Sager 2011). All in all, neoliberalism as a phenomenon in which the control of economic factors is shifted from the public to the private sector and its mechanisms. It denotes that the mechanisms of competitive and unregulated markets, devoid of the strict control of the state, should be promoted. As Dimelli (2018) states, the neoliberalism itself is the ‘... result of the transition initially from modernism to post-modernism, and in a second phase of the transition from post-modernism to neo-liberalism.’ Neoliberalism is seen as the fittest mechanism for the economic development as it boosts the value of competition through denationalization and free-market system; concurrently, it diminishes the state restriction on the commercial deals (Gunay and Gulersoy 2010).

It is important to consider the role of the urban space in helping to the intrusion of neoliberal policies. As Sager (2011) points out, neoliberal policies have spatial consequences. Urbanization with increasing capital accumulation reflects the principles of neoliberalism. Harvey (1982) implies that neoliberalism is the product of a crisis that can produce new space as a temporary solution by removing the obstacles created in the way of capital accumulation. Urban areas have given the necessary space for the capital to be accumulated, as it was the proper ground on which the neoliberal urbanization policies were set to be implemented. The urbanization has become a highly functional means to control the economic crisis. This rebuilding practice of the city paved the way for new mode of living in city and ‘since then, the history of cities periodically has shown how the control of the crisis through urbanization has become even stronger.’ (Aktuna & Brisotto, 2018). As the shift from community action to neoliberal property values and individual identities as the neoliberal policies rescaled our object of inquiry from urban to regional and ultimately global scale:

The results are indelibly etched on the spatial forms of our cities, which increasingly consist of fortified fragments, gated communities and privatized public spaces kept under constant surveillance. [...] Under these conditions, ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging—already threatened by the spreading malaise of a neoliberal ethic—become much harder to sustain.

(Harvey, 2008: 32)

Sager's (2011) description for the common features of neo-liberal urban planning implies that it promotes public-private partnerships, marketing and city-branding, and the gentrification of formerly publicly regulated services (Dimelli, 2018). In that regard, urban planning policies are shaped to reflect the effects of neo-liberalism while creating the space where practices, manifestations and areas of resistance take place. (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012). 'Cities are different areas of imagination, creativity and innovation, that most of the time hide their processes of social exclusion. Many urban areas are degraded, and their residents face lasting unemployment. The new urban policies that are developing through new neo-liberal policies lead to new urban environments adjusted to the new needs' (Dimelli, 2018).

One of the peculiarities of neoliberal urbanism is its attempt to redefine a city as an investment city (Khavarian-Garmsir et al., 2018). This is where it is concentrated to succeed economically in competition with other cities and investment, where the innovation and the creative class are at the core for spatial competition, and where the welfare reform and the formation of neoliberal goals are endeavored (Leitner, Peck, & Sheppard, 2007). In such a competitive environment in global or national scale; some sites and certain territories are placed at a higher position than others as places for capital accumulation. The growth-first approach to urban development has been the product of the neoliberal agenda put forth towards urban areas (Sager, 2011). This tendency towards urban space has come with considerable impacts on territories, spatial development and urban planning as the neoliberalism played a leading role in sketching the route of urban restructuring. With the advance of the globalization process, the investment in urban spaces around the world came to be able to cross the national boundaries. The intense competition among cities in national and global level went hand in hand with the investment capital and liberalized financial markets (Fard, 2018). As argued by George:

Neo-liberals have focused on three primary points: free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital, and freedom of investments. Thus, neo-liberal globalization means that there has been an emphasis placed on exchanges across national borders, financialization, and the development of international organizations.

(George, 1999)

In today's context though, neoliberal projects are developing on many different scales in urban territories where the results of existing neoliberalism (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) are a part of their citizens' everyday lives (Dimelli, 2018). This will be elaborated further in the following passages where the influence of neoliberal urban planning agendas on architectural practice and the description of it as a profession is discussed by showing how this issue has been held in the literature of post-professionalism and architecture.

4.1. Architecture in Neo-liberal Era

Considering the architecture as a profession, it is important to take a closer look to professionalization to better understand subsequent process it gone through as deprofessionalization of young architects. The professions are products of the modern world (İmamoğlu, 2018). In that sense integrating the education process, where the formalization of the production of the knowledge specific to the certain occupation within centralized educational institutions, constitutes the one layer of the professionalization; such as established and acknowledges schools of architecture in this case. Well before the modern age, the word profession was referring to the social practices of having an occupation, as well as the occupation itself, in which the occupation holder manifests his use and services for the society in relation to a specialized set of skills, and in return for convincing the society in that sense, collects its social rewards, commercially or otherwise. As such, as a process, the professionalization of occupations is considered by many scholars of modernity as one of the fundamental processes that the modern age underwent, together with and parallel to other major ones such as secularization, nation-states, industrialization and urbanization. As İmamoğlu puts, with formation of professional organizations through which a self-implemented code and set of regulations have been developed, professions have followed their form. It is important to consider that the ultimate aim of all these is to acquire the social legitimacy of explicit rights for occupational

privileges and also to acquire the state's legal approval for those rights and privileges (İmamoğlu, 2018). These processes are the product of the disputes and negotiations in the jurisdictional boundaries of professions. "Through all these debates, disputes and negotiations, social identifications of professions are formed, defined and publicly manifested; in other words, they are literally professed."⁴

Sarfatti-Larson is one of the important scholars who studies architectural profession as pointing out the whole modern age as one wide and large professional project (İmamoğlu, 2018). In her studies, she focuses on the relation between professionalization on the one hand and the scientific knowledge and the free market on the other; as the two are the major aspects of modernity. "In analysing the professional practices in which specialized knowledge is transferred into social and economic rewards, she points out that the construction of "institutional means for self-definition and corporate defence" and the search for "adequate ideological legitimations for the monopolistic exclusion of competitors" from the market of services become two levels of the same professional project." (İmamoğlu, 2018). Emphasizing the transformation professionalism has undergone in post-professional era; Larson (2013) argues that the professionalism as a construct of liberal capitalism had three simultaneous goals. They are: "to ensure a guiding, elite knowledge sector; to—ironically, at the same time—hark back to pre-capitalist ideals of craftsmanship, universal protection of the social fabric, and noblesse oblige; and to offer conventions of standardization, scientific and cognitive rationality, and a progressive division of labor." Referring to this transformation process; these goals are no longer relevant or realistic in today's neoliberal economy (Deamer, 2020). Larson's description of professionalism refers not only to a certain discipline's autonomous mechanisms and knowledge production; but also, to its societal practices. All these claims point out the fact that, in the architecture discipline in the context of this thesis, the operational context of the professions have transformed in a way that this era could be named as post-professional eventually.

Burns (2007) in his study discussing on the central concepts of professions and professionalism addresses multiple new empirical configurations of professions and

⁴ Ibid. 33

professionalism that are occurring in contemporary society. By referring to post-modern aspect of it in his endeavor to deploy the term into sociology of professions he simply puts it as:

In simple terms, post-professional sociology of professions looks to identify what is new about professions, professionalisation and professionalism and account for this theoretically. It is post because it addresses the situations, roles, resistances, innovations, skills and training of professionals, and the migrating applications of the idea of professionalism in the period since the confidence and certitude of midtwentieth century professionals and Western society began to be seriously questioned. Sociology of professions passed this watershed around 1970.

(Burns, 2007)

Thus, it is apparent that there has been something changing within professions with regards to its modern conceptualization. In that sense, it is plausible, with reference to its public role in essence, that Bristol (2018) asks why so little has changed despite the fact that the architecture as a discipline is facing with all the problems for around two hundred years. He discusses the subject with the question of whether the programs of the universities in architectural education really prepare the graduates for the situations they will encounter in the working life. The author regrettably states that he thinks these programs overlook global issues. At this point, he underlines that the most important thing to be done is to change the curriculum in architecture programs, to add courses that discuss global issues to the curriculum, and to implement a transformation based on environment and human rights in the programs. Five areas of focus are, as Bristol puts, cultural rights, right to access, forced evictions, environmental rights, workers' rights. On the same issue, Kuzovic and Gligorijevic (2018), in their work analyzing the various aspects of architectural profession in Serbia, claim that the lack of architectural schools in terms of practice and theoretical knowledge is their failure. According to Kuzovic and Gligorijevic (2018), the ideal architectural specialization would be the combination of theory and practice. It is stated in their work that:

Graduation gave architects a chance to enter the professional world of materialization, regulations, and administration. However, since graduated architects could not use and develop their theoretical knowledge in the local market, they usually develop their skills in the wider international professional community.

(Kuzovic and Gligorijevic, 2018)

With reference to architecture profession's public role; Kuzovic and Gligorijevic (2018) criticizes the education process giving no capacity to respond to local demands and its disability to respond to practical problems of everyday life. "The competition between professions for higher contribution to the quality of life practically disappeared. Social perception of the profession shifted because of architects' inability to timely respond to the needs of society, social change, innovation in technology, and the economic crisis."

It is important to signify the social aspect of architecture in practice, which also denotes a mutual relationship between the professionals and the society with which a feeling of trust is provided. The role of architecture in society has evidently changed from an active, respectable, to a rather marginalized profession. It is an important aspect of post-professional era that:

The public trust in the architectural profession has fading due to unsatisfactory planning, a lack of architectural participation in the design processes, a lack of participation of architects in political debates, and especially a lack of cooperation with political parties.

(Kuzovic and Gligorijevic, 2018)

Neoliberal transformations have apparently affected professions in many ways as the concept of the profession lost its essence due to the changes in the education system, economic system and construction industry. In that sense, in today's neoliberal political climate how the construction industry as a highly profitable means for capital accumulation in urban areas downgraded the architecture profession is to be inquired to see the underlying reasons for the shifting from professionalism to a post-professional condition in this discipline. In her article, in which he questions whether an architectural practice beyond the limitations of the construction industry is possible discussing the effects of neo-liberal urban policies on spatial practices in the example of Istanbul, Enver Aysev Deneç's assessments of the destruction caused by this transformation at the core of the profession seems to be important. She firstly conducts an analysis on the construction practices İstanbul has been going under for the last 15 years to reveal the condition of urban space-making mechanisms in the era of neoliberal urban politics. With the neoliberal alignment of capitalist market and urban governments the last decade of urban space-making practices in Turkey experienced a growing domination of construction frenzy. As the construction sector become the

main economic and political incentive which produces urban density and bigness (Deneç, 2018), the rapid urban growth in the developing cities of the world culminated in destruction of public spaces, loss of collective urban memory, transformation of the demography of neighborhoods and expropriation of the citizen's right to the city.

As Deneç implies; 'Due to the neoliberal spatial policies of the urban governments of Istanbul in the last 15 years, capitalization of urban space has become not only the major resource for economic growth but also a battleground where opposing political agendas manifest themselves, clash and collide with each other.' Deneç shows that with privatization processes of large chunks of urban land, infrastructural projects jeopardizing natural resources, and urban transformation projects that aimed profit gain through confiscation and displacement of already existing social groups, the neoliberal political agenda of AKP government has been unfolded as the one that perceive urban land merely as a means for profit in privatizing, commodifying and capitalizing public land, natural resources and domains of underprivileged social groups within the city (Deneç, 2018 ; 71). This eventually gave way to the explosion in construction industry in Istanbul in 2000s. Deneç claims that as the city gets tired of construction with a neoliberal political agenda towards urban space production; there has left no room for architectural discussions in Turkey. With the overwhelming construction intensity in cities of Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir, three great metropolis of Turkey, urban space had become a commodity with an exchange value. In such an environment, where '...the semantic, cultural, natural and existential values of urban space are increasingly being disregarded', architectural discussion become extinct.

Deneç implies that, in the Istanbul case in 2000s, architecture and design in general are becoming booming profession as creative forces. Proliferating job opportunities goes in hand with central and local governments promoting large-scale urban development projects. Number in the table below demonstrates the growth in business of architecture in Istanbul in 2000s.

Table 3: Sectorial growth between the years 2000 and 2015

Year	No. of architects in Istanbul	No. of architectural offices in Istanbul
2000	9764	1323
2015	18,249	3853

Source: Data Taken from Deneç (2018)

Within such capitalist space production-consumption cycles explicit in neo-liberalized city of 2000s, architectural practice and the architecture's position is inevitable to make a point on. Consequences of neoliberal urbanization as one implied by the numbers of architects rising rapidly could be considered how the profession itself is being corroded. Antonio Negri criticizes this trend of urbanism while positioning the architect as:

Bland, anonymous, repetitive, empty, dispersive, vacuous, risible, 'post-existential', and so on. We are here in a Rabelaisian situation, often full of sarcasm and intense irony, but with no smile. The metropolis we inhabit is a huge grotesque theatre with no exit routes, and effectively hopeless. The architect is tired. The same urbanism that was meant to defeat architecture and demystify the architect only survives as the non-planning of an indefinite and perverse metropolitan landscape. The architect, demystified, continues to exist as a worldly and bitter witness, a disenchanting accuser.

(Negri 2009).

On the role of architect in a contemporary city in which the common good is neglected and the public sphere and collective action is hindered, Aktuna and Brisotto (2018) in their work makes a point that in creating social relations the only power is the power of social life with which the 'urban revolution' can take place in Lefebvre's conceptualization. According to Lefebvre's statements on the architect's role on this issue in his words:

The architect, the planner, the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher or the politician cannot out of nothingness create new forms and relations. More precisely, the architect is no more a miracle-worker than the sociologist. Neither can create social relations, although under certain favorable conditions they help trends to be formulated (to take shape).

(Lefebvre, 2000)

4.2. Alternatives to Exceed the Limits

With the suppression of the dominating neoliberal political agenda towards urban spaces, architectural practice is firmly limited to as ‘building as a means for economic growth’. In that regard, “... there is virtually no room for a professional discourse encompassing disciplinary ethics charged with social agenda, informed by spatial intelligence, formulated with public participation, aiming for the greater good” (Deneç, 2018). Çalışlar (2015) makes a point here that the challenges of operating creatively under the existing conditions of the construction sector and the existing codes that pressure for high density in urban area is to be discussed in this post-professional era. For Eyüce (2018), the built environment, for which conventionally architecture is responsible for in creating for the well-being of human beings, is not only a product of creative and distinctive discipline of architecture but also a place where the agencies of economic, social and cultural dynamics are embodied. Regarding this, architectural practice is not designing built environments rather ‘the architects are involved in a practice that ‘...depend on the provocations of others – clients, individual or institutional.’ (Koolhaas, Mau, & O.M.A., 1995). Eyüce (2018) claims that the designing and decision-making; the degree of autonomy of the architects, abilities in producing built environment are limited to architects’ relationship with other power structures. He demonstrates this relationship between the power and the architecture quoting from Mirkenberg as follows:

A traditional approach follows a functional logic: buildings urban design, and in particular official architecture for governmental use find a form which reflects both the underlying purposes and the underlying ideology of the regime ... The other approach reverses this relationship. In this way, architecture can be seen not only as providing visual and spatial means of legitimation for a political regime or elite, but also as a genuine act of constituting political reality.

(Mirkenberg, 2014)

As the architectural production in Turkey of 2000s is dominated by the market-oriented rules of the construction industry and restrained by current building codes, Deneç calls for a new architectural agenda as to make an appropriate room for architectural discussions and practices. Again, she points out to a more socially engaged architectural practice. With this regard she defines the architectural design today as ‘.. a dance of reconciliation between the design objectives of the architect, the

demands of the client, and the realities and regulations of the real estate market'. This is why there is not enough room for professional autonomy in architectural practice. Besides, Wigley (2002) describes the situation and position of the architect today as "... architectural designer is not only to design but also to convince different interest groups that their design proposal is the most rational, economic, proper, inspiring solution to a specific problem via an extensive representational palette. Hence, the architect is in fact more a storyteller than a master builder." With this, architecture's position in producing urban space within the framework of neoliberal agendas should be redefined in terms of its practice while re-asserting its autonomy as an essential constituent to bring the creativity in the post-professional era. She somehow stipulates the actions to be taken in a nutshell as the redefinition of the client, the redefinition of the practice, redefinition of the position of the architectural professional, the redefinition of the office culture, the redefinition of the disciplinary autonomy, the redefinition of the modes of production, the restructuring of the information management (Deneç, 2018).

The issue of autonomy for the architects, as a notable constituent for the fulfillment of self-actualization their creativity needs most in creating buildings; exposes another aspect of the practice of architecture. In his study where he uses the concept of 'field', borrowed from Bourdieu, to discuss architecture; Stevens (1998) argues that architects chose to define their production within 'cultural field' as they are in the pursue of an autonomous control over the rewards of their field. Their claim in autonomy to validate the architectural products is legitimized within the cultural field. However, as Steven implies, the everyday production of ordinary buildings, which is 'not the proper architecture' seemingly, is validated within the economic field. In that field architects are far away from claiming their autonomy to assign and distribute value (İmamoğlu, 2018).

Deneç's table of myths and realities on architecture practice below seems functional here to grasp the contradictory situation of especially the young architects with regards to this thesis and to better understand how the attempt of 'set of re-definition' she offers to carry architecture beyond the construction.

Table 4: Myths and realities about the practicing architect

Myth	Reality
A creative and artistic individual who produces visionary futures	An entrepreneur/businessperson who is responsible to run the office, meet the costs and deadlines, provide wages, face clients, get commissions, prepare contracts
Subject of the architectural myth of the “creative genius/auteur”	A team member/leader mediating between a wide range of spatial actors from clients to laymen, engineers, governmental structures, and public at large
Advocate of the public realm due to intrinsic disciplinary ethics	A relatively ineffective actor of urban space production mechanisms dominated by the capitalist real estate market
A professional of an autonomous discipline	A powerless actor dependent on the exterior forces of the neoliberal space production mechanisms
Claiming to possess a social agenda for the greater good	A marginalized actor of the construction sector, providing service only for the privileged 1% of the society
Creative, visionary intellectual qualities	Operating with archaic and inefficient business models
High communicative skills	Detached from public

Source: Deneç (2018; 80)

Table 4 (continued)

<p>Possess professional authority in terms of urban space creation</p>	<p>Detached from the decision-making processes within the urban space production mechanisms</p>
<p>Revolutionary, innovative, avant-garde</p>	<p>Entire existence depending on the client</p>

In brief, this contradictory situation between commonly assumed myths and the realities in architecture practice shows there is something changing in the essence of architecture profession. This gives the clues about the possibilities to reach beyond the limitations of post-professional condition in which the young architects suffer mostly.

Here, Hossain Sadri's (2018) call for activist organizations as a crucial standpoint in reversing the effects of the neoliberal policies in dissolving the architecture profession seemed to be a compact guideline in exceeding the limits of today's neoliberal agenda. Along with the new fields of habitat creation and design, he offers a set of various ways towards this end as follows:

- a. inclusive approach towards all areas of habitation and life, from food production to community-making strategies (invisible structures);
- b. holistic approach and attention to ecological solutions, earth rights and usage of resources;
- c. supporting and empowering vulnerable groups in creating resilient communities and habitats;
- d. re-politicizing the field of spatial design;
- e. transforming design field to a process-based horizontal cooperative and creative work which can deal with the process of pre-production, production, post-production (usage) and post usage (decomposition).

This configuration put forth by Sadri demonstrate the fact that the lack of enough political momentum, transdisciplinary coverage, bottom up implementation tools, cooperative process and most importantly public legitimacy make way for the profession of architecture to be incapable to act as an alternative or a resistance center to the real estate and construction business shaped by neoliberal policies (Sadri, 2018).

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN CREATIVE CITIES

In this chapter, the main focus will be on the points where the argument of creative labor and the creative class conflicts and/or conforms with a field study revealing the experiences of members of these occupations in their labor processes in working life. Focusing on the young architects in Turkey, who constitute a great deal of this so-called community as creative class argument puts forward, the results of the fieldwork carried out with young architects who are not free from capitalist labor processes will be examined. As mentioned in the introduction part of the thesis, the main focus here will be on how the two distinct pictures; one being deprofessionalising precariat and the other as creative labor imaginations, are experienced and how this dilemma pushes the skilled labor into two diverse orientations in the reality of architectural field. Throughout this chapter, the existence of a segment that really experiences deprofessionalisation will be revealed on the one hand, and another empirically coincided segment that still has hopes for the imagination of creative classes and tries to follow this dream will be mentioned on the other. The dilemma will be evaluated by quoting interviews with young architects who are taking positions in these two different poles within the field. With regards to these issues, how the neoliberal urbanization agenda acted upon the professional practices of the young architects in the working life and how it shaped the labor processes of these individuals will be revealed in post-professional era. As mentioned before, the aim of this thesis is to conceptualize this dualistic imagining, as ‘deprofessionalised creativity’, of the working life of skilled labor focusing on the production and re-production of the fields around these conflicting worlds in practice. In that regard, Aydan’s and Elçin’s, and even some other young architects’ in some instances, interviews will be fruitful in representing those who still consider the field in a way that creative class and creative

cities arguments have been depicting. The existing duality will be evaluated with these different positions within the field comparingly.

Interviews held with young architects will be evaluated within a theoretical framework centered on the field theory, one of the basic concepts of Bourdieu's sociology. Within this framework, architectural domain in Turkey; with all the processes of education, employment, working life etc. as parts of it, will be conceptualized as a certain social field. At this point, an analysis of the experiences of young architects in the field of architecture would be supporting the inferences about their de-professionalization processes, and it will be tried to reveal how architecture as a field is conceived from the point of view of young architects.

Field study in this thesis has been carried out with 20 young architects, who have been working in the market for one to seven years and who are currently employed by an architecture office currently or have an office working experience. Interviews have been conducted online with 16 semi-structured interview questions. Interview sessions were recorded with the permission of the participants and they were given nick names. In the work of Esen and Atay, 'Türkiye'nin Yaratıcı Şehirleri' published in 2020, in which the relation between the level of creativity and the level of development of the cities in Turkey is inquired; creative cities in Turkey is put in order as an outcome of the creativity index. In this article; the creativity level of the cities is calculated by using the technology, tolerance and talent indexes.⁵ The creativity index eventually refers to the regions and cities which have the great potential to attract and draw creative individuals mostly (Esen & Özkanlı, 2020). In that regard, Ankara and Kocaeli is at the top of the outcome of the creativity index held in the article. Then comes Eskişehir, İstanbul and İzmir with the density of creative individuals and high levels of higher education within the borders of these cities. With reference to the results of this study, young architects working and residing in the three of these potentially creative cities, which are İstanbul, Eskişehir and İzmir, will be inquired by means of the interviews held with them.

⁵ See Ülkühan Bike Esen and Özlem Atay, *Türkiye'nin Yaratıcı Şehirleri*, (Bilig, 2020) for further detail.

5.1. Architecture Education

Bourdieu, in one of his vital studies of higher education ‘The State Nobility’ (1996) shows the link between the agents occupying dominant positions in the field and the necessary cultural capital yielded by having education in elite universities. As Thomson (2012: 76) narrates; in Bourdieu’s work (1996: 273) education has been was one of a series of strategies used by families to perpetuate or advance their social position. University education, where agents keep accumulating their cultural capital within the boundaries of the necessities of a profession, is an important process in evaluating the young architects’ experiences in their struggle to retain their position in the field.

Universities and the architectural education process, in which the formation for the career is shaped, as one of the central moments preparing for the profession, is essential in many respects both in the transition from school to work life and in working life generally. As the creative class argument puts forward, people who have received higher education and have developed their human capital in this direction are candidates for being a member of this class. University education, which is one of the places where creative ability is obtained, is one of the important stops of the leading actors of urban growth, as is claimed. Higher education, which is necessary for the functions such as revealing new ideas, adapting to technological development, or solving complex problems attributed to creative individuals, finds itself not the sole but a vital place in this discussion (Florida, 2012). In this section, the discussion on the vital aspects of education given in architecture departments in Turkey will be supported by the findings obtained from the interviews. Although the close relationship of architectural education with the subsequent working life is somehow apparent, the relationship between university education and the transition to working life will be examined in detail in the following section.

The difficulty and weariness of the architectural education process are some of the most frequently reflected evaluations about education during the interviews. Young architects mostly remember the overwhelming responsibilities from the first year, which are projects, critiques, juries, etc., with which their design and construction skills are being evaluated. In this burdensome schedule, the architect candidates think

that the essence of the design has moved away, and the ultimate goal has evolved into pass-fail effort for the course.

Dilan, who is in her third year in the profession, states that too much is expected from the students at school and that she questions how they become such asocial individuals in such a social field after all the hustle and bustle. While she draws attention to the necessity of experiencing, visiting, seeing, and even touching the space and the environment due to the essence of architecture, she believes that the entire education process consists of completing the duties on time. For her, it is not likely to come up with an architect for whom it was an easy task to graduate from university. Ogün also thinks that the pass-fail oriented education model causes them not to get a quality or good education, but he states that he had to adapt to this game and anyways he had succeeded. Besides he seemed to be unsure whether the quality of education in Dokuz Eylül University was good enough. Somehow, they all strove for being graduated immediately with the purpose of urgently assist their families financially. He thinks that:

The sole motivation for an architecture student should not be passing the course somehow. We experienced this at school. University is where you are in demand for information/knowledge. Students should benefit from it in every sense. We have not participated in field researches except the summer internships throughout the education period. We did not even touch the ‘stone’ for once. We were poorly educated in practice.

A feeling of reluctance and even regret springs out as another aspect of the burdens and hardship of architecture education seemingly during the interview held with Sıdıka. As a 27 years old architect, she complained about how hard it was to accomplish the tasks in IYTE in her words:

The basic design courses were full of detailed rules and so many silly stuffs. We seriously got exhausted with these processes. I do not even think any of them was useful for us. We did not have any place to act freely in our own projects and the time constraints were grueling. I did not know that the architecture education was this troubled. Studying architecture and architecture at a private university might be the worst thing I have ever done. I made a great effort to be able to graduate immediately with the purpose of not be obliged to make additional payment.

This points to one of the situations that may cause the transformation of the profession in the process of architectural education and the shaping of the views of architects towards the profession and the field in which the profession is practiced. The moment where all this difficult and labor-intensive education process turns into a pass-fail effort after a while seems to be the first place where students start to move away from the architecture itself in practice. In this intense schedule of an educational formation based on the sole theory bypassing the practice of architecture, which puts limits to the act of designing and learning the essence of design to passing the course in anyway, it seems that architecture students are becoming estranged to an effort both on the social aspect of the architecture and on its craftsmanship aspect. In such an environment of learning, architecture students are repressed to ignore what is at the core of architecture. Sadri's (2018) emphasis on the redefinition of architectural practice in post professional era by pointing out de-architecturization efforts, which includes a holistic approach to resource usage, ecological solutions, earth rights and also signifies the inclusive approach towards all areas of habitation which takes into account the invisible structure as community making strategies in an environment where the spatial design is re-politicized falls wide of the education process in architecture departments. Peggy Deamer's (2020) proposal to expand the scope of architectural education in a way to include "...housing, technology, ecology, design, political and professional activism, intersectionality, diversity, gender, history, theory, economic, and professional practice seems vital at this point.

The striking point here is the conflict between the lecturer and the student, which has become a stereotyped and increasingly common problem in architectural education. In this process, which brings an architect and an architect candidate face to face, the fact that this mutual tension and intense pressure exists due to the nature of architecture is implicitly dictated by the teachers and accepted by the students.

Dilek, who has been working in various architectural offices in İzmir and Bursa for five years, expresses the difficulty of her education life and the trauma she experienced as follows:

There is so much to tell about the university. I had a hard time; I went to psychotherapy sessions many times. I know many other people go to therapy while studying at the faculty of architecture. Teachers have had us experience

terrible things. I say this without any remorse, and even in an accusatory way. I'll go ahead and tell them. I will never forgive them.

Dilek's experience and narratives show that the teachers had a vital role in evaluating the education in the university looking back then. She simply puts that they were trying to employ a climate of fear during the lectures and throughout every single semester. In her words on this:

Some may be motivated by negative urges and stress. But it is not how it works for me. All of us had struggled at university, but it was horrendous for me. Teachers belittled us many times. They exercised their so-called power on us. Mobbing has always been on their agenda, which I have not been exposed to in working life that much. I am not even going to mention them throwing and breaking the mockup models. They always imposed that we will never ever be an architect on us. Sometimes you just feel the attitude towards you without seeing. That is what the teachers have done.

Dilek interferes here and compares the setting and atmosphere at ITU and ODTÜ with Dokuz Eylül University. She further extends the discussion with this comparison and argues as follows:

I know about other architecture faculties in Turkey and students' satisfaction about this. I know many people from various universities having educated in architecture discipline. The two shine out amongst others with regards to the environment, the aura, the soul during the education term of their students. ITU and ODTU with their way to educate and the dialogues between the student and the teacher distinguishes themselves. What we have fall in to at DEU was not how it supposed to be in architecture education.

She once took a chance to talk to one of her lecturers when she gets to realize that it is not architecture education at all. She narrates this as:

I visited the teacher in her office and told her that this is not how it is supposed to be. I complained about the heavy workload and the way of evaluation of our design skills and abilities, and grading etc. Then, I criticized the school with reference to other universities. She told me like 'You can leave it here and study in these universities if you want'. That is how she responded.

On the general attitude of teachers at school, a three years freelance illustrator with architecture bachelor's Derya puts that "... students are forced to be convinced that they are incompetent. The teachers taunt of the poor aspects of our works all the time."

Derya, on why she will not be back working in an architectural office, directs her critique towards the university education in architecture faculties. She puts it as follows:

I think there is something going wrong with the architecture education given in the university. You can ask all the architecture students at the faculty or those who are new graduates. 90% of them will approve on that unhappiness among them. Anyways, I am glad that I studied architecture. It made a huge contribution on me. I could make it work in every condition with my background in architecture discipline.

The corrosive aspect of architecture education is apparent in Feyza's expressions, five years architect living in Eskişehir and graduated from Osman Gazi Üniversitesi (OGÜ) in the city. She first touched upon situation in general at the campus which she thinks are of significant factors for education. She speaks of this issue as:

It was not allowed to put up a poster on the boards at my school. The first thing to put is this for me for you to understand the context and the current situation in a faculty of architecture specifically. This is an unacceptable situation. Even in the high school it was way comfortable for us to speak freely. It was full of academicians keeping their heads down but on the other hand reprehending us for joining the juries with the make-up on in our faculty. The architecture is a political profession. Thus, this definitely hindered our education life at OGÜ.

Despite the architects complaining about the education given at school, some interviewees approved it to be the right way to learn architecture. Burak, a six years architect, stated that architectural education should be tough and thus the mistakes of the student can be corrected in this way. However, he reminded that the teachers sometimes get brutal and lose the control. He also puts in that he had never been vulnerable to insults from the teachers to extent. Favoring the conflict-ridden process, Burak renders as:

Some students have bemoaned that teacher's tearing down their models for projects. Teachers should do this for sure! A student should pursue the 'new' then. Architecture student should become open to any criticism. This process is such an egocentric one mutually both for student and the teacher. It is just like a clash atmosphere. This is what makes this environment so dynamic with fruitful discussions. The teachers are also product of the social processes. They adopt different manners in their life. Nevertheless, I love this atmosphere.

Yet another architect from Dokuz Eylül University, Nuray expresses that she has always been okay with the teachers at school. She follows Burak's appraisal for conflict-ridden environment and implies as:

Architecture education at Dokuz Eylül was of high quality and was tough one as well. I have learnt very much back then there. The teachers were great people and very good at their discipline.

Although she constantly acknowledges how hard it was to have been graduated from the school, Nuray seemed to comply with this tempo. In reply to complaints of other students around, she says "It is all about us, the students. This is about how you tolerate the critiques coming from teachers as a student. The designer sticks to her/his product wholeheartedly. A sense of belonging appears between her design and herself. Therefore, it might be upsetting and even painful to be criticized for student. Nevertheless, it is all about having a broad back." on this situation.

It is apparent that students have developed several strategies and are in an effort to adapt to the tempo in order to hold on in this intense and challenging education process. Alkan, who has been working as an architect for four years, states that in his first year of education, which passed with reflux pain, towards the end, he left his unachievable ideals aside and focused on what the teachers specifically paid attention to, and started to pass the courses by giving importance to technical details rather than design. Şafak mentioned how calm and laid-back person he was at university. He remarks that the only thing was to accomplish the projects in time even if his works are not excellent. While interpreting the education he received from DEU:

I can see the difference when working with my friends at the workplaces where I am currently working. Of course, I also see the difference between me and METU and ITU. DEU gave me enough education for me. Afterwards, I somehow jumped into life with my own achievements. Education at DEU was a good process for me.

Then Şafak attempts to compare the education he received from DEU with that of ITU and ODTU as follows:

Dokuz Eylül's curriculum was a training focusing a concept design projects. We probably are more creative in this regard. We are better than other universities in Anatolia. As far as I observed, the education at ITU, METU is more socially oriented. They receive an education for the society, they consider

advancements in technology, I see that they teach for today's architecture in working life. Both theoretical and practical issues are given to the students in a more balanced way. However, the DEU continues with the older curriculum, a conventional way of educating in architecture. For example, at DEU, I heard that the education given in 1993 and the education given while I was graduating went along the same lines. I know it is still the same for current students. Teachers have no time to push themselves forward. The school makes no headway. What is bad with this is that it can no longer approach the new generation. I think it is not enough to catch up on with METU and ITU students. Even the architecture faculty of Mardin Artuklu University can outstrip the DEU right now. I don't like the old-fashioned architectural training in DEU. Our school is mediocre when it comes to computer programs. I learned all the programs I use through my internships. Today's understanding of architecture is changing. I know that METU and ITU are places that have courses open to discussion.

5.2. Architecture Practice in the Market: Two Distinct Pictures

In this part, the young architects in the field of architecture will be evaluated in terms of their ability to be integrated into labor processes, employment status, work place conditions and exploitative aspects of the market within the framework of what Bourdieu refers to as forms of capital in their struggle of capital accumulation. Looking at the process right after their graduation from the school, this evaluation will end up in where the young architects somehow kept a position in the field and try to strengthen it. Working conditions in the field of architecture have been discussed for a short period of time by focusing on unpaid internships (D'aprile and Deamer, 2019), work overload, short-term contracts, long hours of working, fragmentation and mechanization of labor, the loss of autonomy in the production process with the efforts of unions, independent civil groups and academia (Sadri, 2015). Precarious labor processes in the architecture market and how young architects experience the conditions giving way to this precarity will be meaningful in interpreting the duality between creative labor and the deprofessionalisation in practice.

Before touching upon these issues, first, I will elaborate on the seemingly painful period for the young architects that is the transition from school to working life. This will give some hints on the conditions of employment in architecture field in urban areas. On the other hand, the ability and the capacity to accumulate economic capital within the field for young architects will be inquired by incorporating workplace conditions in their labor process into discussion. Nevertheless, it is not to say that other

forms of capital carry no weight on these issues and this will be explained with reference to Bourdieu's rejection of division of economic and noneconomic forms of action and objects as being a constituting base for his theorization of forms of capital.

On the other hand, apart from the hardships during the education process for the architecture students, the university education is quite important in terms how it shapes the subsequent challenges the young architects face in work life. Quality of education given, corresponding points of received education in the faculty and practice in the market, its role in employment processes; will be evaluated within the next chapters with reference to cultural informational capital that the young architects held in the field.

5.2.1. School to Work Transition

In this section, with the purpose of inquiring the role of higher education within the process of school to work transition architecture education in Turkey will be discussed from various aspects, the implications of the field research will be shared, and the relationship between the unemployment and insecurity with architectural education will be discussed. Thus, the informational cultural capital acquired during university education and its influence will be touched upon within the employment process of young architects. On the other hand, conditions of employment will be evaluated within the framework of transformative effects of neoliberal policies towards urban areas on labor market.

It is somehow factual that young people are facing an increasingly complex and fragile global economy which is characterized by labor market flexibility in jobs (Best & Kellner, 2003). Casualised, low-paying and repetitive jobs are increasingly taken for granted for newly graduate young people (Down, Smyth, & Robinson, 2018). For architecture graduates, on the other hand, integration into working life follows a path becoming increasingly unstable. Architecture, as a field of the capital-based transformation of cities within the regime of construction-led accumulation and with the dictates of neoliberal economic policies towards it, is eroded in terms of wages, security, work practices, and all other labor processes, which are somehow the results of this neoliberal articulation. Thus, it becomes a tough area for the young architects to be included and survive in. As mentioned before, this study examines under what

conditions the de-professionalization and deskilling had emerged as a reality in the current period when the thesis of creative classes is embarked to be included in the policy-making processes and even in the city administration. Therefore, the results obtained from the interviews will be discussed in order to reveal what is going on in the work practice of the young architect. However, due to the close relationship between education, transition to working life, and working life itself, the processes between these three main focuses of the study will be examined occasionally.

5.2.2. Labor Market Conditions

The process of finding the first job differs in different periods depending on many variables. The periodization of neoliberal urban politics under AKP rule in Turkey would help better understand the employment conditions in the market and evaluate the differing limits to it after 2018. As Kuyucu (2018) stated, with new series of legislations issued in 2005 urban transformation projects have been initiated which emphasizes a referential point in the transformation of neoliberal urban agenda in Turkey. Flourishing of several large-scale urban renewal projects appeared between 2005 and 2012 in squatter districts in major cities (Sert, Aykaç, & Zırh, 2021). In such an environment, aggressive and authoritarian restructuring of urban space production has been initiated (Zırh et al. 2021) with a ‘new legal basis for urban renewal, megaprojects, intense privatization of public assets, and the opening of conserved natural sites to the world market’ (Kuyucu, 2018). The explosion in the construction sector in this period, for Yeşilbağ (2019), was rendered possible in an environment where the relations between the real estate and finance sectors have strengthened in line with today’s financialization discussions. The share of the construction sector in national income, as the clearest indicator that reveals the increasing importance of it, has increased from 5.1% in 2002 to 9.7% in 2016 in added value (Yeşilbağ, 2019). Thus, it is claimed that the 2008 global economic crisis did not trigger an equivalent depression in the housing sector in Turkey as did in many other countries, as it continued to push the boom of the economy (Yeşilbağ, 2019). The school-to-work transition process seems to have progressed quickly for the interviewees who graduated between 2012-2018 to find a place in the sector. In this period, when the real estate and construction sector continued to proliferate during the AKP years, the young architecture graduates still seem to have met the ongoing staff needs in

construction and architecture offices. However; as the young architects experienced the working life in the age of megaprojects, crisis environment and urban struggle in the context of neoliberal urbanization practices they are subjected to exploitative labor conditions (Zırh et al., 2021), which will be inquired in the next section.

Ogün states that when he graduated in 2015, he was able to find a job in a short time and that the process of finding a job in İzmir, including himself, was easy for those architects around him. Dilek, who graduated from Dokuz Eylül Faculty of Architecture in 2017, states that the market was still in perfect condition at that time, and she could find a job quickly. For 2016 graduate Mine, it was also easy to be employed as she could find a job in an architecture office she first applied for. She describes the employment experiences around her as follows:

In 2015, when we graduated from the school, it was not a struggling task to be employed by an architectural design office. Most of us have been able to find a job within two or three months. With an architecture degree everyone could be employed in return for very low wage. I know that currently fresh graduates suffer from unemployment. It was not the case for us in 2015 I remember.

Although transition to work seems to be an easy task for those who graduated before 2018; exploitative conditions and precariousness were still relevant. All of the participants, referring to the employment structure before 2018, complained of what Mine told as ‘smooth employment with poor working conditions. Derya also puts emphasis on the stable conditions of employment in 2017, stating that she was able to be employed right after forty days she made her job applications with low wages and burdensome working conditions.

After the period aforementioned, it seemingly became an issue of employment for newly graduated young architects. Sıdıka, a 2019 graduate, says that only six months after graduating from school, she was able to enter the office of an architect friend of hers through that friend, enouncing that this process was excruciating. She depicts her experience as follows:

It took almost five months for me to gather strength to look for a job after that harsh period of education. I was in an endeavor to be working in such an architecture office I would enjoy being in. The employers rarely replied my job applications saying that I need this job offer to have an experience. It has been a year since I graduated from school and I was still unemployed. Just then a

friend of mine told me that a furniture shop was looking for an interior designer and I jumped at it. Eventually I realized that what I am doing here is way off the architecture. I was paid 3000 TL monthly here and worked for four months. I quit the job then and started looking for job once again. One of the offices offered me 1500 TL monthly with that experience promise to convince me.

For some, dealing with the market conditions in integrating themselves to it necessitated a sort of strategic measures. Dilan, before graduating from school in 2017, tried to strengthen her professional and individual relations with the employers where she was serving as an intern. With this, she tells, it was not that challenging for her to find a job as she continued working in the same office where she was an intern. Another interviewee, Feyza, stated that they have been warned by newly graduates that how struggling it is to find a job in the sector in her first year at school. She makes a point on her way to dealing with this possible situation as:

They kept telling that we will be working for ridiculous amount of wages. I thought that it would be way smoother to find a job if I had a chance to work before my graduation. In my third year at school, I started to work in an architecture office at the same time. Since then, I have been working in two more offices until the graduation. Nevertheless, it took three months to be able to find a job.

Şafak's experience reflects how hard it is to be integrated into the market after graduating from DEU in 2019. He stated that he went back to Mardin, his hometown, to spend his time during the job applications as he would not be able to meet the expenses in İzmir. Remarking the hard conditions in labor market he narrates how he could handle this period as follows:

After five months of living with my family in Mardin, I come to realize that I should not have come here and meet the employers face to face since it even took three months to get a job offer. I moved to Istanbul and made many job applications to the architecture offices. I stayed there for two months, of course, penniless. I looked for daily jobs and worked in textile factories as worker. It was a disgrace, so I do not want to remember those times. When I feel bad in my current workplace, I immediately remind myself of those days actually.

It might be argued that the efforts in exploding construction sector with a neoliberal political agenda towards urban space production, with all the rent generating projects pushed and contributed the economy to a certain extent. The contribution of the construction-based accumulation strategy to economic growth has entered an alarming

downward trend in 2013, and by 2018, there has been a serious decline in the sector's activities (Sert, Aykaç, & Zırh, 2021). Yeşilbağ (2019) claims that increasing trend in housing prices, unsold housing stock, rise in the debts of construction firms, and the pressure from megaprojects on the treasury come to the forefront as alarming crisis dynamics in neoliberal urban politics in Turkey. In fact, while the EU average of the volume of housing credit is 47.1% as an indicator, it is only 5.4% in Turkey (Yeşilbağ, 2019). In that regard, “although neoliberal urban politics had stretched architecture to exploitative conditions before the spoken economic crisis in 2018, the gradual rise of unemployment has constituted another dimension” (Aykaç, Sert and Zırh, 2021).

It is the university education period in which the young architects of today begin to accumulate their social capital which would have a validity or legitimacy within the field. Here, both the relations established with the teachers, and the networks established among students based on friendship mostly influence this accumulation process.

Issues such as participating in a network, being part of for instance a network that is legitimate in the field of architecture, benefitting from the advantages of these relations and developing these network relationships are important determining factors especially in transition to the working life and in their struggle to keep their position in the field. Invitation from a friend or a call from a certain network of architectures are somehow a regular practice in finding a job expressed by the interviewees. Like Sıdika expressed above, Ogün stated that his friend told him that there was a position available in their office and this way he found his job first. Burak also told that one of his friends announced that she was quitting the job and he was sort of replaced and even substituted in the office. It would be appropriate to mention Helen Blair's (2009; 120) 'Active Networking' conceptualization in order to emphasize the actor and structure relationality at the point of evaluating participation in personal networks and the importance of these networks. This concept, which draws attention to the dynamic nature of the processes of participation in networks or the formation of these networks; It acts on the assumption that individuals' job search processes and the processes of creating personal business networks indicate a conscious behavior.

The assumption of the individual, who is conscious of personal networks and takes action towards a goal with the help of this awareness, approaches Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Just as habitus points out in the explanation of behaviors, Blair also mentions a situation close to the system of forming dispositions, but his claim is that unconscious behaviors that come to the fore in Bourdieu's formulation constitute the missing aspects of the theory. Indeed, when Bourdieu talks about strategist individuals, he does not mean conscious choice or rational calculation (Swartz, 1998). Along with his concept of strategy approaching the situation of making a counter move; It points to a pattern of behavior that arises from a set of internalized dispositions that appear to be appropriate to difficulties, constraints, and opportunities. As a matter of fact, the process of communicating with personal networks as an example of behavior here is a conscious and rational action. In other words, the relationships established by individuals are actions carried out with a purpose and with the awareness of opportunities. Blair here rejects Granovetter's (1995) accidental explanation of behavior and Bourdieu's subconscious limitation. While the act of searching for a job informally and unconsciously is two mutually exclusive situations for Granovetter, we see that they coexist in active network theory.

The structural positions of the actors, another factor that Blair draws attention to, should be mentioned here, as it is thought to contribute to the shaping of the interviews to be conducted during the research process. The structures, sizes or densities of personal networks (density & size) are one of the factors affecting the gains of individuals in the network. However, it would be misleading to assume that these networks are closed systems, that is, individual behavior patterns consist of personal relationships. As Bourdieu (1984) mentioned, positions within objective structures have a determining effect on an individual's actions and at the point of accessing resources. The position of individuals in the production processes and labor markets in an effort to participate in the networks has an impact on their opportunities to access and benefit from resources. It should be stated as an undeniable fact that the ties of family members in the social structure, apart from the individual himself, have a significant impact on the job search processes.

Ogün on the reasons lying behind the exploitive working conditions in architecture offices, makes point as follows:

There are a great number of graduates of architecture ready to be involved into the market. Architecture faculties are burst with architecture students. On the other hand, the market consequently does not have the necessary infrastructure to meet this call for employment. This is why the low wage has become usual in the market since there appears number of architecture graduate who are okay even with the minimum wage.

Ogün again, depicts the perpetuity of this situation as:

There are no checks of the low wages on architecture offices. No inspections are carried. With no control over this situation, everyone can do whatever they want for the price they want. There is a situation that constantly pulls you off the hook. Architects thirty years ago may have had an excellent architectural life. For us, the burden has started to become too much on our shoulders, so is the current situation. Architects are now doing whatever job they grab a chance to do. The image of an 'architect' in society is in downfall currently. The profession is in trouble. Number of universities and faculties should be decreased for a while, I think. I do not know what should be done.

Finally, Derya draws a general picture that includes the shared discontent and puts the possible reasons for this.

The architecture and the civil engineer have become popular among young people and during the course of ten years the number of faculty of architecture was doubled approximately. There are number of universities of which I do not even know the name and these universities include architecture faculties with no teachers to educate. With the excessive number of newly graduate architects, wages have fallen down. For some of the architectural offices; what matters to employ an architect is how fast and quick she is in AutoCAD; rather than where she is graduated from. There lots of METU and ITU graduate people who would agree with the minimum wage in such conditions in the market. In 2015, there was still no such thing as unemployed architect. With the crisis in construction sector after then, as the sector came to a halt, mass layoffs have occurred in the architecture offices. Now, I have many people around me who are really willing to accept any condition any wage but cannot find a job. I have a friend who opened a bakery; another one opened a pastry shop, and one who is making pots right now. These people are graduates of architecture faculty.

These narratives are of a great importance in questioning the education process for young architects in struggling to go into the field and keep strong in that position. Derya and Ogün's complains are relevant in our case as the numbers show that reality

in the process of education in quantitative studies is put as well. The number of faculties of architecture and the students receiving education within are in an increasing trend comparing the 15 years of time course in Turkey. Retrieved from the outcomes of ‘5. Mimarlık ve Eğitim Kurultayı’ (Tuna, 2019); the figures put the factual situation in university education. Table below shows how the transforming of construction sector with neoliberal urbanization policies have affected architecture education in general.

Table 5: Numbers from Architecture Faculties

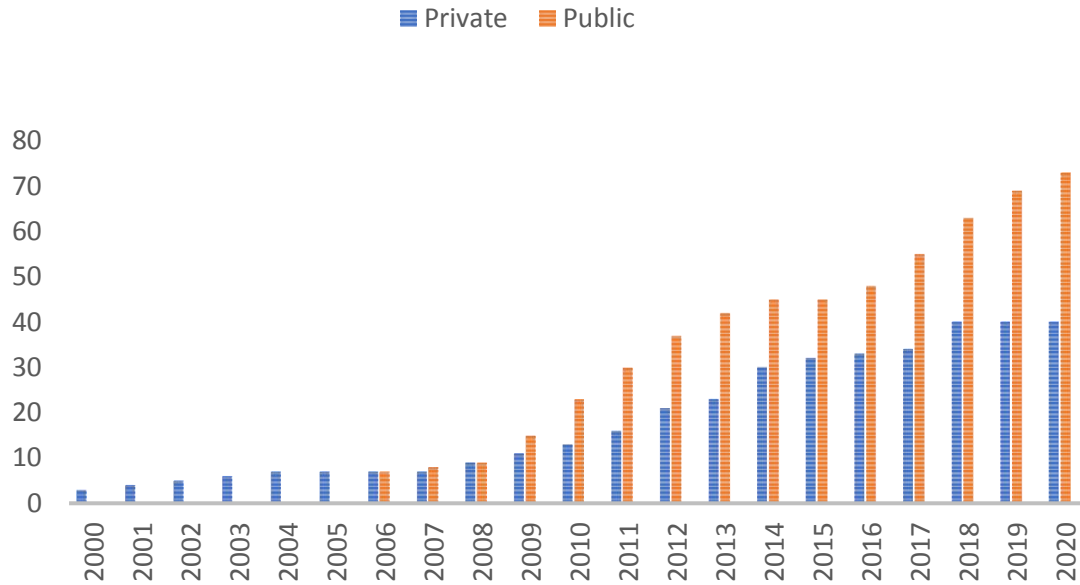
	2001	2017
No. of Architecture Departments	32	115
Quota of the Departments	1859	7882
Number of Students	6400	37000
Number of Architects	26702	54115

Source: Mimarlık ve Eğitim Kurultayı (Tuna, 2019: 15)

Moreover; the number of the registered members in Chamber of Architecture in Turkey are 55925 in 2018, 61507 in 2019, 63628 in 2020 and finally 98478 in 2021.⁶ Experiences in the process of entering the working life and the periodical differentiation of the market's permeability for young architects seemingly coincides with what the young architects narrates through this chapter in terms of both the increase in the number of graduate architects and the ways they practice in the market. Moreover, below is the chart of the number of new architecture departments by year of foundation from 2000 to 2020 (Aykaç, Sert and Zırh, 2021).

⁶ Data retrieved from TMMOB website ‘www.tmmob.org.tr’ for each year.

Figure 1: Number of New Architecture Departments in Turkey



Source: Aykaç, Sert and Zırh (2021)

5.2.3. Labor Exploitation in Architecture Offices

Here, since it has a great share in experiencing de-professionalization practice, it would be appropriate to reveal the result of the interviews in which we can follow the traces of the exploitation of young architects' labor, which have become a general phenomenon in the architectural offices. Putting the evaluations of young architects towards the exploitation of their labor grasping what is going on in the market and on the labor processes, will be more meaningful and healthier.

At this point, it would be appropriate to examine in detail the exploitative conditions and precariousness experienced by the young architects. The challenging process of finding a job, low wages, precarious working conditions and the long working hours come forth as the general situations in which young architects' labor is exploited harshly. As a driver in deprofessionalisation process of young architects, exploitation of labor firstly reveals itself right after the graduation with some specific cases in architecture offices. During the interviews Burak informed that there are numerous architecture offices in İzmir in which new graduate young architects are employed under the name of 'trial period' sometimes with no wages paid or without social insurance payments. He narrated his experience with one of those offices as follows:

I thought that I could gain experience working in here as a fresh graduate. The employer told me I can keep looking for better job opportunities while working with him. I worked there for three weeks and quit the job. He did not make the payment and then I heard that there were tons of newly graduates exploited by this man. It was a total mess.

(Burak, 2022)

Dilek's experience in her first workplace is another example how the young labor is exploited and how easy it is for an employer to dominate over young architect's labor. She told that she got the job willingly. However, as she puts, she was not able to receive wage at all. After three months she was paid not even half of her total wage. She furiously said, "They paid this money in an envelope and told me that the rest will be paid later on!".

Unpaid overtime work and working for low wages are important elements of the exploitation that almost all of the young architects working in offices experience and encounter in labor process. During the interviews, young architects were asked about the wages they are paid for working in the office in their working life. The figures reveal the existence of a mass of young architects who cannot receive a recompense for their work, obliged to long working hours unpaid, and who are; in some cases, deprived of social insurance.

It is a general trend that the young architects in the early years of working life are paid wages lower than the minimum recommended by the Chamber of Architects with unpaid overtime work. Burak in his first full time job was paid 1600 TL monthly whereas Chamber's minimum wage was set to 3300 TL. He reflected that the years after he realized that his insurance was not paid. Later he worked for another architecture office in İzmir again, for 2700 TL approving that it was not that bad compared to young architects around him. Maximum salary he was paid right before he quit the job is 4250 TL in that office. He stated that it was a good amount of salary, but I worked in hard working conditions and worked overmuch. Burak's next workplace is İzmir Chamber of Architects and this will be examined in the part where the thesis will focus on relations with Chamber. As another case, Şafak's experience initially was not so different than Burak's as he was paid 2200 TL in an office in Düzce. His employer had that rhetoric of 'you have to struggle; you should claw your way out to become an architect' whereas during the pandemic in 2020 he lowered

Şafak's wage to 1400 TL. At the moment, he is paid 3750 TL as the minimum wage announced by the Chamber is 5750. Sıdıka is also paid 3000 TL with unpaid overwork in İzmir. She remarked that she worked without insurance for six months. Menekşe, a four years architect, stated that after getting job offers, she applied for with maximum wage of 2500TL in İstanbul; she decided to come back to İzmir in 2019 where her family resides in. Her wage is around 4500 TL at the moment. Quoted from her "...2500 TL was not enough to survive in İstanbul, and I decided to accept whatever the wage I was going to be offered in İzmir to live with my family as I was so tired of looking for job. I did not even choose where to work at."

For those who are relatively experienced in the profession, the situation is not separate. Working in an architecture office for five years, Feyza's wage is around 7000 TL. She puts that as "It is ridiculous is not it? We have to be paid ten times of our current wages as a matter of fact." On her fourth year in the market working in various architecture offices, Dilek stated that she is being paid 3500 TL now and remarked that she would be satisfied if it was 5000 TL. Aydan told that after working for the same architecture office for six years, her wage is 6500 TL now.

Working for low wage apparently taken for granted among young architects. This is not to say they are reckless towards this situation. However, it is somehow admitted aspect of the labor process for them as reflected in their responses. It seems that the wage would not be the sole motivation as the young architects tend to give a great deal of importance on the subjects of self-actualization and autonomy in decision making processes throughout the architectural projects.

5.2.4. Is this architecture at all? An Evaluation for De-professionalizing Young Architects

Notion of 'symbolic capital' emerges as a key concept in grasping de-professionalization experiences of young architects in the architectural field. Acquired symbolic capital of the young architects, which is not detached from other three forms of it, comes to the fore as an 'energy' determining and affecting the nature of this experience.

De-professionalization experiences are observed as a matter of the fact that the creative class thesis perhaps overlooked, or ignored, among all the problems of creative labor such as low wages, uninsured working, not getting paid for their labor, and long working hours; as these are becoming the main factors for young architects to increasingly be deprofessionalised. However, interestingly this issue was not mentioned by some during the interviews unless reminded by the researcher, especially by those cases which are going to be evaluated as ones dragged by the imposed imaginations put forth and assumed by creative class arguments.

This process, which includes university education as an actor, appears to be an issue that young architects almost take for granted in working life but hinders the desire for self-actualization that Florida (2012, 77) attributes to this group. Evaluating the feelings and experiences of young architects regarding this so-called contradictory situation is essential in understanding both the neoliberal transformation of creative labor processes and creative labor itself.

The commonly shared view among policy makers and in society that education is a vital way to solve whatever problem exist in the economy and society, taking its roots from human capital approach, gives way to young people to have a perception that they are job ready and compliant workers to be (Down, Smyth, & Robinson, 2018). They are being encouraged to regard labor market as 'level playing field'; if only they work hard enough at school and gain a qualification.

The aspect of the issue in the focus of this study is that the works done by architects in architecture offices are of qualities that they did not anticipate until that moment. The disappointment of young architects during the moments where the education given at the faculty hardly matches the work done in the offices is the beginning of the subsequent process of de-professionalization. The learning process that students go through at university can often be of a purely design-oriented nature that is open to creativity with no limits to imagination and includes highly abstract huge masses.

Graduated from IYTE architecture department, Dilan's narratives reveal a vital contradiction emergent between the promised and the actual architecture practice. She rather criticizes the promises they are given at the school and this way puts forward his disappointment experienced in the market. In her words;

Although we made technical drawings, we took countless design courses at school. Teachers told us to forget about the technical details during the projects. They did not care how it will be materialized in real life. I think a balance should have been created in between. Dokuz Eylül's curriculum is much closer to market conditions as far as I know. On the other hand, İYTE retains its architecture education way off the market.

At this point, it is striking that there is a distinction between the schools of architecture regarding the so-called tradition on which the curriculum or the education given relies on. As important aspect of the education process at architecture school, the apparent division the students make as 'technical' and 'theoretical' training and the balance between these two within curriculum stands out. One of the interviewees, Aydan, states that the market in İzmir does not demand what she learned at school and that this is a great disappointment for her. While she states that she was never involved in the design processes in her early years and that her architectural practice was limited to technical details such as plan drawing and building licensing, she never anticipated this aspect of the path.

Dilan's expression shows how disappointing this situation for a young architect at the beginning of her career. She puts it as; "I had been studying at school unaware of the things waiting for me in working life are vital and will have such a place in my life."

Ogün makes an evaluation on this as:

At university, we were educated with a sense that we were going to make incredible designs and accomplish great things in working life. The moment we left school; it was like we were all going to be star architects. However, there is no such world out there. The market contains very, very small and limited areas where you can show the knowledge you have studied for four years at school. Maybe that is the right way, the way for us to hit it bigger when the day comes. However, it is not the case under these circumstances.

There is a general tendency among young architects to picture the architecture profession within the field as one resembles to what they trained for. As Bristol (2018) puts forward, university education and the teachers themselves overlook what is going on in the production processes of built environment as inferred by the interviewees' narratives. The architectural education that students receive by passing through a design-oriented curriculum without anticipating the urbanization patterns shaped by neoliberal policies and the consequences of its transformative impact on architectural

practice ultimately becomes a prominent factor in the beginning of the deprofessionalisation process of the young architects.

Şafak's experience reveals the gap between architecture education and architecture done in the market. He expresses the situation as:

It is a design-oriented curriculum what we had at school. The concept projects are what we mostly do throughout four years. However, it is quite opposite in the marketplace. What the architecture offices do is to maximize the product quantitatively in fastest way. It does not correspond what we learnt at school. In my workplace I was dealing with the legal aspects of the construction projects and checking if they are in compliance with regulations. Doing so, the costs of the work done must be kept at the lowest level. This is not architecture at all. Eventually, we the architects are making way for improper masses and buildings.

Dilan again, expressed the contradictory situation between the market and school while she was pointing out how struggling the first job experience was for her. She expresses;

Initially I had the feeling that I know nothing about architecture at workplace. I was like 'Okay, I know about it, I was trained for it, I know about the design.' However, what we learnt at school was not even close to the work done in the office. It took me a year to get used to it. Only then I have come to realize that the school life and working life are two distinct things. I never thought this could be so different.

Burak, on the other hand, states that at the end of a design-oriented education at school, he expected to have a job in which the discussions on design processes could continue. However, it did not go well and failed. Then, he chose to get to the architecture office he was first offered job opportunity. He tells that although he has experienced that there was hardly any space for theory-based and design-oriented education in the marketplace concretely during his first job, they had been warned by the teachers on this situation. For him, DEU was not that bad at technical training in architecture as the students are competent in using 3D design software the architecture offices employ where he works. However, as he points out, this technical training will not be enough. On the other hand, he states that what the university is trying to manifest is an objection to the market. In Burak's opinion, this is what the university has to do, but it could also tread a fine line between that theoretical-technical training density anyway. At this point he says:

Most of the young architects are doing their jobs by taking responsibilities even under that of technicians. It is a solid fact that something is wrong here for sure. But will it be better if the school provides us an education based on the market alone? Should the school train us away from the design and theoretical basis since the market itself will not look for it? Nevertheless, the university education could have better prepared us for the market.

Burak's statements complies with what Haug (1972) refers to as loss of authority over work. As the young architects are limited to practices of technicians, their authority over what they expected to do in the working life becomes even more latent.

Aydan's complaints about the education she had undergone verge towards the university curriculum, just as is the case for other interviewees, but in a way simply leaning on market conditions. As a point where Aydan deviates her position and attitude towards the field different than the others. While others draw attention to what they blame as education process and the conditions of the market itself, she goes on to indicate that;

At the university; we should have been trained for what the reality of the working life, the market will be asking from us. If this is the 'market', then train the architects for the market, nothing else. I wish I had known about how to do business, how to draw projects that minimize the cost and maximize the profits, rather than what Corbusier said.

The young architects sometime come to realize that they forget about what the architecture is. After working for some time in an office Dilan has noticed that, as she implies, she became alienated to what he learnt as architecture at school. On this her expression is as follows;

I started to master's after a while at Istanbul Technical University on architecture. There I realized that I got lost in technical details working in the market. Once again, it was very struggling for me to get used to architecture at school. In a project during the master's was criticized for not concerning the environmental context of the building and its relationship with urban texture. The market obviously occupied me, I realized then. The problems I have been dealing with in the market do not match the architecture I have seen at school of I dream to reach.

It is obvious that young architects can neither express their ideas acquired at school on design nor actualize their creativity due to the quality of the work they do in the market. While trying to cope with this dissatisfaction, the issue of autonomy of creative labor,

which seems important for the young architect, also suffers. Young architects, whose autonomy has been hit in the market conditions where their ideas are not taken into account, their creative efforts towards design are limited and they are beginning to think that they do not do architecture, are about to find themselves in the experience of becoming deprofessionalised in the process. A good example of the importance of the young architect's autonomy within a project stands out in a narrative of Oğün, who has just begun to experience this. Quoted from him;

I am satisfied with where I work now. Sometimes things happen where I say, 'I would not have done it that way'. This is an environment where I can speak and put forward an opposing view. Yet, there is a boss and final decision belongs to him. However, sometimes he gets me involved and say, 'come on, it is your job.' It is nice of him to give that responsibility on me. It is nice to be asked for my opinion. Yet, it is not the case very often.

On the other hand, indicating that there are those who pictures the field differently than those who are already deprofessionalised, there appears some cases who conceptualize their profession and skilled labor in a harmony with what creative class argument have promised. This inquiry, even if these cases constitutes the minority of interviewees, is vital with regards to the existence of such a fraction among young architects and also to conceptualize these dualistic positions within the field in linking the practical world with the pictured ones.

Aydan, while giving details of what she does in the office, refers to the heavy burden on her with all the stuff she is responsible for. What she is telling is seemingly giving hints about how the autonomy issue is fulfilled for the young architects. She touches on the issue of autonomy to having all the responsibility of an architectural project and following every single stage of the project from beginning to end.

Here I have the full responsibility of over the whole operation of a design project. This includes designing, licensing, presentations to customers, contacting with technical teams and solving their problems, giving the orders of purchases, even choosing the parquets and wallpaper. A project is on me from A to Z. This is probably something unique to our office. In fact, I am working in this office for about 6 years. I did not have this much control over the design projects in my first 4 years.

(Aydan, 2022)

Aydan's hope for professing in architecture as a skilled labor and her consideration towards the field parallel to that creative class argument depicts manifests itself here once again. Aydan in her response to the question of work autonomy in the workplace shows her enthusiasm in dealing with many responsibilities and complains why she did not have such a workload earlier in her career. As mentioned before, the work autonomy in professions refers to freedom to define the nature of profession with regard to its content, ethics and ability to influence the forms of work (Frostenson, 2015). With the dissolution of professions with regards to individual autonomy, expertise, and authority over the work done; young architects become vulnerable to the effects of deprofessionalisation. The designing, as a fundamental ability to claim specialized knowledge of the architects within the field, is seemingly becomes irrelevant in establishing their autonomy over what they produce. Aydan's satisfaction with the autonomy she is assigned with way far from the designing practice give some clues how she as a young architect defines the field and architectural practice. Designing practice and decision-making; the degree of autonomy of the architects, abilities in producing built environment are limited to architects' relationship with other power structures (Eyüce, 2018).

Elçin, who had been working for various architecture offices in İstanbul and then chose to work as a freelancer, touches on the issue of autonomy as well. Even if it is not in the context of architectural office, Elçin's evaluations parallel to Aydan's show some significant aspects of this fraction working in the field. Elçin, while remarking that she has been participating in design contests as the main practice of work, refers to her experience of work autonomy as showing her gratitude for what she does.

Working as a freelance architect makes me feel much better, I am much happier here and way freer in doing architecture. I am dealing with every single detail of the work or project in my hand. This is what the freelancing brings to me. I was not happy with a boss over me dictating what to do. The office work did not satisfy my expectations. I chose this way to be free. I participate in design contests, draw conventional centers, sports hall, mosque and so on. I am the only one who decides what and how to, which makes me feel better, feel that I am an architect.

(Elçin, 2022)

Although Elçin praises the way she does her job picturing it as an 'actual architecture', she indicated that she earns lower than what she would be paid in an architecture office

now. However, the uncertainty in her monthly income is seemingly not a big deal for her as long she keeps the control over the work done.

I am hopeful in fact. My family supports me financially and morally all the time. It is a luck of me. They would support me even if I get no money in any month. It is not that uncertainty what makes me feel unhappy. I won the prize in one out of ten design contests I have participated. However, I am still drawing for various contests.

(Elçin, 2022)

For young architects, the gap between the way they do architecture in the market and in school brings with it a process full of serious disappointments. As it can be seen from the interviews, the promise of being the ‘starchitects’ of the future is in severe conflict with the market realities. At this point; where the educational formation acquired for the profession cannot find a response in the projects drawn in architectural offices or in the works that the architect has to do in the office, as noticed in some examples above, the creativity attributed to them either completely loses its meaning or has to be shelved for a while to be delivered in the for the future plans. It is at this moment that the young architects become exposed to the detrimental effects of deprofessionalisation on their creative labor and personality as well. A more detailed evaluation of this deprofessionalisation practice for this mass will be left to the conclusion section.

Another issue mentioned by the young architects during the interviews and which should be included in the evaluations regarding the working conditions in the market is the mobbing practices in the workplace. Given that labor exploitation mentioned above are in close relation with the mobbing in workplace, the attitudes of employers towards the young architects are considered to be vital. This practice as an integral element of working life and that determine the working conditions of the young architects seems to be closely related to both dissatisfaction and deprofessionalisation. Young architects often shared their experiences in workplace stating implicitly that such an environment hinders their creativity.

Nuray stated that she had never experienced and ever witnessed what she saw in an office she worked for a year. She follows as:

Disrespect, insult, bad language, jealousy and envy... This is the real life I come to realize. I would have committed suicide there if my friend did not support me. I had an employer who cursed behind all my colleague's back. Sometimes it was my colleagues who was the mobber. They complained about me to the employer every time we fail to agree.

Besides, Dilek's narratives reveal the striking aspect of working conditions in building site which is yet another workplace for young architect. While expressing her experiences in her third job in an architectural office doing construction site work, which she entered in her third year in the profession, Dilek tells;

Then I wanted to work at construction site for a little time and got an offer from such an architecture office. I started working there right away. They paid me well, I was getting 3200 TL. However, it was the first time I encountered mobbing in the working life. Here, I mean the obvious and apparent mobbing. Because I am a woman, the workers in the site did not want me to be there. As a woman, I tried to be a little harsh towards the foreman. Anything that I told was not taken into consideration in the site. The boss was scolding me every single time. I was working with also engineers in the worksite. They told my boss many times that they did not want to see me here. Once, they called him and warned about the clothes I was wearing. I could see in their eyes they hated me. Meanwhile, my boss kept urging me to adapt and be polite to the foremen and the engineers. After a year, I quit the job. This is you experience as a female architect.

On the other hand, Derya's professional dissatisfaction in his first working experience in an architecture office and her orientation toward working as a freelancer in the end is of a great importance indicating that the architecture offices could not offer no professional self-fulfillment for young architects. She expressed that she applied for the job opportunities in the offices she liked to work in mostly.

One of them offices called me and started working there the day after. I told you that these offices were the ones I feel close to since I was student; the offices that only make projects for architecture design contests. This was a great opportunity for me to do architectural design. However, I was disappointed when I started working there. I did not even a single thing about architectural design, I was not even thinking hard on design project. It was an endless workload on us, young architects in the office. Along with the low wages, the architectural practice we were doing did not fulfill my expectations. Young architects were not involved in architecture competitions processes, which I was most enthusiast to become a part while applying this job. Meanwhile, I started to taking illustration jobs from my network outside. I realized that I was having fun with these. I felt that I was starting to get rewards for the work I did.

5.2.5. Perception of Basic Problems in the Field

The young architects were asked to identify basic problems of architecture in Turkey. The most common problem identified have been the economic situation in Turkey through the interviews. What is meant here are simply the experiences such as low-paid employment in architecture offices in general. The young architects apparently do not only infer from their own experiences; but also reveal what is mostly complained among young architects around them. What is striking is that the architects tend to take this issue one step further and focus on the causes of the problem. Having different implications about the reasons behind low wages and long working hours, the young architects underline how to solve this issue.

According to Dilan, the most common problem arose is about wages for young architects. For her, this is related with the current economic conditions of Turkey which is getting bad. She states that: ‘That is why the employers want so much from young architects for low wages. The economic conditions of Turkey make people acquiesce to the demands of bosses.’ As she expressed; she has been observing that the architects abroad have enough leisure time to spend, and enough wage. After that she said: ‘If I were an architect working in a much stronger country right now, I would never be okay to neither working hours nor these salaries in our country.’

Şafak, acknowledging that the main issue is about the low wages that young architectures comply with, points out that solidarity is what is missing among young architects. He thinks that

If we as the young architects do not accept 3500 TL wage ever, the architect boss will eventually have to increase it for sure. What we do by accepting low wages is to surrender in their advantage. Right after I graduated from the school, I had struggled to go against this situation on my own. I was mobbed during the job interview of an architectural office in Istanbul for this reason. The interviewers attempted to convince me to low wage saying that in the market number of architect way more experienced than me are paid lower than what they offered me. It was one of the most famous architecture offices in Istanbul by the way. What is the Chamber doing for this? I do not really know.

Dilek, on the basic problems in the practice of architecture, points out to underpayments in architecture offices by reminding that she has not been paid for two months in her first workplace. While she was talking on this issue:

What is even more dramatic than being underpaid is being unpaid. Insurance payments are made in minimum wage in most of the architectural offices. We are already being underpaid. Why would they do that? I must remark that even the best architecture offices do this in Turkey. They pay the architecture's wage formally in minimum and the rest is paid informally in person. Wages are extremely low though, and I do not understand why it is so. This is the case even in the large architectural offices. Engineers are paid higher.

She continued by giving her own complaints by indicating a general situation among young architects.

Rejecting or being displeased to the wage offered does not work anymore. The offices chose to employ technicians by the same wage I reject. They (the bosses) do not even care about this. Architecture offices are in the opinion of that what an architect does is not very different than a technician does. I am being paid by the half of the salary of a nurse right now. Teachers' wages are higher than mine. Home rental payments, bills, grocery shopping... I could not afford all these with what I earn. The bosses are aware of this living conditions of us, but they play ignorant and we the architects keep quiet about this. But I know that I cannot have this no more. I will talk to the boss very soon.

Feyza is also one of the interviewees complained about the working conditions in architectural offices as a common experience among young architects. She puts it as:

As I said before, the wages are ridiculous in this sector. However, as another aspect of the working conditions in the architectural offices, I would say overtime work. I do not find it meaningful to work overtime excessively. This is the coldest fact in this sector. You could not expect from these individuals who work for excessive hours in the office to be in a good condition in terms of physical and mental health. Hence, you would not expect healthy works from us. I do not understand these great expectations from the bosses. We work in a rush always. I am sure that if we have the life good quality, the works we do would be good in quality as well.

Sıdıka on the working conditions in the offices states that the employers do nothing to motivate the young architects. She further explains as "The boss does not even care us and not even try to improve the conditions in the office. When I came home, I would still be thinking of the work. Can somebody please tell me why I am working on Saturdays?"

Discussing on how to solve or improve the issues in working conditions the young architects mostly refer to acting together and creating solidarity practices. Focusing on the collective solidarity Nuray complains as "the market is inhumane. Everybody

complains about this, but no one cares or attempts to do something. We are so-called intellectual individuals as architects. However, an architect exploits the architect today. A friend of mine has been exploited by her teacher at university.”

Burak in stating his own implications about the basic issues the profession is suffering points out to the lack of solidarity among architects. He states that:

It is true that everybody complains about the economic situation. Besides this, what I consider as one of the important problems is the unawareness of their rights among young architects. They do not know what their rights are in working life. In relation to this, another great problem is not knowing, not being aware of his/her class. The architect ignores that he is a worker. That's why he never gets into the struggle to seek his rights. The worker in its usual meaning knows his rights though. But on the architectural side, there is an extra acceptance through the pursuit of professional satisfaction. He (the architect) also gets minimum wage, he is also devastated in the labor process, he is exposed to more mobbing but opposes the boss rarely.

He keeps telling as follows:

The architect usually is exposed to insults rather than criticism during the project by his/her boss. Unfortunately, he confesses this situation of devaluing of his labor. This may be the case for the discipline of design, not only in the architecture. The designer approaches the final product as if it belongs to her. That is a great illusion. She is just a worker in an architecture office with an employer. Eventually, since the work being done is somehow egocentric it becomes harder to act in solidarity. Architects are acting individually.

Burak's criticism on the architects, especially the young architects, in their unawareness in attributing their labor is important at this point. Peggy Deamer (2020) claims that architects fail to conceptualize their work as work. She manifests that architect thinks that his/her production is not a commodity; it is rather something designed. Architects think that what she does is too creative and culturally significant to be evaluated under the name of work. This isolated stance among architects resulted in the perception that ‘the architects design, constructors build; we do art, they do work.’(2020). This points out to a great problem for Deamer, that:

[T]his keeps architecture from not only achieving the above described financial and monetary rewards but also achieving social relevance and personal satisfaction.

(Deamer, 2020)

This division of art/creativity and work/labor is highly problematic as this creativity is not free from being laborer for those who have it, ‘when it plays into the hands of capitalism’ (Deamer, 2020). Deamer’s effort seems to comply with what Burak observed around him among young architects:

If architects could rid themselves of their antipathy for labor discourse and push to structure their work more humanely, they could see the potential of a discipline that is increasingly respectful of all contributors and informed by multiple creative actors.

(Deamer, 2020; 30)

Özge points out to competitive climate within the working environment in architectural offices that curtails the togetherness among architectures.

Being able to communicate with people in the office took place in a much narrower environment. Solidarity took place mostly with my friends from school and the relationships I built through them. New networks are difficult to set up in the working life. It is very difficult to even talk in the office. It is difficult to break the competitive environment. Everyone has worries about the future. On the one hand, disturbing the boss is equivalent to being fired at any moment. From here, this is the key point. The person who feeds you at that time is in that economic sense. In fact, when we look at it broadly, you feed it.

(Özge, 2022)

On the other hand, in studying the social capital of young architects, the Chamber of Architects and the solidarity networks it offers at first come to the fore as an institutional base where the social capital can be enhanced in size and quality. However, implied from the interviews, the case might not be as so for the young architects.

Dilan stated that she finds the solidarity processes in the field insufficient. She said: ‘If I needed something or something happened, I wouldn't make an appeal to the chamber at all. I do not think it will back up me when I need it.’

Sıdıka’s attitude towards the Chamber in Izmir seems similar to Dilan’s as she says:

Chamber of Architects in Izmir is full of people with vanity and smugness. I sometimes feel like I could not stand to talk to them even for two minutes. The Chamber, for instance, could support the young architects in educating us in architecture design and rendering software. However, what they do is punishing unlicensed using of that software instead. They sometime organize events, but no one is supporting us there.

At this point it is remarkable that the experiences of one of the interviewees as a worker in Chamber of Architects in İzmir. Burak has been working for more than three years in the Chamber. He stated that after a while; as the new board after the elections come into office, the mobbing towards him has started to take place. He tells this story as follows:

In the period, the rate of increase in our salaries dropped immediately. The new board tried to make up a domination over us told us ‘Do you have any idea what the architects earn out there? Different ways of mobbing were imposed upon me. They expanded the boundaries of job description of me. I was charged with the stuff that I have nothing to do with. My main responsibilities have started to be given to other people. I was disabled by them to do my job and at that point I started to be unsatisfied with my profession. I know that they aimed to humiliate me in the Chamber. At the same time, I was witnessing that someone else was doing the things I used to. This was a great insult. In this process, I was exposed to the expressions like ‘What are you even doing here? Why do you get paid this much? or You cannot keep up with us?’. My dismissal has come on the agenda twice. I was doing all the tasks given me. There, the Chamber for me, has become an environment of conflict; rather than professing.

Burak told that the pressure on him in the Chamber keeps going still. ‘We demanded wage increase and overtime payment that none of them was responded in return. We were asked for pleas for petty reasons; investigations were carried against us. Nevertheless, I know my rights. They have no reason to kick me out. What they are doing is to discourage me, they are forcing me to surrender and quit the job.’⁷

Finally, young architects expressed as another issue of the profession that the practice of architecture in the market do not fit together or correspond with the skills and their attitude/understanding towards the discipline of architecture they developed during the education process. They are of the opinion that this contradictory situation causes them to be estranged to the essence of the profession.

5.2.6. Future Plans of The Young Architects

Interviewees were asked for their future plan in their lives in questioning their future expectations and predictions about the architecture profession. Dilan, by expressing

⁷ Three days after the interview held with Burak, he was fired by the justification of Kod-29.

that they do not really make future plans since she faced with the fact that she had never made plans for such a life.

First of all, I want to move abroad and work there as an architect. If there would be an opportunity, why not? I have no illusions that things will get better here. There is not such a busy work schedule abroad as I have observed so far. It is better to work there in terms of wages and quality of life. Here, as an individual, I can only afford my house rent. I think that I would experience a whole different lifestyle there.

(Dilan, 2022)

Feyza's responses are also implying the young architects' enthusiasm to work abroad. She puts it as follows:

Before the pandemic, I was thinking to keep working up here in Turkey. It is still tempting to stay here. However, it also has pitfalls as well. I think that, for the next few years, the things will not get better here. I probably will not be able to continue so.

Feyza, once again, keeping her attitude towards the future pessimistically says that:

I do not live in a country to make clear cut plans. I am a little too realistic about setting up my own architecture office since I do not have such a network that would bring me a job yet. After all, no one will come and say 'Feyza has her own office now' and work with me. There are people who have already owned their offices around me. However, they earn less than me so far or they work harder than me, which is pointless for me to be the owner of an architecture office. What I need is just a more comfortable working environment.

Sıdıka refers to her inability to see what is waiting for her in the future. Indicating her disappointment about the practice of architecture profession she says:

The biggest issue for me is that I cannot predict my future. I am just looking for a way to get myself out of this profession if possible. Maybe I will learn coding. This is the only way I try to motivate myself. I do not know. I would love to go work in U.S., but it is not that easy currently anymore. Since I am not happy working here in my current work, I am looking for new job opportunities in various architecture offices. People around me are looking for a job for me right now.

It is apparent that, as implied before in different parts of this study, a great deal of the young architects who are struggling to preserve their positions in the market place or the field of architecture itself are increasingly failing to become professionalized within the game played around. As they become more and more eroded in their skills,

talents and more importantly their ambition, a process which opens up the doors of deprofessionalisation for these people, they increasingly tend to maintain their pessimistic stance against the future.

Dilek's response is striking in terms it reveals labor exploitation of the young architects in architectural offices.

I do not make any plans. For now, I think about how I am going to get by this month. I am in such a struggle to make a living right now, trying to pull myself together. Yesterday, I have just realized that; even if I do not spend any money, I would not be able to pay off my debts for years. I am looking for extra jobs. I used to teach architecture software programs, maybe I will go back to it. For sure, I would like to have my own architecture office but as the time pass, I am getting away from it. I am afraid of taking responsibilities. Everyone around me suffers from anxiety. I am not making any plans to go abroad now. What is weird is that I love this country even if I am not happy with the situation right now. If the situation changes, I want to stay.

Ogün, on his expectations from the future:

I don't make long-term plans, who does? I am currently getting paid lower in dollars compared to that when I first got a job. Can you guess what will happen in two years? Two years ago, something called a pandemic exploded. I have dreams that are easy to achieve. I also have challenging dreams, but I do not usually express them. If I get a chance to do what I can, I will do my best. I am not saying that I will be the best architect in Turkey and have my own office in five years.

Nuray saying that she wants to stay here in Turkey expresses her predictions on future as follows:

I am trying to receive acceptance from METU Graduate School of Architecture now. I feel like I will be happy there doing my master's degree. I used to dream having my master's in Sweden once and I even had the chance to make it. However, in fact, I love here this country. I do not want to leave. I want to do something for this country. Now I am preparing for the English Proficiency Exam here in Nusaybin. I am enduring this since I am hopeful of this country still.

Regarding what is waiting for them in the future, the young architects mostly share a common ground that it is not really possible for them to dream of it. This apparently opens up a way that the only strategy they develop or held is to survive in the field and conserve their position. Those who share similar habitus as being young architects

graduated at about the same period constituting the members of the same class, seems to share similar strategies in their struggle within the field. Underlining that individuals who internalize similar life possibilities share the same habitus, Bourdieu (1990) says that the actions of members of the same group or same class are always more and better in harmony than the agents know or desire. In that regard, it is possible to imply that those who are dispersed or dragged to a situation in which they are increasingly deprofessionalised and remained very little hope of future represent the one side of the fracture arisen among the young architects I have been arguing. They are simply not happy and unable to see what is waiting for them in 10 years of period.

On the other hand, Derya, a freelance architect, draws a more optimistic portrait of the future for herself.

We learn how to design, how to solve a problem. This is going to be valid always. The economic conditions are so bad, I know, but the things might be better within five or ten years. If you are still dealing with the discipline of design after all this misery, you would be able to work well. The designing never ends, I think. I am aware that everyone around me complains about the problems endlessly. We do not make plans, we do not dream, we just do bewail all the time. We cannot foresee what is going to happen in the future.

As seen in her statement; although she admits that the young architects could not make no future plans, Derya still is hoping to be able to do architecture in a way that creative class argument commit for these talented individuals. Her future aspiration and her interpretation of what the field will be presenting for them in ‘five or ten years’ is apparently being shaped differently than those who already failed to hold out their hopes.

Elçin’s future aspirations as well break up with those majority of the interviewees.

I will not give any way to despair for the future. I will be doing what I am doing right now. I will not change since I am hopeful. No need to look for another living strategy, nothing to distress myself.

As she remarked that even if she only once won the prize in all the architecture project contests that she joined; she still tries this way of doing architecture.

The dissatisfaction with the practice of architecture in the market is one of those indicators that young architects are becoming increasingly deprofessionalised.

Autonomy issue, the quality of work that is far away from designing, disability in fulfilling their creativity are the prominent factors that lead these individuals be dissatisfied with today's architectural practice in the offices. The lack of symbolic capital accumulation within this field of professional practice among young architects; leads them to go away from what Larson (2013) refers to as simultaneous goals professionalism had, that no longer valid in today's neoliberal economy. As a form of capital that another three of them takes form with the their recognition in the specific field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013), insufficient symbolic capital reveals their incapability in gaining recognition for cultural, economic and social capitals in their struggle to improve their position in the field. With limited capability in economic capital accumulation within the field, as indicated in the exploitative working conditions with low wages paid to them and precariousness, young architects become much more vulnerable to the defects of neoliberal labor processes. With regards to the field conceptualization in which the economic capital is the ultimate determinant constituent that all other forms finalize themselves in, young architects' struggle to be in the architectural field suffers from their failure in accumulating economic capital. Unemployment issue, on the other hand, is what hinders them in their struggle as well. Considering the year of 2018 as a turning point in the employment structure in the sector (Zirh et al. 2021), as it becomes harder to be employed for young architects graduated after then clearly, they are getting prone to even go out of play.

In terms of social capital, it is striking that young architects are already graduating from school within networks that will contribute to their employment status. Many architects make use of these networks formed at school in their transition to work life. However, in the following processes, it is observed that these networks are dissolved. Retrieved from the interviews, the young architects stay away from network relations that will improve their position in the field. As one of the institutional grounds in which the social capital can be accumulated, the Chamber is one where the young architects have long given up their hope. In the field where solidarity processes are increasingly evolving into competitive ones and individual behavior patterns become dominant, the young architect tends to get to know the rules of the game in this way. The young architect's lack of expectations from the Chamber of Architects becomes one of the reasons that paves the way for extremely isolated individuals not to be able to accumulate social capital in the field, instead of acting together.

Informational cultural capital, on the other hand seems to be the one form that impedes the symbolic capital accumulation of young architects mostly. Cultural capital, in its institutionalized state in our case, refers to the academic qualification gained from the higher education as a first step in entering to the field of architecture. 'By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession)' (Bourdieu, 1986).

Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. This product of the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital establishes the value, in terms of cultural capital, of the holder of a given qualification relative to other qualification holders and, by the same token, the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labor market (academic investment has no meaning unless a minimum degree of reversibility of the conversion it implies is objectively guaranteed).

(Bourdieu, 1986; 21)

In this regard, material and symbolic gains guaranteed by the academic qualification depends on the appropriate conditions to be actualized within certain field of power. Young architects, who have acquired their cultural capital with academic qualification in the first place, experience their professional practice in an architectural field that does not somehow meet the capital they have in such an architectural practice shaped by neoliberal urbanization policies. heir accumulated cultural capital, which cannot find its value in the field, is insufficient for them to improve their conditions in the architectural profession, which seems to have been eroded already. Statements such as; "the architectural education received does not match the market realities, we are only drawing technicians, or what we do in the market is not architecture", which are often mentioned in the interviews, are indicators of how exhausting the struggle in the field is for them.

This transformation in the essence of the profession is one of the main reasons why they can acquire only a limited symbolic capital. For young architects whose economic, cultural and social capital is not recognized and are not valid in the field, a symbolic capital accumulation becomes impossible. The neoliberal production of

urban space reveals the field of architecture as a field where young architects, of those who lack symbolic capital, experience deprofessionalisation.

It seems dramatic that the sense or a feeling of ‘somebody needs me, my skills and creativity’ is being disappeared increasingly among the majority of interviewees in this case. It is obvious that there are those who devote themselves to the glowing creativity and bohemian lifestyle in the city, and also those the neoliberal project hurts, corrode their character and weakens social solidarity (Ganclini, 2013). As Sennett (2000) reminds us that ‘In order to be reliable, we must feel needed’, among the young architects the lack of imagining a constant imagining that there are witnesses for all they practice and there are someone trusting their expertise is becoming a reality. In addition to this, precarity as a commonly shared experience today is corroding ‘those as aspects of character that unite people and offer each one of them the sense of sustainable self’ (Sennett, 2000), as Ganclini puts. The work young architects do, or the way they practice their profession is becoming illegible to them, as they constantly lose the understanding of what it is that they are doing (Sennett, 2000).

Nevertheless, those who expect much more than they experience should be reminding that there is one another reality existing within the field. High hopes of being a part of the strata of creative class; an imagination of a working life and professional field shaped by the intrusion of neoliberal ideology and conditions of work, for some young architects implied throughout the chapter, show that these promises trail some others within the field in a flow. This reality of hopeful individuals is a major driving force among the young architects in their determination in keeping struggling to be within the field. Apparently, such a prospect among the interviewees could play a vital role in the reproduction of the educational field and the professional field itself which produce deprofessionalisation and precarization process of young architects.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, the conceptualization of ‘creative class’, which has been discussed in the literature for the last twenty years and taken as a guidebook in policy making processes at various scales for urban growth in many parts of the world, and the ‘creative city’ phenomenon, an imagination which points to local practices in the direction creative class put forth were put aside. On the other hand, the study positions the issue of deprofessionalisation, which has been discussed for a long time in sociology of work that is a theoretical foresight exact opposite to the creative class argument. Focusing on this duality, the thesis questions the conditions under which these two contradictory evaluations for the qualified labor could exist concurrently. For this reason, theoretical discussions representing these two distinct edges have been delivered in chapter throughout chapter 2. The creative city phenomenon, which is pointed out by the argument that claims that cities that cannot attract creative class members, provide them with appropriate working conditions and facilitate their creativity will never achieve the expected economic growth and development, express the imagination of cities that include the most suitable lifestyle and work opportunities for their creativity by focusing on the investments for this labor. On the other hand; debates on deprofessionalisation as another foresight that focuses on qualified/educated labor, points to a future that is the exact opposite of professionalization process awaits the people including the members of creative class. In a way that is incompatible with the imagination of creative class, it suggests a future in which features such as professional authority, autonomy, and expertise are lost. This chapter presents a comparison and contradictory points of the theoretical debates that are drawing two different pictures on these individuals. In chapter 3, a theoretical framework as a story behind that would be needed evaluating the findings of the case study carried out in the study has been discussed. In that regard, it has been argued that the concept of ‘field’, which forms

the basis of Bourdieu's sociology; plays a key role in making sense of how young architects experience the field of architecture torn between creativity anticipation and deprofessionalisation, and how their understanding towards the field or the profession are shaped. In addition, an evaluation of Bourdieu's conceptualization of forms of capital and the concept of habitus, which seem to be important in the interpretation of the findings obtained in the case study, was put forward. At this point, it has been emphasized that symbolic capital, as a product of the all other three forms of capital, is important in making sense of the experience in the actual world in terms of providing the actor with recognition in the field, the validity of the capital and/or the legitimacy of the actor in the field.

Thereafter, in chapter 4, the evaluations in the literature regarding the changes in the architecture profession in transition to the post-professional era have been discussed. Here, it is argued that the practice of architecture today is being dissolved by the intervention of neoliberal policies that affect it in many ways. Today, the transformation in the architecture as profession, especially with the intrusion of neoliberal policies, has created radical changes both in the profession itself, its structure, function and the abilities of those who practice it. In this sense, as a result of neoliberal urbanization policies transforming the urban space production practices in Turkey, architectural practice is now becoming the professional practice of architects who are customer-oriented, devoid of design process and neutralized in the process dominated by capitalist real estate markets. Also, the necessity of evaluating neoliberal urbanization policies in paving the way for this dissolving in the profession as one of the most important reasons lying behind the experience of deprofessionalisation in which young architects find themselves has been argued. Chapter 5 discusses the points where argument of creative class and labor conflicts and/or overlaps with the reality experienced, through the field research that reveals the experiences of architects in the labor processes of working life. By evaluating the findings related to this, it has been discussed how neoliberal urbanization processes affected the professional practices of young architects in the working life and how it shapes the labor processes of individuals in the post-professional era. During the interviews with young architects who have recently graduated from universities, questions for the architectural education they received, process of school to work transition, working conditions in architectural design offices, situation of today's labor

market, the problems of architectural practice and their future aspirations have been asked in order to grasp their attitudes to and comprehension of the field. The general assessment made in the chapter includes the interpretation of the experience of deprofessionalisation within the theoretical framework. It was emphasized that the Bourdieu's field theory and the forms of capital are of great importance in making sense of the story. Dissatisfaction with the architectural practice in the market is one of the indicators that young architects are experiencing deprofessionalisation deeply. The issue of lack of autonomy, ways of doing architecture that are far from the design discipline, and the inability to reveal their creative aspects seem to be among the reasons why these individuals are not satisfied with today's architectural practice. The insufficient or invalid economic, social and cultural capital accumulation of young architects distracts them from goals within the scope of professionalization process, which, as Larsson (2013) puts are no longer valid in today's neoliberal economy. As a result of the inadequacy of their economic, social and cultural capital, their symbolic capital becomes insufficient to keep hold and maintain the positions they have taken within the field. In other words, there is left no room for them to be known or have a say, their professional authority is gradually weakening and thus they are being professionalized most profoundly.

As a neoliberal project, the policy practices of creative class thesis; and the creative cities argument shaped by the predictions that creative labor will play a key role in urban growth are gaining their legitimacy by neoliberal urbanization policies. On the other hand, the same neoliberal urbanization policies guiding the production of urban space and built environment, appear as the main factor that paves the way for young architects to experience the deprofessionalisation today. The main reason why the working and living conditions promised by the foresight of creative class arguments is way far from what the young architects experience seems to be this duality created and reinforced by intrusion of neoliberal ideology and policy practices. However, another point that should not be overlooked is the fact that the young architects are drawn into two different directions or sides with reference to their perception and evaluation of the architecture as a field and the profession itself practically, as is often emphasized throughout the case study in the thesis. Besides, there occurred empirical coincidences among the interviewees, of whom the subjectivities have been shaped or affected by creative class arguments as a neoliberal project put. These cases, even if they were

only few, have directed their criticisms towards the education process that did not provide them with what the market necessitated rather than the urbanization process left in the hands of market rules. It was argued that they are being dragged away from other architects in the field research both in their understanding the essence of architecture and with regards to what they dream for the future. While the findings of the field research carried out represent a good example of these two different theoretically depicted worlds should be related to the world we experience; it also reveals once again that the transformative power of neoliberalism on individuals is an undeniable fact. These young architects who depict and experience the field of architecture differently from those who have already feel they are being dragging down, seemed to be hopeful on the profession and determined in conceptualizing the architecture profession in line with what the neoliberal creative class arguments promised. Considering the architects who loudly complain about the situation and are increasingly moving away from their profession, examples of those diverge from this majority; who are satisfied with the work they do no matter how far they drifted apart from design processes, indicates that the precariat is being dragged into two extremes today. With this, it is obvious that the approach or the attitude towards the field of architecture by young architects, in some cases indicated in the case study, opens a way for the reproduction of the conditions in the field of education and professional field which produces the deprofessionalisation and precarity. Hopeful predictions of future and their devotion for a better professional practice is seemingly a driving force among young architects for an endeavor to become a member of the strata of creative class, as revealed by some cases.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, A. (1988). *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Adorno, T. W. (1975). Culture Industry Reconsidered. *New German Critique*, 12-19.
- Aktuna, B., & Brisotto, C. (2018). Agripoetic Resistance in Urban Architecture and Planning in The European World. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 207-228). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Allmendinger, P., & Haughton, G. (2012). Post-political spatial planning in England: a crisis of consensus? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 89-103.
- Ballantine, J. H. (1997). *The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis*. Prentice Hall.
- Barro, R. J. (1991). Economic growth in a cross section of countries. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 407-443.
- Barro, R. J. (2001). Human capital and growth. *The American Economic Review*, 12-17.
- Becker, G. (1964). *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research : Distributed by Columbia University Press.
- Becker, G. S. (1962). Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis. *The Journal of*, 9-49.
- Beek, M. T. (2019). 'My profession is gone': how social workers experience de-professionalization in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Social Work*, 22(4), 676-689.

- Bell, D. (1973). *The Coming of Post-industrial society*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. (1976). *The cultural contradictions of capitalism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Best, S., & Kellner, D. (2003). Contemporary youth and the postmodern adventure. *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 75-93.
- Blair, H. (2009). Active Networking: Action, Social Structure and the Process of Networking. In A. McKinlay, & C. Smith, *Creative Labour: Working in the Creative Industries* (pp. 116-134). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. New York: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1971). Intellectual field and creative project. In M. F. Young, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 161-188). London: Collier-Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of a Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Westport: CT: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In Other Words: Essays Toward a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (2013). Symbolic capital and social classes. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 13(2), 292-302.
- Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the geographies of ‘actually existing neoliberalism’. *Antipode*, 34(3), 349-379.
- Bristol, G. (2018). The Trouble with Architecture. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 11-30). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Burns, E. (2007). Positioning a post-professional approach to studying professions. *New Zealand Sociology*, 22(1), 69-98.
- Caplow, T. (1954). *The sociology of work*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Deamer, P. (2020). Professionalism and the AIA: “Response to AIA Values” with Keefer Dunn and Manuel Shvartzberg. In P. Deamer, *Architecture and Labor* (pp. 97-106). New York: Routledge.
- Deneç, E. A. (2018). Architecture Beyond Construction. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 69-84). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Dimaggio, P. (1979). Review essay on Pierre Bourdieu. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84(6), 1460-1474.
- Dimelli, D. (2018). Advocacy Planning During the Economic Crisis in Neo-liberal Greek Cities. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 91-104). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Donahue, K. R. (2000). Professing Professionalism: Bureaucratization and Deprofessionalization in the Academy. *Sociological Focus*, 365-383.

- Down, B., Smyth, J., & Robinson, J. (2018). *Rethinking School-to-Work Transitions in Australia: Young People Have Something to Say*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Drucker, P. (1959). *Landmarks of Tomorrow: A Report on the New 'Post-Modern' World*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Dumenil, G., & Levy, D. (2004). *Capital resurgent: roots of the neoliberal revolution*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Erik Braun, M. Lavanga. (2007). *An international comparative quick scan of national policies for creative industries*. Rotterdam: European Institute for Comparative Urban Research.
- Esen, Ü. B., & Özkanlı, Ö. A. (2020). Türkiye'nin Yaratıcı Şehirleri. *Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*(92), 29-54.
- Eyüce, E. Ö. (2018). The Influence of Neo-liberalist Policies on Istanbul: The Theory of 'Bigness' and Monstrous Monumentalities in the New Skyline of the City. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 181-202). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Fard, H. R. (2018). Universities' Urban Impact in the Neo-liberal Context. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 299-318). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Flexner, A. (2001). Is social work a profession? *Research on Social Work Practice*, 11(2), 152-165.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: NY: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2004a). *Cities and Creative Class*. New York: Routledge.
- Florida, R. (2004b). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: NY: Basic Books.

- Florida, R. (2012). *The Rise of the Creative Class: Revisited*. New York: New York: Basic Books.
- Foote, N. (1953). The professionalization of labor in Detroit. *American Journal of Sociology*, 58(4), 371-380.
- Fournier, V. (1999). Boundary work and the (un)making of the professions. In N. Malin, *Professionalism, Boundaries and the Workplace*. London: Routledge.
- Freidson, E. (1980). *Patients' Views of Medical Practice*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Freidson, E. (1988). *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Frostenson, M. (2015). Three forms of professional autonomy: de-professionalisation of teachers in a new light. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*.
- Ganclini, N. G. (2013). Precarious Creativity: Youth in a Post Industrial Culture. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 22(4), 341–352.
- George, S. (1999). A short history of neo-liberalism twenty years of elite economics and emerging opportunities for structural change. In: Conference on economic sovereignty in a globalising World Bangkok, 24-26 Mar 1999.
- Glaeser, E. (2003). The new economics of urban and regional growth. In M. P. Gordon L. Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography* (pp. 83-98). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Glen Randall, D. K. (2008). Deprofessionalization or Postprofessionalization? Reflections on the State of Social Work as a Profession. *Social work in health care*, 341-354.
- Göker, E. (2014). Ekonomik İndirgemeci mi Dediniz? In G. Çeğin, E. Göker, A. Arlı, & Ü. Tatlıcan, *Ocak ve Zanaat: Pierre Bourdieu Derlemesi* (pp. 277-302). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Grana, C. (1964). *Bohemian Versus Bourgeois*. New York: Basic Books.

- Granovetter, M. (1995). *Getting a job: A Study of Contacts and Careers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative Industries*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1982). *The limits to capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The right to the city. *New Left Review*, 23-40.
- Haug, M. (1988). A re-examination of the hypothesis of physician deprofessionalization. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 48-56.
- Haug, M. R. (1972). Deprofessionalization: An Alternate Hypothesis for the Future. *The Sociological Review*, 20, 195-211.
- İmamoğlu, B. (2018). Architectural Professionalization in Turkey, Professionalism and Its Posts. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 31-48). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Kaya, A. (2014). Pierre Bourdieu'nün Pratik Kuramının Kilidi: Alan Kavramı. In E. G. Güney Çeğin, *Ocak ve Zanaat: Pierre Bourdieu Derlemesi* (pp. 397-419). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Khavarian-Garmsir, A., Pourahmad, A., Hataminejad, H., & Farhoodi, R. (2018). Urban Shrinkage in a Neo-liberal Space. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 105-118). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Koolhaas, R., Mau, B., & O.M.A. (1995). *Small, medium, large, extra-large*. New York: Monacelli Press.
- Koytak, E. (2020). Theoretical approaches in the sociology of professions. *Journal of Economy Culture and Society*, 1-27.

- Kuyucu, T. (2018). Türkiye’de Kentsel Dönüşümün Dönüşümü: Kurumsal Bir Açıklama Denemesi. *idealkent*, 9(24), 264-286.
- Kuzović, D., & Gligorijević, Z. (2018). De-modernization of the Architectural and Engineering Profession in Serbian Society at the End of the Twentieth Century. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 49-68). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Landry, C. (2008). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (2nd ed.). Earthscan Publications.
- Larkin, G. (1983). *Occupational monopoly and modern medicine*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Larson, M. (2013). *The Rise of Professionalism: Monopolies of Competence and Sheltered Markets*. New York: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, H. (2000). The right to the city. In E. Kofman, *Writings on cities* (pp. 147-159). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Leitner, H., Peck, J., & Sheppard, E. (2007). *Contesting neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York, London: Guilford Press.
- Marx, K. (1973). *Grundrisse: Foundations of the critique of political economy*. New York: Random House.
- Millerson, G. (1964). *The qualifying associations: A study in professionalization*. London: Routledge.
- Mirkenberg, M. (2014). Introduction. In M. Mirkenberg, *Power and architecture: the construction of capitals and politics of space* (pp. 1-31). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Moore, R. (2012). Capital. In M. Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (pp. 98-113). Acumen Publishing.
- Negri, A. (2009). On rem koolhaas. *Radical Philosophy*, 48-50.

- Pavalko, R. (1988). *Sociology of Occupations and Professions*. Schaumburg: F E Peacock Pub.
- Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative Cities: The Cultural Industries and the Creative Class. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 90(2), 107-117.
- Rauch, J. (1993). Productivity gains from geographic concentration of human capital: evidence. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 380-400.
- Richard Florida Gray Gates. (2001). Technology and Tolerance: Diversity and High-Tech Growth. *The Brookings Review*, 32-33.
- Rosen, S. (1976). A theory of life earnings. *Journal of Political Economy*, 45-67.
- Sadri, H. (2015). Mimarlık ve Etik: Mesleki Etik Olur Mu? *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 32(1), 91-104.
- Sadri, H. (2018). Neo-liberalism and the End of the Profession of Architecture. In H. Sadri, *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era* (pp. 1-10). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Sager, T. (2011). Neo-liberal urban planning policies: A literature survey 1990–2010. *Progress in Planning*, 147-199.
- Scott, A. (2006). Creative Cities: Conceptual Issues and Policy Question. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), 1-17.
- Sennett, R. (2000). *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Sert, E., Aykaç, G., & Zırh, B. C. (2021). Urban politics and the work and labour processes of architecture: Survey research with young architect-workers in Turkey. *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 38(1), 161-180.
- Stevens, G. (1998). *The favored circle: the social foundations of architectural distinction*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Swartz, D. (1998). *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swartz, D. (2013). *Kültür ve İktidar: Pierre Bourdieu'nün Sosyolojisi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Thomson, P. (2012). Field. In M. Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (pp. 65-80). Acumen Publishing.
- Tuna, B. (2019). Mimarlık Okulları Hakkında Bilgiler. *5.MİMARLIK EĞİTİM KURULTAYI* (pp. 13-23). Lefkoşa: Söylem Matbaası.
- Wennström, J. (2016). A Left/Right Convergence on the New Public Management? The Unintended Power of Diverse Idea. *A Journal of Politics and Society*, 28(3-4), 380-403.
- Wigley, M. (2002). Resisting the city. In A. Mulder, & J. Brouwer, *Transurbanism*. V2 Publishing.
- Wilensky, H. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 137-158.
- Woerkens, G. M. (2007). The Dutch Creative Class and How it Fosters Urban Employment Growth. *Urban Studies*, 44(13), 2605-2626.
- Yeşilbağ, M. (2019). Yükselişten Duraklamaya İnşaat Sektörü: 15 Yıllık Bir Bilanço. *Kent, İnşaat ve Ekonomi Kongresi* (pp. 124-130). Gaziantep: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Gaziantep Şubesi.
- Young, J. (1997). The subterranean world of play. In K. G. Thornton, *The Subcultures Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Zucker, L. G. (1998). Intellectual human capital and the birth of U.S. biotechnology enterprises. *The American Economic Review*, 290-306.

APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 /

14 OCAK 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Hüseyin Tarık ŞENGÜL

Danışmanlığımı yürüttüğünüz İsmail Ömer TOPRAK'ın "Türkiye'de Yaratıcı Emek ve Mesleksizleşme Deneyimi: Ofis Çalışanı Genç Mimarlar" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 0049-ODTÜİAEK-2022 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

İçinde yaşadığımız dünya birçok alanı olduğu gibi entelektüel emeği de iki ters yönde çekiyor. Bir yandan nitelikli/eğitimli emeğin değersizleştiği, mesleksizleşmenin geniş bir deneyim haline geldiği bir dönemde yaşıyoruz. Prekarya, artık sadece vasıfsız işgücünü değil aynı zamanda eğitimli, üniversite mezunu kesimlerin de önemli bir bölümünü nitelemek için kullanılıyor. Diğer yandan ise bütün bu gerçekliği görmezden gelen bir başka tartışma yapılıyor. Yaratıcı emek ve kentler üzerinden nitelikli işgücünün bugünün dünyasında kentsel gelişmenin lokomotifine haline geldiği vurgulanıyor. Nitelikli işgücünü çekebilmek kentler için neredeyse yakın geçmişin hedefi olarak gösterilen sermaye çekebilmenin önüne geçiyor ve daha da önemlisi bunun ön koşulu haline getiriliyor. Karşı karşıya olduğumuz koşullar resmedilen bu iki farklı dünyayı deneyimlediğimiz dünyayla nasıl ilişkilendireceğimizi zorlu bir soru olarak önümüze koyuyor. Bu tez üniversitelerden yakın zamanda mezun olmuş mimarların içinde bulunduğu çalışma yaşamı koşullarına odaklanarak bu soruya kısmi bir yanıt vermeyi amaçlıyor.

Bu amaç doğrultusuna bu çalışma literatürde son yirmi yıldır tartışılan ve Dünya'nın birçok yerinde kentsel gelişim ve büyümeye yönelik çeşitli ölçeklerdeki politika yapımı süreçlerine rehber niteliğindeki 'yaratıcı sınıflar' kavramsallaştırması ve bu doğrultudaki yerel uygulamaları işaret edecek şekilde 'yaratıcı kent' olgusunu bir tahayyül olarak bir tarafa koymaktadır. Çalışma diğer taraftan ise meslek sosyolojisinde uzunca bir süredir tartışılan 'mesleksizleşme' (deprofessionalisation) meselesini de kuramsal bir öngörü olarak yaratıcı sınıf argümanının tam karşısında konumlandırarak toplumun nitelikli işgücünü oluşturan kesimleri için yapılan bu çelişkili iki değerlendirmenin hangi koşullarda aynı anda var olabildiğini sorgulamaktadır. Bunun için öncelikle bu iki ucu temsil eden kuramsal tartışmalar ortaya konulmaktadır. Bu kavramların kuramsal olarak ne ifade ettiği ve hangi sonuçları öngördüğüne yönelik bir değerlendirme; gerçekleştirilecek alan araştırmasını anlamlandırmak açısından sağlıklı bir çerçeve çizeceği için çalışmanın

2. bölümünde hem yaratıcı sınıflar hem de mesleksizleşme kuramlarına dair tartışmalar yürütülmektedir.

Yaratıcı sınıf kavramı, beşerî sermaye kuramının ekonomik gelişmenin başat aktörü olarak eğitilmiş ve nitelikli iş gücünü işaret etmesinden ilham alarak hem yaratıcı yetilere haiz, yetenekli hem de girişimci 'yüksek vasıflı insan' figürünü şehirlerin büyümesi ve kalkınmasında bir itici güç olarak kurgulamaktadır. Amerikalı kent kuramcısı Richard Florida tarafından ilk kez 2002 yılında ortaya atılan kavram ile işaret edilen bu sınıfın üyelerinin kentsel kalkınmadaki rolüne vurgu yapmaktadır. Florida, yaratıcı sınıfı kendisine çekemeyen, yaratıcı sınıfın üyelerine çalışma koşullarını sağlayamayan ve çalışma şartlarını kolaylaştırılmayan kentlerin hiçbir zaman beklenen ekonomik büyümeyi ve kalkınmayı sağlayamayacaklarını belirtmektedir. Bu noktada kalkınmanın ön koşulu olarak kendisini bir cazibe merkezi haline getirmesi gerektiğini iddia ettiği yaratıcı kentlerle ilgili belli ipuçları da veren Florida; bahsettiği kentlerde farklılıklara toleransın oldukça yüksek olduğunu, göçmenler ve LGBTİ bireylerin de insanlar tarafından hoş karşılandığını; belirli yetenek havuzunun oluşturulmasına olanak sağlayacak iyi eğitilmiş, girişimci ve yetenekli insanları içerisinde barındırıldığını, ve ekonomik büyümenin odağında teknolojik gelişmelerin olduğunu; ve bu sayede bu kentlerin yaratıcı sınıf mensuplarının yaratıcı üretim yapmak için uygun koşullara sahip olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Literatürde yeni tartışmalar başlatan Florida'nın öngörülerine akademik çevrelerden sert eleştiriler gelirken; bölgesel kalkınmada yaratıcı sınıfın rolünün payının azımsanamayacağı fikrini destekleyenler de olmuştur. Şehirlerde kalkınmayı ve büyümeyi teşvik etmekle yükümlü olan yerel idarelerin önemine değinenler, rekabet halindeki ve birbirlerinin ürettikleri ürünleri tamamlayan, iş birliği içerisindeki şehirlere dikkat çekmektedir. Kavrama yönelik eleştirilerin bulunduğu ortak nokta ise böyle bir yaratıcı sınıfın üyelerini barındıracak bir 'yaratıcı endüstrinin' gelişimi için yapılan çağrıların son derece piyasacı ve bireyci bir projenin tasavvurundan farklı bir şey olmadığıdır. Hesmodhalgh'a göre yaratıcı endüstriler kavramının tercih edilmesi esasında kültürel ürünlerin üretimi ve dağıtımını sorununu neoliberal toplum tasavvuruna uygun bir biçimde ele alıp yöneticileri bu tasavvuru somutlaştıran politikalar geliştirmeye ikna etme çabasıyla doğrudan ilişkilidir.

Kentsel büyümenin yeniden tanımlandığı ve içerisine nitelikli işgücünü yaratıcı yetilere atıfla dönüştürüp dahil ederek bunlar üzerinden yeni bir emek tahayyülü formüle eden bu neoliberal bir proje karşımıza yaratıcı şehir ve yaratıcı emek/sınıf kavramlarını getirirken; diğer taraftan aynı kesimler için hiç de iyimser olmayan; yaratıcı sınıf argümanının çizdiği renkli resimden son derece uzak bir mesleksizleşme deneyimi üzerinden bir başka emek değerlendirmesi yapılmakta. Çalışma yaşamını aşındıran bir süreç olarak mesleksizleşme (deprofessionalisation)'ye kuramsal tartışmalar aynı bölümde ortaya konulmaktadır. Profesyonelleşme literatürüne eleştirel bir yaklaşım olarak mesleksizleşme ilk olarak 70'lerde endüstri sonrası dönemde mesleklerin durumuna yönelik bir öngörü üzerinden şekillenmiştir. Emek sürecindeki profesyonelleşme sürecinin aksine Marie Haug mesleki otorite mesleki bilginin tekeli üzerindeki mücadeleye yönelik olarak yaptığı değerlendirmede mesleksizleşmenin hem bireyin yaptığı iş üzerindeki otonomisinin aşındırıldığı hem de elinde tuttuğu mesleki yetilerin giderek kaybolduğu bir emek sürecini işaret ettiğini vurgulamaktadır. Kavram endüstri sonrası emek süreçlerindeki profesyonelliğe atfedilen mesleki otonomi, otorite, ustalık (expertise), mesleki ihtisas gibi özelliklere ket vurulmasıyla ortaya çıkan mesleki çözülmeyi ifade ederken; akademik çalışmalarda bu değişimin ardında özellikle hızlı teknolojik gelişmeler, çalışma hayatının rutinleşmesi ve mesleki otonomiyi sarmalayan bürokratik yapıların yattığı şeklinde değerlendirmeler yer almaktadır. Mesleksizleşme olgusunun iş yapma biçimleri üzerindeki sonuçlarını değerlendirdikleri çalışmalarında Trappenburg ve van Beek (2019) profesyonelleşme sürecinden farklı olarak bireylerin gitgide kendi kendine yetme, aileden yardımlar alma, gönüllü çalışma, düşük kalifiye iş gücü için iş yerinde öğrenme gibi normların, otonominin yerini standart prosedürel süreçlerin aldığı ve müşterilerin direktiflerinin nihai hedefi belirlediği yeni bir çalışma hayatıyla mesleksizleşmenin bugünün dünyasının bir gerçekliği olduğunu dile getirmektedir. En önemlisi de profesyoneller artık yaptıkları iş üzerindeki mesleki otonomilerini kaybetmektedirler. Bu çözüme ile birlikte endüstri sonrası dönemin profesyonelleri kendi alanlarında ellerinde bulundurdukları bilginin tekeli de kaybetmeye başlamışlardır. Entelektüel emek süreçleri ise bu çözümden azade olmamakla birlikte kendisi için resmedilen yaratıcı dünyaya yönelik aldıkları pozisyonu anlamlandırmak mesleklerin aşındığı bu süreçleri değerlendirmek için önemli gözükmektedir.

Literatürde nitelikli işgücüne ve kentsel büyümeye yönelik farklı alanlarda iki koldan yapılan bu değerlendirmeler odağına aldıkları öznelere itibariyle belli bir ortaklık barındırırken; bu öznelere attettikleri gelecek birbirlerini tamamen dışlayan ve bu yüzden de onları iki farklı uca savuran iki farklı resim ortaya koymakta. Yaratıcı sınıflar tahayyülünün aynı sınıf için öngörülen mesleksizleşme portresiyle bu denli çelişmesi ve farklı sonuçlar öngörmesi bu tezin çıkış noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle giriş bölümünde de ifade edildiği gibi, bu çalışma bu iki uçtaki kuramsal tartışmanın pratikte nasıl deneyimlendiğinin ortaya koyulmasıyla hangi koşullar altında aynı sınıflar için öngörüldüğünü anlamak çabasıdadır. Bir taraftan meslek kavramının dönüşümüne şahit olunurken diğer taraftan bu dönüşümden etkilenmesi kaçınılmaz olan ama aynı zamanda kent kalkınmasının lokomotifleri olarak düşünülen kitlelerin yaratıcı yetileri üzerinden yapılan bu tartışmaların biraradalığı neo-liberal süreçler üzerinden anlamlandırılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu sorulara yanıt aranırken çalışmada Türkiye’de yaratıcı sınıf argümanının işaret ettiği yaratıcı emeğe haiz gözükken ve bu sınıfın tanımında sıklıkla bahsedilen mimarlık mesleği üzerinden gerçekleştirilen bir alan çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Türkiye’deki genç mimarları odağına alan bu alan çalışmasından elde edilen bulgularla mimarlık mesleğinin nasıl deneyimlendiğine yönelik bir resim çizilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Üçüncü bölümde alan araştırmasının bulgularını değerlendirirken ihtiyaç duyulacak kuramsal bir hikâyenin incelemesi yapılmaktadır. Bourdieu sosyolojisinin temellerinden birini oluşturan ‘alan’ kavramı; genç mimarların yaratıcı emek ve mesleksizleşme sarmalında mimarlık alanını nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve alana veya mesleklerine bakışlarının nasıl şekillendiğini anlamlandırmak açısından kilit bir görev görecektir. Kavram aktörlerin farklı türdeki sermaye birikimi mücadelesinde birbirlerine göre rekabetçi konumlarda buldukları sosyal alanları ifade etmektedir. Belli bir pozisyonu korumak veya geliştirmek için sıkı bir mücadele içindeki aktörler alanda belirli hiyerarşideki pozisyonları işgal ederler. Alanda oynanan oyun ve kuralları ise aktörlerin alanda var olma stratejilerini şekillendiren unsurlardan biridir. Toplumsal yaşamda aktörler farklı alanlar; oyun alanları içerisinde alana girme, alanda var olma ve alandaki pozisyonunu güçlendirme mücadelesinin içerisinde yer alırlar. Bu mücadelenin nihai amacı alanda geçerli olabilecek sermaye türlerini biriktirebilmek ve sonunda bu birikimiyle alanda elde ettiği pozisyonu sağlamlaştırmaktır. Swartz’a göre alanlar değerli kaynaklar üzerindeki kontrol mücadelesinde aktörün meşruiyet

elde ettiđi mücadele sahneleridir. Bu amaca yönelik her mücadele alanının niteliđine göre Őekillenen belli stratejiler barındırmaktadır. Bourdieu iin hem aktörlerin alandaki pozisyonlarını belirleyen ve stratejilerini Őekillendiren en önemli kavram sermayedir. Belirli sermaye türleri veya bunların kombinasyonları etrafında organize edilen yapılandırılmış bir yapı olarak alan, bu sermaye türlerinin birikimi iin abalayan oyuncularından (kiŐiler veya kurumlar) oluşur. Mimarlık pratiđini bir alan olarak kavramsallaŐtırırken, aktörlerin kendilerini belirli bir alanın sınırları ierisinde nasıl konumlandıklarını anlamak önemlidir. Alandaki aktörler arasındaki hiyerarŐik iliŐkide, farklı sermaye biimleri, oyunu oynama kapasitelerini belirlemede benzersiz bir rol oynamaktadır. Genç mimarların, mimarlık alanında girdikleri sermaye birikimi mücadelesi ierisinde Őekillenen kültürel, sosyal, ekonomik ve sembolik sermayeleri meslek pratiđini icra edebilecekleri bu alanı kavramakta önem arz etmektedir. Bu anlamda alan araŐtırmasında görüŐmecilerin farklı sermaye türleri karŐısındaki konumları da mimarlık alanında kendileri iin edindikleri pozisyonların niteliđini ne yönde etkilediđi sorgulanmaktadır. Bu noktada diđer üç sermaye türünün evrilmesinin bir ürünü olarak sembolik sermaye aktöre alanda tanınırlıđını, sermayesinin geerliđini ve/veya aktörün alandaki meŐruluđunu sađlaması aısından bu gerek dünyadaki hikâyenin anlamlandırılmasında önemli gözükmektedir. Alana dahil olabilmek, alanda kalabilmek ve gerekten bir mimar olarak tanınabilmek giriŐilen mücadelenin nihai hedefi olarak kabul edilmelidir.

4. bölüm mimarlık mesleđinde post-profesyonel döneme geiŐ sürecinde yaŐanan deđiŐimlere iliŐkin literatürdeki deđerlendirmelere yer vermektedir. Meslek kavramının yapısal dönüşümlere dair tartiŐmalar iŐıđında alıŐmada genç mimarların bu dönüşümden nasıl etkilendiklerine yönelik ıkarımlar yapılacaktır. Böylece genç mimarların mesleksizleŐme deneyimleri bugün mesleklerin aŐınmaya uğradıđı süreçlere referansla daha iyi irdeleneceđi düşünölmüŐtür. Bölümde genel olarak bugün bir meslek olarak mimarlık pratiđinin, onu birok yönden etkileyen neoliberal politikaların müdahalesiyle özölmekte olduđu savunulmaktadır. Bu dođrultuda kamu hizmetlerinin özelleŐtirilmesi, mimarlıđın kamusal rolünü yitirmesi ve özel inŐaat Őirketlerinin, emlak piyasasının ve müteahhitlerin kontrolüne giren bir iŐ kolu haline dönüşmesine yol amıŐtır. Günümüzde mimarlıđın özellikle neoliberal politikaların etkisiyle geirdiđi dönüşüm hem mesleđin kendisinde, yapısında, iŐlevinde ve mesleđi icra edenlerin yetilerinde hem de mimarlıđın modern toplumun ve devletin diđer

kurumlarıyla olan ilişkilerinde köklü değişimler yaratmıştır. Hossein Sadri'ye göre mimarlık pratiğinin bugünkü önceliği özel girişim mantığının çıkarını korumaktır.

Devletin piyasa odaklı ve rekabetçi mekanizmalara geçişi ile girişimcilik, yönetsel rekabet, özelleştirme, uluslararası sermaye hareketleri ve ekonomik özgürlükleri yücelterek toplumsal yaşamın her alanına sirayet ettirilen neoliberal politikalar Harvey'e göre refahın serbest piyasa ve serbest ticaret kuralları çerçevesinde özgür girişimin önündeki engellerin kaldırılması ve bireysel becerilerin özgürleştirilmesi yoluyla sağlanabileceği iddiasındaki bir politik ekonomik uygulamaların teorisi olan neoliberal ideolojinin ürünüdür. Böyle bir dönüşümün mekânsal sonuçlarının da olması kaçınılmazdır. Sermaye birikiminin önündeki engelleri kaldırarak yeni mekânsal üretimlerin geçici bir çözüm olarak sunulduğu neoliberalizm bir krizin ürünü olarak düşünüldüğünde Harvey'e göre söz konusu krizin çözümünün temel uğrağı neoliberal kentleşme politikalarının uygulandığı kent mekanıdır. Ekonomik krizin kontrolünde son derece işlevsel hale gelen kentleşme süreçleri kentin bu sorun çözen rolünün giderek güçlendiği bir resmi önümüze koymuştur. Neoliberal kentsel planlama kamu-özel ortaklıkları, şehir pazarlaması, marka şehir yaratma politikaları ve kamu hizmetlerinin özelleştirilmesi gibi özellikleri barındırırken kentleşme politikaları neoliberalizmin etkilerini yansıtacak şekilde formüle edilmektedir. Kente büyüme odaklı yaklaşım da yine bu neoliberal teşviklerle şekillenmiş, kent mekânı üzerinde büyük bir etki yaratmıştır. Bugünün bağlamında neoliberal proje sonuçlarının toplumun gündelik yaşamlarının bir parçası haline geldiği farklı ölçeklerde etkisini sürdürmektedir. Bu anlamda mimarlık mesleğinin bugünkü dönüşümünü açıklarken neoliberal kentleşme süreçlerinin yıkıcı etkisi göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

Profesyonelleşme sürecinin post-profesyonel çağda geçirdiği dönüşümü incelerken Sarfatti-Larson bugünün neoliberal ekonomisinde artık mesleklerin önceki dönemde sahip olduğu amaçların geçerli ve gerçekçi olmadığını iddia etmektedir. Ona göre mesleklerin yalnızca rehberlik, zanaat, bilgi tekeline sahip olma ve alanda söz sahibi olma gibi özellikleri değil toplumsal yönü de aşınmaktadır. Bu anlamda mesleklerin bir değişim ya da dönüşüm içinde olduğu, modern kavramında uzaklaştığı bir pratiğin hâkim hale geldiği açıktır. Bristol (2018), mimarlık mesleğinin bu toplumsal yönünden uzaklaştığı görüşünü eğitimsel süreçlere dayandırırken Kuzovic ve Gligorijevic de mimarlık pratiğinin tasarımdan uzak, politik olmayan yönünün toplumsala mesafe

getirdiđi iddiasındadır. Neoliberal dönüşümler, eğitim sistemi, ekonomi ve inşaat sektöründeki deđişimlere bađlı olarak mimarlık mesleđinin özünü yitirmesine yol açmaktadır. Bu anlamda, günümüz neoliberal politikalar ikliminde, kentsel mekânda sermaye birikimi için oldukça karlı bir araç olarak inşaat sektörünün mimarlık mesleđini nasıl dönüştürdüđünü, profesyonellikten post-profesyonel bir duruma geçişin göz önünde bulundurularak çalışmada genç mimarların meslek pratiklerini nasıl deneyimledikleri yorumlanmıştır. Neoliberal hizalanmayla birlikte Türkiye’de kent mekânı üretim pratiklerinin son 15 yılı artan bir inşaat çılgınlığının egemenliğini yaşamıştır. Büyük kentsel arazilerin özelleştirilmesi süreçleri, doğal kaynakları tehlikeye atan altyapı projeleri ve sosyal grupların yerinden edilmesi yoluyla kar elde etmeyi amaçlayan kentsel dönüşüm projeleriyle birlikte, AKP hükümetinin neoliberal ajandası kenti kar elde etme aracı olarak görecekle şekilde belirginleşmiştir. Bunun sonucu olarak söylenebilir ki, kent mekanına yönelik neoliberal siyasal tutum mimarlık meslek pratiđinin ‘ekonomik büyümenin aracı olarak yapılaşma’ tanımıyla sınırlanmaktadır. Deneç’e göre bu bağlamda toplumsal gündemi içerecek, kamusal önceleyen, daha iyi kentsel mekanlara yönelik meslek etiđini kendisine dahil eden bir mimarlık söylemi için artık alan bırakılmamıştır. Mimarlık pratiđi artık; inşaat sektörünün marjinalize olmuş aktörleri olan, kapitalist gayrimenkul piyasaları tarafından domine edilen kent mekânı üretim süreçlerinde etkisiz hale gelmiş, toplumsaldan uzak, müşteri odaklı ve tasarım disiplininden kopuk mimarların meslek pratiđi haline gelmiştir. Mimarlığın özünden uzaklaştıđı bu dönüşüm, genç mimarların alanda kalmak için girdikleri mücadeleyi artık daha çetin bir hale getirmektedir. Bu kuramsal çerçeve ve literatürdeki tartışmalar ışığında; sonraki bölümde yürütölen alan araştırması sonucunda genç mimarlarla yapılan görüşmelerin bulguları paylaşılmaktadır.

5. bölüm mimarların çalışma hayatında emek süreçlerindeki deneyimlerini ortaya koyan bir alan araştırması üzerinden yaratıcı emek ve yaratıcı sınıf argümanının gerçeklikle çatıştıđı ve/veya örtüştüđü noktaları ortaya koymaktadır. Yaratıcı sınıflar kuramının belirli hesaplama yöntemleriyle ortaya attıđı şekliyle Türkiye’nin en yaratıcı şehirlerinde ofis çalışanı olan ya da bir mimarlık ofisinde çalışma geçmişı bulunan genç mimarlarla yapılan derinlemesine mülakatların bulgularının paylaşıldıđı bu bölümde bir taraftan mesleksizleşen, meslekten ve yetilerinden uzaklaşan bir kesimin varlığı ortaya çıkarılırken; diđer taraftan da yaratıcı sınıf tahayyölünün işaret

ettiği hayat ve çalışma tarzına yönelik hala umutları olan ve hayallerinin peşinden gitmeye kararlı başka bir kesimden, bir ampirik rastlantıdan bahsedilmektedir. Genç mimarların mesleksizleşme gerçeği ve onlara atfedilen bir tahayyül olarak yaratıcı sınıf kuramı arasındaki ikilik genç mimarlarla yapılan mülakatlardan alıntılarla değerlendirilmektedir. Buna ilişkin, post-profesyonel dönemde neoliberal kentleşme süreçlerinin genç mimarların çalışma hayatındaki meslek pratiklerini nasıl etkilediği ve bireylerin emek süreçlerini nasıl şekillendirdiği tartışılmıştır. Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir’de yirmi genç mimarla yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşme sorularının yöneltildiği derinlemesine mülakatlarla kişilerin aldıkları mimarlık eğitimini, Türkiye’de mimarlık eğitime yönelik görüşlerini, mezuniyet sonrasındaki iş hayatına geçiş süreçlerini, sürecin çevrelerindeki diğer mimarlar için nasıl geliştiğini, çalışma hayatlarını, ofislerdeki çalışma koşullarını, bugünün emek piyasasına yönelik tutumlarını, mimarlık mesleğinin temel sorunlarına dair değerlendirmelerini ve gelecek tahayyüllerini sorgulamıştır. Genç mimarlara yöneltilen sorulara verdikleri cevaplar etrafında çalışmada çizilen kuramsal çerçeve ve literatürdeki güncel tartışmalar ışığında anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Mimarlık eğitimi sürecinin zorluğu ve yıpratıcılığı görüşmeler esnasında eğitime dair en sık yapılan değerlendirmelerden birisidir. Mimarlar çoğunlukla birinci sınıftan itibaren üzerlerine yüklenen sorumluluğun, projeler, ödevler, kritik alma, jüriler vb. ağırlığını anımsamaktadırlar. Bu yoğunluğun içerisinde mimar adayları tasarımın özünden bir nebze de olsa uzaklaşıp nihai amacın dersten geçmeye evirildiği görüşündedir. Bu noktada Peggy Deamer’in mimarlık eğitiminin hem niteliğinin hem de kapsamının teknoloji, barınma, ekoloji, tasarım, siyasal aktivizm, toplumsal cinsiyet, tarih, kuram, ekonomi ve meslek pratiğini de içine alacak şekilde genişletilerek kendi özüne dönüşünü sağlama çağrısı yerinde gözükmektedir. Görüşmecilerin eğitimlerini tamamladıktan sonraki çalışma hayatına giriş süreçlerine yönelik değerlendirmelerinde ise 2012’den 2018’e kadar mimar adayları için kolay istihdam edildikleri bir emek piyasası olduğu görüşü hakimdir. Bu süreçte mezun olmuş olan görüşmeciler ilk işe giriş süreçlerinin son derece hızlı ilerlediğinin altını çizerlerken; 2018’den sonra mezun olan görüşmeciler için sürecin epey zorlu bir hal almaya başladığı görülmektedir. Türkiye’de AKP döneminde neoliberal kentsel siyasetin dönemselleştirilmesi, piyasadaki istihdam koşullarının daha iyi anlaşılmasına ve 2018’den sonra piyasadaki farklılaşmaların değerlendirilmesine yardımcı olacaktır. Türkiye’de 2005’ten itibaren hem kentsel

dönüşüm projelerinin hayata geçirilmesiyle, hem de büyük ölçekli mega projeler, özelleştirmeler ve doğal sit alanlarının piyasanın eline bırakılması yoluyla neoliberal kentleşme saiklerinin otoriter ve saldırgan bir kentsel mekân üretimi modelini beraberinde getirdiği açıktır. Bu doğrultuda inşaat sektöründeki patlama; paralel bir biçimde yeni mezun genç mimarların iş piyasalarına girişini kolaylaştırmıştır. 2018 yılından itibaren inşaat sektörü Türkiye’de ciddi bir düşüş yaşamıştır. Bu tarihten itibaren Yeşilbağ’a göre konut fiyatlarındaki artış eğilimi, satılmayan konu stoku, inşaat firmalarının borç artışı ve mega projelerin hazine üzerindeki baskısı Türkiye’de neoliberal kentsel siyasette alarm veren kriz dinamikleri olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Sektördeki bu gerileme gerçekten de 2018 sonrası mezun genç mimar görüşmecilerin aktardığı şekliyle emek piyasalarında kendilerine yer bulmakta oldukça zorlandığı bir gerçeklikle örtüşmektedir. Mimarlık ofislerinde iş bulabilmek onlar için 6 ila 12 ay kadar süren bir iş arama mücadelesinin sonunda gerçekleşebilmiştir.

Çalışma için önemli olan diğer bir nokta ise mesleksizleşme deneyimlerinin altında yatan sebeplerden biri olarak genç mimarın emek sömürüsüne maruz kaldığı mimarlık ofislerindeki çalışma koşullarıdır. Görüşmecilerin tamamı mimarlık ofislerinde yaptıkları işin karşılığını ücretler anlamında alamadıklarını vurgulamaktadır. Uzun çalışma saatleri, ağır iş yükü, sigortasız çalışma ve düşük ücret altında ezilen genç mimarların çoğunlukla şikayetçi olduğu durum Türkiye’de mimarlık ofislerinde çalışma koşullarının insani olmadığı gerçeği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu koşullar altında ekonomik sermaye biriktirme mücadelesinin genç mimarlar için hüsrarla sonuçlanmakta olduğu açıktır. Görüşmecilerin aktardıkları şekliyle, emek sömürüsü ofis çalışanı genç mimarlar için genel kabul görmüş bir olgu haline gelmiştir. Yaratıcı sınıf tahayyülünün mimarlık alanındaki deneyimlerle çeliştiği diğer bir nokta genç mimarın yaptıkları işin niteliğine yönelik değerlendirmelerinde gün yüzüne çıkmaktadır. Eğitim sürecini de içine alan bu durum ile ilgili; genç mimarlar mimarlık ofislerinde yaptıkları işin mimarlık yapmaktan son derece uzak olduğunu, okulda verilen mimarlık eğitimiyle çalışma hayatında uyguladıkları mimarlığın hiçbir şekilde bağdaşmadığını ve yaptıkları tek şeyin birbirine benzeyen konutlar ve bunların planını çözmek olduğunu sıklıkla dile getirmişlerdir. Tasarım ve kuram temelli bir eğitimin sonunda aldıkları formasyonun piyasada geçerliği olmadığını ilk iş tecrübelerinde fark eden genç mimarlar için artık mimarlık alanında geçer akçe olacak bir kültürel sermayelerinin de kalmadığı çıkarımı yapılabilir. Diğer taraftan neoliberal kentleşme

politikalarının şekillendirdiği post-profesyonel çağın mesleklerin önüne koyduğu iş yapma biçimleri iddiasıyla uyumlu bir şekilde genç mimarlar çoğunlukla yaptıkları işlerde bir otonomilerinin olmadığını, önlerine gelen işi bir mimar olarak değil bir tekniker olarak icra etmenin ötesine geçemediklerini dile getirmektedirler. Bununla ilgili olarak görüşmeciler arasında rastlanılan; neoliberal bir proje olarak yaratıcı sınıf tartışmalarının ortaya koyduğu biçimde özneleşen ve eleştirilerini piyasanın eline bırakılmış kentleşme süreçlerinden ziyade bu piyasanın gerektirdiği eğitimi kendilerine sağlamayan ve bu anlamda diğer genç mimarlardan hem mimarlığın özüne yönelik anlayışlarında hem de geleceğe yönelik hayaller anlamında başka bir yöne savrulan genç mimarlar da mevcuttur. Bu durum, mimarlık alanının neoliberalizmin özneleri farklı yönlerde şekillendirdiği genç mimarlar tarafından farklı deneyimlendiği örneklerin bulunduğunu da gözden kaçırmamak gerektiğini hatırlatmaktadır. Mimarlık alanını mesleksizleşen kitleden farklı şekilde resmeden ve deneyimleyen bu genç mimarlar ise mimarlık mesleğini yaratıcı sınıf argümanının vaat ettikleriyle uyumlu bir şekilde kavramsallaştırmakta kararlı ve mesleğe yönelik umutlu gözükmektedirler. Bu diğerlerinden ayrılan örneklerin ofiste; tasarımdan ve mimarlığın özünden ne kadar uzak olursa olsun, yaptıkları işe yönelik tatminkarlıkları, durumdan şikayetçi olan ve mesleklerinden giderek uzaklaşan diğer mimarlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda prekaryanın gerçekten de iki uç yöne çekilmekte olduğunu ifade eder nitelikte gözükmektedir.

Genç mimarların birçoğunun çalışma hayatındaki ortak deneyimlerinin kendilerini mesleksizleşmeye doğru sürüklediği yorumu görüşmelerdeki bulgularla da örtüşmekteyken; bu noktada mimarlar arasında dayanışmacı süreçlerin filizlendiğini beklemek yerinde olacaktır. Ancak görüşmeler sırasında genç mimarların hemen hepsi bir diğer problemin de bir araya gelememekten doğduğunu ifade etmektedirler. Öyle ki Mimarlar Odası'nın bile böyle bir dayanışmacı süreci geliştirebileceğine dair umutları kalmamıştır. Sorunlarıyla tek başına ilgilenmeye devam eden genç mimarın; bu bireyselci trend içerisinde sosyal sermaye birikiminin önüne de engel çekilmiş durumda gözükmektedir. Geleceğe yönelik planlar ve tahayyüllerine dair de genç mimarlar genellikle plan yapmadıklarından, geleceğe yönelik hiçbir umutlarının olmadığından, hiçbir şeyin düzelmeyeceğinden ve hatta mimarlık mesleğini bırakmanın yollarını arayacaklarından bahsetmektedirler. Mesleksizleşmeyi en yoğun şekilde yaşayan bu kitlenin yanında diğer taraftan halen geleceğe yönelik umutları

olan, belli problemler olsa da bunların çözüme kavuşabileceğini düşünen ve tasarım yapmanın üstün bir yeti olduğunu ve bunun her çağda geçer akçe olabileceğini iddia eden; yaratıcı sınıf tezinin ve doğal olarak neoliberal ideolojinin çekiştirdiği örneklerle de karşılaşmıştır.

Bölümde paylaşılan alan araştırması bulgularına yönelik yapılan genel değerlendirme; mesleksizleşme deneyiminin teorik çerçeve içerisinde yorumlanmasını içermektedir. Hikâyeyi anlamlandırmak açısından Bourdieu'nun alan teorisinin ve onun kilit kavramlarından sermaye nosyonunun önemli olduğu başlangıçta vurgulanmıştır. Piyasadaki mimarlık pratiğinden duyulan memnuniyetsizlik, genç mimarların mesleksizleşmeyi deneyimlediklerinin göstergelerinden biridir. Otonomi sorunu, tasarım disiplininin uzak nitelikteki iş yapma biçimleri, yaratıcı yönlerini ortaya koyamamak öyle görünüyor ki bu bireylerin günümüz mimarlık pratiğinden memnun olmayışlarının nedenleri arasındadır. Genç mimarların yetersiz ya da geçersiz ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel sermaye birikimine haiz olmaları, Larsson'un günümüz neoliberal ekonomisinde artık geçerli olmayan profesyonelleşme kapsamındaki amaçlardan uzaklaştırmaktadır. Alandaki pozisyonlarını koruyabilmek adına elde etme mücadelesi verdikleri sermaye türleri sınırlı kalan bu kitle için alandaki diğer üç sermaye türünün bir sonucu olarak sembolik sermayeleri de mücadele içerisinde aldıkları pozisyonları koruyabilmek için yetersiz hale gelmekte; başka bir deyişle tanınırlıkları ya da söz sahibi olmaları için bir alan kalmamakta, mesleki otoriteleri giderek zayıflamakta ve böylece mesleksizleşmeyi en derinden yaşamaktadırlar.

Sonuç bölümünde tüm bu mimarlık pratiğindeki mesleksizleşme deneyimlerinin doğurduğu sonuçlar göz önünde bulundurularak çalışmanın temel savı ortaya koyulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda; neoliberal bir proje olarak yaratıcı sınıflar ve yaratıcı şehirler argümanının yaratıcı emeğin kentlerin büyümesinde kilit rol oynayacağı öngörülerıyla şekillendirilen politika uygulamaları yine neoliberal kentleşme politikaları tarafından meşruluğunu kazanmaktadır. Diğer bir taraftan ise, kent mekanının ve yapıyı çevrenin üretiminde rehber edinilen aynı neoliberal kentleşme politikaları bugün genç mimarların mesleksizleşme pratiğini deneyimlemelerinin önünü açan temel etken olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yaratıcı sınıflar tezinin vaat ettiği çalışma ve yaşam koşullarının, genç mimarların deneyimlediğinden oldukça uzak olmasının temel sebebi neoliberal ideolojinin ve politika uygulamalarının

yarattığı bu ikilik olarak gözükmektedir. Bununla birlikte vurgulanması gereken nokta; alan çalışmasında sıklıkla vurgulandığı üzere, mimarlık alanına ve mesleğe yönelik kavrayışları ve değerlendirmeleri anlamında genç mimarların iki farklı yöne çekilmiş olduğu gerçeğidir. Yürütülen alan araştırmasının bulguları bu kuramsal olarak resmedilen iki farklı dünyanın deneyimlediğimiz dünyayla nasıl ilişkilendirilmesi gerektiğine iyi bir örnek iken; neoliberalizmin bireyler üzerindeki dönüştürücü gücünün de yadsınamaz bir gerçek olduğunu bir kez daha gözler önüne sermektedir. Öyle ki, genç mimarların yaratıcı sınıf tahayyüllerine dahil olma arzuları ve umutlarının, kendilerini mesleksizleşmeye iten eğitim alanı ve meslek pratiği olarak mimarlık alanının, ve mimarlık mesleğinden gittikçe uzaklaştıkları çalışma yaşamı koşullarının yeniden üretilmesinde oynadığı rol önemli gözükmektedir.

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Toprak
Adı / Name : İsmail Ömer
Bölümü / Department : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler / Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): LIMITS TO THE CREATIVE CLASS: CREATIVE CITY AND DEPROFESSIONALISATION OF YOUNG ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master **Doktora** / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. *
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. *

* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date

(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)

(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.